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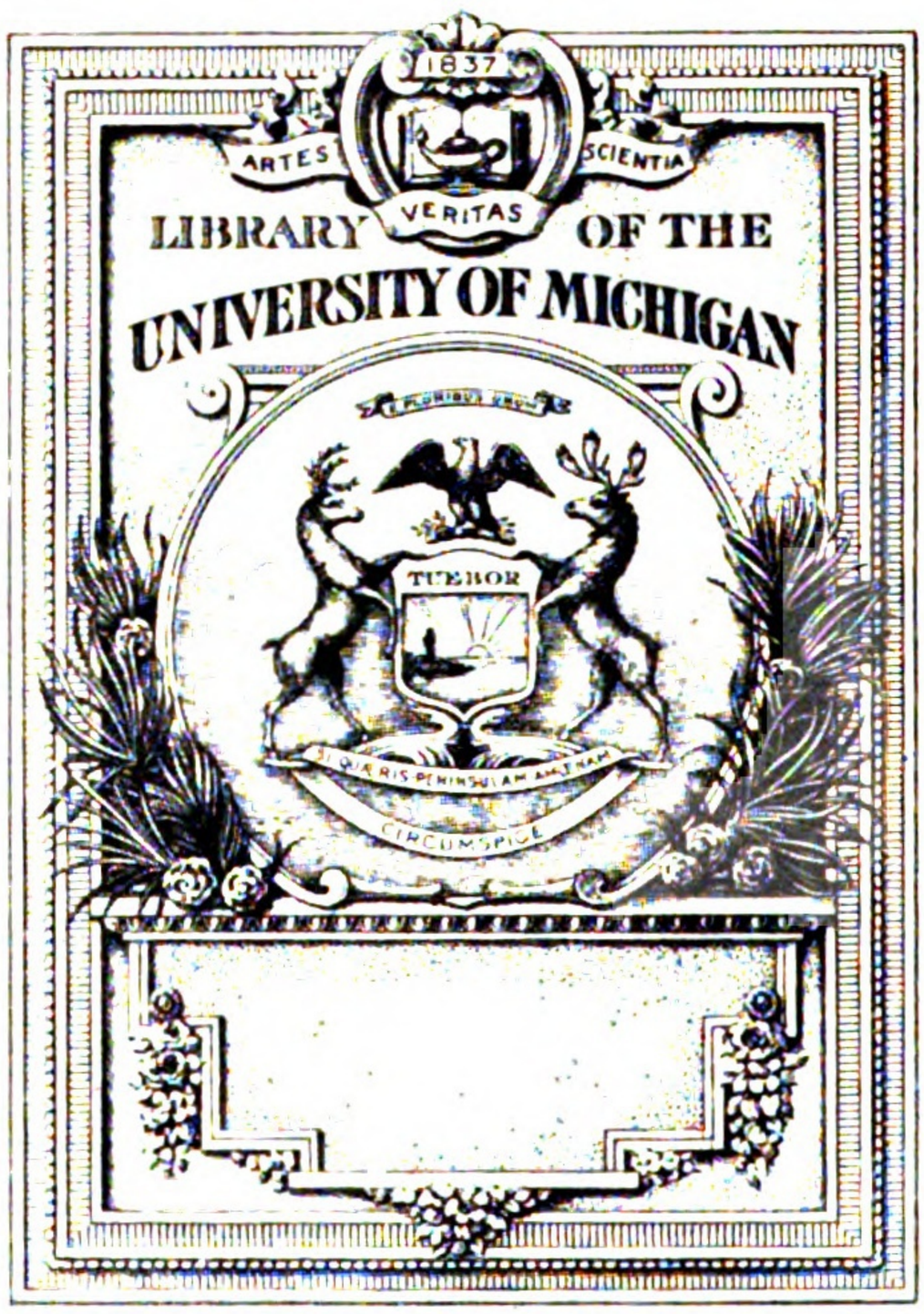

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THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL EDITED FOR THE MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

BY

J. G. ROBERTSON

G. C. MOORE SMITH

AND

EDMUND G. GARDNER

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KING ALFRED'S 'GEATS.'

IN King Alfred's translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* appears a passage which already has inspired a whole literature of controversy. The present paper is not intended as an addition to this literature. On the contrary, it is presented in the hope (ambitious enough, no doubt) that a study more thoroughgoing than has hitherto been attempted may succeed in reconciling the apparent contradictions and thereby bringing the controversy to an end. I must leave it to the reader to determine whether such a hope has any justification.

Our passage reads, in Bede, as follows (I, 15):

...Aduenerant autem de tribus Germaniae populis fortioribus, id est Saxonibus, Anglis, Iutis. De Iutarum origine sunt Cantuarii et Victuarii, hic est ea gens, quae Vectam tenet *et ea, quae usque hodie in prouincia Occidentalium Saxonum Iutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam.* De Saxonibus, id est ea regione, quae nunc Antiquorum Saxonum cognominatur, uenere Orientales Saxones, Meridiani Saxones, Occidui Saxones. Porro de Anglis, hoc est de illa patria, quae Angulus dicitur et ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus inter prouincias Iutarum et Saxonum perhibetur, Orientales Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Merci, tota Nordanhymbrorum progenies...ceterique Anglorum populi sunt orti.

Alfred englishes the passage thus:

Comon hi of þrim folcum ðam strangestan Germanie, þæt of Seaxum ond of Angle ond of Geatum. Of Geata fruman syndon Cantware ond Wihtsætan ; þæt is seo ðeod þe Wiht þæt ealond oneardað. Of Seaxum, þæt is of ðam lande þe mon hateð Ealdseaxan, coman Eastseaxan ond Suðseaxan ond Westseaxan. And of Engle coman Eastengle ond Middelengle ond Myrce ond eall Norðhembra cynn ; is þæt land, þe Angulus is nemned, betwyh Geatum ond Seaxum ; is sæd of ðære tide þe hi ðanon gewiton oð to dæge, þæt hit weste wunige.

It will be noted that Alfred omits that part of the Bedan passage which I have printed in italics. His reason for so doing appears further on, where (IV, 16) he translates Bede's 'pueri...fuga lapsi sunt de insula [Vecta], et in proximam Iutorum prouinciam translati.' This passage Alfred renders: 'þa flugon þa cnihtas ut of þam ealande, ond wæron gelædde on þa neah-mægþe, seo is gecyd Eota (v.r. Ytena) land.' Clearly Alfred distinguished between the inhabitants of South Hampshire and those of Jylland. The former he called Jutes; the latter Geats. Bede's identification of the two, or rather his use of the same name for both, puzzled Alfred, and finally drove him to suppress altogether the reference to the Jutes of Wessex.

It is obvious that this suppression (never before noted, curiously enough) makes nonsense of the argument that Alfred's 'Geatas' for

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Bede's 'Iutae' is some mistake or other—scribal confusion of *eo* with *ea*, Alfredian uncertainty, or what not. It need not follow, however, that Alfred denied or was unaware of the Jutish origin of the men of Kent and Wight. Still less are we to suppose that Alfred thought of the Jutes as Geats! Our troubles in interpreting the passage arise, I think, from our modern (and unwarranted) preconceptions about the terminology which both Alfred and Bede used. Thus, with us 'Wessex' is a district name only, but the 'Westseaxe' of Alfred might mean either 'the West Saxons' or the district which the West Saxons inhabited. And even into the meaning 'West Saxons' we are all too prone to read racial content. More often than not 'Westseaxe' is to be translated 'the West Saxon state' or 'the West Saxon army' or something of the sort. Again, the word *populus* in Latin means 'the mass of citizens in its political capacity, i.e. the state,' whence also 'the district over which the state exercises authority.' In other words, it may be used in a strictly geographical sense, and even when it is used in a political sense one must beware of translating it by our 'people,' which has acquired a much looser connotation. Precisely the same may be said of *folc*, which ordinarily in Alfredian English meant either 'state' or 'district.' Survivals of the old meaning are to be found, of course, in the present county names Norfolk and Suffolk. Note also that Alfred, in the second passage quoted above, translates Bede's *prouincia* by 'mægþ,' a word that literally means 'kin, tribe.'

Let us now apply these interpretations to our passage. It will be convenient to begin with the Saxons. We note first of all that Bede says, 'From the Saxons, that is, from that *region* which now is called (the region of) the Old Saxons,' etc. In other words, Bede states explicitly that he is using *Saxones* as a regional or geographical term, not at all as a political, much less a racial one. And in fact we know that the Continental and the English Saxons belong, and always have belonged, to separate branches of the Germanic stock. Bede's 'de Saxonibus,' then, is best translated 'from Old Saxony.' Alfred's rendering is to be similarly interpreted, of course; indeed, we find Bede's gen. pl. 'Antiquorum Saxonum' translated 'Ealdseaxan,' a term which means simply 'Old Saxony.' When we come to the Angles we find the same situation. Bede uses 'Angli' not as a tribe name but as a geographical term, and Alfred accordingly translates the abl. pl. 'Anglis' by the dat. sg. 'Angle'—'Anglia.'

What now of the Jutes? That which holds good of the Saxons and the Angles must apply to these as well. Consequently Bede's 'Iutae'

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means, not 'Jutes' but 'Jutland.' Such a name for the district was anachronistic, it is true, since long before Bede's day the Jutes had left the country and a Jutish state no longer existed there. But terms have a way of holding on after their appropriateness has passed, and it is easy to see how the old name for the old country may have lingered among the descendants of the Jutish settlers in England, from whom Bede doubtless had the term. But Alfred was quite within his rights in discarding so out-of-date a piece of nomenclature.

But why should Alfred give to Jutland the name 'Geatas'? The Geats are usually and, I think, correctly identified with the Gautar, the inhabitants of the present Swedish provinces of East and West Götland. In my opinion only one explanation is possible. King Alfred's use of 'Geatas' in the meaning 'Jutland' implies that at one time not too long before his day a Geatish state existed in Jutland. In other words, there must have been a migration of Geats from their historic seats to Jutland. The forebodings expressed in *Beowulf* (ll. 2999 ff., 3028 ff., 3150 ff.) make it clear that the Swedes early overthrew the Geatish kingdom—presumably as early as the sixth century. A Geatish migration of considerable proportions may well have taken place after the Swedish conquest of the Geatish homeland. Such a migration is apparently referred to in the 'elland tredan' of *Beowulf*, l. 3019. The migration theory was first advanced by Schütte (*AfnF.* XXXIII, pp. 85 ff.). I have already used it in my *Literary History of Hamlet* (q.v. I *passim*).

Our next task must be an examination of that other work in which the English king has occasion to speak of Jutland, viz. his translation of Orosius. Into this work Alfred interpolated a description of Germany based on his own geographical knowledge. I quote what he has to say about the Danes (ed. Sweet, p. 16):

be westan Ealdseaxum is Ælfe muþa þære ie, ond Frisland. Ond þonan westnorð is þæt lond þe mon Ongle hæt, ond Sillende ond sumne dæl Dene. ...Be westan Suþdenum is þæs garsecges earm þe liþ ymbutan þæt land Brettania; ond be norþan him is þæs sæs earm þe mon hæt Ostsæ; ond be eastan him ond be norþan sindon Norðdene, ægþer ge on þæm maran landum ge on þæm iglandum; ond be eastan him sindon Afdrede; ond be suþan him is Ælfe muþa þære ie ond Ealdseaxna sum dæl. Norðdene habbað be norþan him þone ilcan sæs earm þe mon hæt Ostsæ, ond be eastan him sindon Osti þa leode; ond Afrede (v.r. Afdræde) be suþan.

Before discussing this passage as a whole it may be well to dispose of a few special points. 'Sillende' is the 'Sinlendi' of Thegan, and is to be located in Schleswig, as our text alone suffices to show ('on the northwest boundary of the Old Saxons' is absolutely clear, and by no process of distortion can it be made to refer to Selund). The term 'Ostsae' 'Baltic' corresponds to the Icelandic 'austmarr' (recorded as

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early as the *Ynglingatal*), and is doubtless of Scandinavian origin, although the second element has been anglicized. For O.E. *ō* from Scand. *au* see Sievers, *Ags. Gramm.* § 26 note. This *ō* is Midland and Southern, whereas the North Midland and Northern form would be *ou* (E. Björkman, *Scand. Loan Words in M.E.*, p. 81, note 2). The current theory, which assumes that Alfred got his 'Ostsae' from German sources, cannot be right. The name, along with the sea, belonged to the Scandinavians, and since Alfred drew his other information about the Scandinavian world from Scandinavian sources, he presumably got his name for the Baltic from these same sources. The following from H. Geidel is in point here (*Alfred der Grosse als Geograph*, p. 40):

> Die Bezeichnung Ostsee, vom Standpunkt der deutschen Völker eigentlich unrichtig, erhält nach Förster ihre Berechtigung, wenn man berücksichtigt, dass die im 9. Jhd. durch die Wenden von diesem Meere völlig abgeschnittenen Deutschen sie [i.e. die Bezeichnung Ostsee] von den Dänen entlehnten. Mit Bezug auf Dänemark liegt dieses Meer aber im Osten. In Schleswig und Dänemark setzt man heute noch Ostsee in Gegensatz zur Westsee (=Nordsee). Alfreds Bezeichnung 'Ostsae' ist das erste Zeugnis für diesen Namen.

Alfred, like his retainer Ohthere, and like Eginhard and Adam of Bremen, thought of the Skagerak and Kattegat as part (the most important part, indeed) of the Baltic.

Again, the curious name 'Osti' probably represents a Scandinavian '*Austir.' I have discussed this name at length in my *Widsith and Hervararsaga*, a paper forthcoming shortly in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*; I will therefore not go into the matter here. Alfred seems to locate the Osti in Pomerania; apparently he did not distinguish the Vistula and the Oder, and so it comes about that his Baltic ends much further west than the true Baltic, and his Osti, located just east of his Oder-Vistula, can at one and the same time be east of the North Danes and south of Rügen and Bornholm (where lived his Winedas and Burgendan respectively). The Afdrede are the Obodriti, who held the region around the bay of Lübeck, including Wagrien, which actually is east of Schleswig.

From Alfred's words it is clear that he distinguished sharply between South Danes and North Danes. The former obviously held the Cimbric peninsula. The latter lived, in part, on the Scandinavian mainland; in part, on islands south of the Kattegat, i.e. on Selund, Laaland, Langaland, Falster etc. Since Alfred says that the North Danes lived in the 'maran landum' to the north and east of the South Danes, one is driven to assume that the North Danish state was thought by Alfred to include Skåne, Halland, the West Gautland coast and Ranríki. Cf. Adam of Bremen (*Descriptio Insularum Aquilonis*, cap. 14):

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At vero a parte aquilonari revertentibus ad ostium Baltici freti, primi occurrunt Nortmanni, deinde Sconia prominet, regio Danorum, et supra eam tenso limite Gothi habitant....

Adam's Sconia thus extended westward to the Gautelfr. Finally, Alfred evidently looked upon the inhabitants of Jutland as Danes, in the sense that they were members of a Danish 'folc' or state. He makes no special mention of Jutland, however (as he does of her sister peninsular provinces, Sillende and Ongle, likewise included in the South Danish kingdom), so we cannot be absolutely sure what name he would have applied to her, although we have no reason to suppose that he would have used a name inconsistent with the one he actually used in his translation of Bede. Cf. also the close association of Geats and South Danes in *Widsith*, l. 58.

Alfred follows his description of Germany with an account of three voyages undertaken by his retainer, Ohthere the Norseman. The third of these was a voyage from the Norwegian port Sciringes Heal (in Vestfold) to the Danish port 'æt Hæþum' (the modern town of Schleswig). Ohthere's account of this reads as follows (I quote from Sweet, p. 19):

Wiþ suðan þone Sciringes heal fylð swyðe mycel sæ [i.e. the Baltic, which for Ohthere included Skagerak and Kattegat] up in on ðæt lond; seo is bradre þonne ænig man ofer seon mæge. Ond is Gotland on oðre healfe ongean, ond siððan Sillende. Seo sæ lið mænig hund mila up in on þæt land. Ond of Sciringes heale he cwæð þæt he seglode on fif dagan to þæm porte þe mon hæt æt Hæþum; se stent betuh Winedum, ond Seaxum, ond Angle, ond hyrð in on Dene. Ða he þiderweard seglode fram Sciringes heale, þa wæs him on þæt bæcbord Denamearc, ond on þæt steorbord widsæ þry dagas; ond þa, twegen dagas ær he to Hæþum come, him wæs on þæt steorbord Gotland, ond Sillende, ond iglanda fela. On þæm landum eardodon Engle, ær hi hider on land coman. Ond hym wæs þa twegen dagas on þæt bæcbord þa igland þe in Denemearce hyrað.

We find here the same division of the Danes into two states that we found in Alfred's description of Germany. The North Danish kingdom is called Denmark. The South Danish kingdom is given no particular name; we do find out the districts which it included, however, viz. Gotland, Sillende (Ongle), and 'iglanda fela,' i.e. Fyn and the numerous small islands south of Fyn. Furthermore, we learn from Ohthere's account, and from that of Wulfstan which follows, that Denmark (i.e. the North Danish kingdom) included all the present Swedish coast from Norway to Blekinge, and the islands of Langaland, Laaland and Falster. Selund is not mentioned but of course was likewise a part of this kingdom. At Sciringes Heal, Ohthere was on the north coast of what he called the Baltic (really Skagerak). South of him, on the other side of the Skagerak, was Gotland; still further south, Sillende (in Schleswig). Upon his departure from Sciringes Heal, Ohthere skirted for three days

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what is now the west coast of Sweden. He then turned into the Great Belt, ran between Fyn and Langaland, and by the end of the fifth day reached the town of Schleswig. Ohthere (and Wulfstan) use 'Winedas' in a broad sense, roughly equivalent to the modern 'Slavs'; Alfred, in his description of Germany, uses the term in a restricted sense—he apparently confines it to the inhabitants of Rügen. The two uses are not mutually exclusive, of course. Cf. the modern English 'German,' 'Teuton,' etc.

It remains to note the thing most important of all for our present investigation. Ohthere calls Jutland by the name 'Gotland.' Here the *o* presumably stands for Scand. *au*, just as in 'Ostsae' and 'Osti' above. Cf. also the O.E. proper name 'Got,' which according to Björkman, *Zur englischen Namenkunde*, p. 38, represents the well-known Scand. name 'Gautr.' For other parallels see Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England* under 'Gouti,' 'Copman.' Ohthere therefore said 'Gautland' and the 'Gotland' of our text is simply the southern English reflexion of his pronunciation. Thus Alfred's consistency in his references to Jutland cannot be impeached. The term 'Gotland' as an English name for Jutland seems to have survived into the fourteenth century, if one accepts the reading of the best MSS. of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. In ll. 407–8 of the Prologue, Chaucer says (referring to the Shipman):

> He knew wel alle the havenes, as they were,
> From Gootlond to the cape of Finistere.

Skeat, in his note on the name, says: '*Gootland*, Gottland, an island in the Baltic Sea.' But this identification is hardly sound, since the English word has a long vowel. Furthermore, if we take 'Gootland' to mean 'Jutland' we get a much neater effect. Our line then means 'from cape to cape' much as 'from Hulle to Cartage' means 'from port to port.'

Ohthere's 'Gotland' = 'Jutland' (with long *o*) in any event is best kept apart from Wulfstan's 'Gotland' = 'Gottland' (with short *o*). But even if Ohthere's name for Jutland be considered to have a short *o*, it may yet perfectly well have reference to the Geats, who from time immemorial have been looked upon (doubtless with justice) as a branch of the Goths, and who accordingly have been called Goths, as well as Geats, from the earliest times to the present day. The earliest reference to the Geats is that of Ptolemy (*c.* 150 A.D.), who calls them 'Goutai' (where *ou* stands for a Germanic short *u*), obviously knowing them only under their generic name. The next authority in point of time is Jordanes (*c.* 530), and he gives them the name 'Gautigoth,' i.e. the Gautic or Geatic branch of the Goths. Both Adam of Bremen and

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Saxo call Gautland 'Gothia,' and the Gauts 'Gothi.' In England we find a similar practice. Thus, Alfred's contemporary and biographer Asser, in his *De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi*, says (§ 2; ed. Stevenson, p. 4):

mater Aelfredi...erat filia Oslac, famosi pincernae Aethelwulfi regis. Qui Oslac Gothus erat natione; ortus enim erat de Gothis et Jutis, de semine scilicet Stuf et Wihtgar, duorum fratrum et etiam comitum...Uectae insulae....

Here 'Gothus' is used in the sense 'man of Wight.' Stevenson, in his note on the passage, says (p. 166):

The author...probably intended to convey that the *Iuti* or *Iutae* were the same people as the Goths.

Asser is certainly parading his learning. Instead of saying that Oslac was from the Isle of Wight, he says that Oslac was a Goth. For the sake of clearness he adds that Oslac was sprung from the Goths=Jutes. But this too was far from clear and had to be elucidated in its turn. Asser seems to have made his equations in the following manner. It was more or less common knowledge that the Isle of Wight had been settled from Jutland. Now Jutland might be called (the land of) the Jutes, from its original inhabitants, or (the land of) the Gauts, from the Gautish settlers who later migrated thither. But the Gauts might be called either by their specific name (e.g. the 'Gautoi' of Procopius) or by their generic name (e.g. the 'Goutai' of Ptolemy, the 'Gothi' of Adam and Saxo). Asser chooses to use the generic name 'Gothi.' The reader will observe the consistently geographical use of these tribal names. Asser has no idea of indicating Jutish or Geatish descent for Oslac, who in fact was of West Saxon royal blood. He is merely saying in a roundabout pseudo-learned fashion that Oslac was a native of Wight. His principle seems to have been that since Wight was settled from Jutland any name applicable to Jutland could also be applied to Wight, and to natives of Wight.

Again, Henry of Huntingdon says (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 736):

immisit ergo Dominus omnipotens, velut examina apium, gentes crudelissimas, quae nec aetati nec sexui parcerent, scilicet Dacos cum Gothis, Norwagenses cum Suathedis, Wandalos cum Fresis; qui...terram hanc [i.e. Britanniam] desolaverunt.

From the passage it is not apparent whether the 'Gothi' in question were of Gautland or of Jutland, but in any case they were Gauts. Still more to the point is the well-known passage in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (ed. Hardy, p. 173 f., § 116):

Iste [Sceaf]...regnavit in oppido quod tunc Slaswic, nunc vero Haithebi appellatur. Est autem regio illa Anglia Vetus dicta, unde Angli venerunt in Britanniam, inter Saxones et Gothos constituta.

Here 'Gothi' must mean the Gauts of Jutland, or rather Jutland itself.

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Finally ought to be mentioned an interesting piece of genealogical material printed by Kemble in his *Beowulf*, preface, p. viii, according to which a certain Boerinus (? Beowinus) had the following sons: Cinrincius, Gothus, Iutus, Suethedus, Dacus, Wandalus, Gethus, Fresus, Geatus. A marginal note explains the list thus:

ab istis novem filiis Boerini descenderunt novem gentes septentrionalem inhabitantes, qui quondam regnum Britanniae invaserunt et obtinuerunt, Saxones, Angli, Iuti; Daci, Norwagenses, Gothi; Wandali, Geati et Frisii.

Here the punctuation is my own. If we apply Schütte's law to the original list, we find that Cynric, the ancestor of the (West) Saxons, occupies the place of honour, while Geat, who comes at the end, was of particular interest to the maker of the list. No further principle of arrangement is ascertainable. The glossator, however, makes a rearrangement in accordance with a very definite system. His first three names stand for the first invaders; his second group of three, for those invaders of the later or Viking period who lived north of the Baltic (i.e. the 'Ostsae' of Alfred, beginning with the Skagerak); his third group, for those invaders of the later period who lived south of the Baltic. Here, then, 'Gothi' is applied to the Gauts of Sweden, 'Geati' to the Gauts of Jutland. For the date of this material see Müllenhoff, in *H.Z.* VII, pp. 415 ff.

The Icelandic sources of information remain to be examined. The citations that have a bearing here have recently been tabulated and discussed in detail by von Friesen, in his *Rökstenen*, pp. 108 ff. 'Exkurs I—Om Folknamnet Hreidgotar.' In his masterly study von Friesen has shown that 'Hreiðgotar' properly means 'home-Goths,' i.e. those Goths who did not migrate but remained in the ancient seats of the tribe. He also shows that there were two Icelandic traditions as to the whereabouts of 'Reiðgotaland,' the land of the Hreiðgotar. According to the Skjöldungasaga tradition, Reiðgotaland was Jutland; according to the Hervararsaga tradition, it was the modern East Prussia. Von Friesen considers the latter tradition to be the older and better, although he grants that the Jutlandic location may well go back to the ninth century. (*op. cit.*, pp. 130 f.). In my *Literary History of Hamlet*, however (I, pp. 150 ff.), I have given reasons for believing that the *Hervararsaga* itself was in origin a Geatish tale, grown up out of Geatish royal tradition. If so, it follows that the land of the Geats was the original Reiðgotaland. Now Snorri, in his *Skáldskaparmál*, cap. 65, gives us an explanation of the name 'Reiðgotaland' which is of particular importance, inasmuch as it preserves what seems to be the oldest meaning of the name (in the Skjöldunga tradition). He says:

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Gotnar eru kallaðir af heiti konungs þess, er Goti er nefndr, er Gotland er við kent; hann var kallaðr af nafni Óðins ok dregit af Gauts nafni, því at Gautland eða Gotland var kallaðr af nafni Óðins, en Svíþjóð af nafni Sviðurs; þat er ok heiti Óðins. Í þann tíma var kallat alt meginland þat, er hann átti, Reiðgotaland, en eyjar allar Eygotaland; þat er nú kallat Danaveldi ok Svíaveldi.

In this chapter Snorri is explaining the origin of the various synonyms for 'men' that may be used in poetry. The passage just quoted was written in explanation of the *heiti* 'gotnar' = 'men.' Snorri tells us that this *heiti* was derived from the name of a certain king 'Goti,' who in turn got his name from 'Gautr,' the well-known *Óðinsheiti*. Snorri evidently felt, however, that his etymology would fail to convince, in view of the difficulty of the equation *au* = *o* (Snorri wrote in pre-*ablaut* days!). He therefore cites a parallel, in true scientific style, viz. 'Gautland' = 'Gotland.' His argument is as follows. 'Gautland' is obviously derived from 'Gautr.' But 'Gautland' and 'Gotland' are identical, as everyone knows. Therefore 'Gotland' too is derived from 'Gautr.' Therefore 'Goti' is derived from 'Gautr.' And he reinforces the argument by citing another parallel (of a different sort, it is true), another case in which a country had got its name from an *Óðinsheiti*. Here Snorri might have stopped. But he could not resist adding a piece of antiquarian information, to the effect that Goti's realm was divided into two parts, known as Reiðgotaland and Eygotaland respectively. As von Friesen almost perceived (*op. cit.*, p. 126 bottom), 'Reiðgotaland' here means simply 'Jutland plus Gautland.' Snorri concludes by pointing out that now the nomenclature was different (i.e. Eygotaland and Jutland were now combined under the name 'Danaveldi,' while Gautland had fallen into the hands of the Swedes).

In the original Skjöldunga tradition, then, 'Reiðgotaland,' it would seem, was the land of the Gauts, on both sides the Kattegat. How did the name get its limitation to Jutland? This can be explained readily enough on the assumption that a Gautish kingdom maintained itself in Jutland long after the Swedes had overrun East and West Gautland. The absorption of this kingdom into Denmark might likewise have its linguistic effects; by a species of metonymy the name 'Gotland' or 'Gotaland' might be used for the whole Danish realm. We are not surprised, then, to find Snorri saying (*Skáldskaparmál*, cap. 42):

Skjöldr...réð löndum, þar sem nú er kölluð Danmörk, en þá var kallat Gotland.

It was doubtless out of this usage that the curious name 'Eygotaland' developed. If all Denmark was Gotland or Gotaland, and if Jutland was Reiðgotaland, then, to round out the system of nomenclature, the islands might be dubbed Eygotaland. We can understand, too, why the broad

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term 'Gotland' was considered more appropriate for the realm as a whole, while the qualified term 'Reiðgotaland' continued to be applied to a part of the realm only.

But if the Skjöldunga tradition is the older, and if the *Hervararsaga* originally belonged to Geatland, how did the East Prussian localization ever come to take place? When the Goths migrated from Sweden to the Vistula toward the beginning of the present era, they presumably gave the stay-at-homes the name 'home Goths.' These, still divided into small tribes in the Jordanean account, were eventually consolidated under the Gauts, who thus became the 'home Goths' *par excellence.* The term 'Hreiðgotar' was doubtless poetic in origin and primarily poetic in use, as von Friesen has pointed out. It would naturally appear in poems celebrating the Gautish royal house, and thus become particularly associated with the kings who historically or traditionally were Gautish monarchs. But when the second great Gothic migration took place, viz. the migration from the Vistula to the Black Sea, the stay-at-homes on the Vistula in their turn would become entitled to the name 'home Goths' and the Baltic would become the 'Hreiðmarr,' the 'home-sea' (let the reader not forget that the Baltic in those days included Skagerak and Kattegat!). Thus the two localizations of Reiðgotaland in the Icelandic records are both, in all probability, historically accurate.

This is not the place to go into the history of the change of localization of the *Hervararsaga.* It may be pointed out, however, that in our oldest and best source, viz. *Widsith,* the story of Wulfhere and Wyrmhere, and their struggle with the Huns, has no connexion whatever with the story of Heiðrekr. The latter story doubtless originally belonged to the Jutish = Geatish Reiðgotaland, and goes back to the Geatish conquest of Jutland. The story of Wulfhere and Wyrmhere, on the other hand, arose in the East Prussian Reiðgotaland. The combination of the two tales was probably first made simply because the scene of each was laid in a Reiðgotaland which to the combiner was one country, not two countries. Note also that the 'Hauksbók' version of the *Hervararsaga* localizes Reiðgotaland in Jutland, although this localization may be secondary (cf. Andrews, in *Mod. Phil.* XXI, pp. 192 f.). I may also refer the reader to the discussion of the *Hervararsaga* in my *Literary History of Hamlet* (I, pp. 150 ff.), a discussion, however, which needs to be revised in the light of the conclusions presented in the present paper, and in my *Widsith and Hervararsaga* mentioned above.

The Hreiðgotar are also mentioned in the ninth century Rök inscription. The meaning of the passage in which the name occurs has

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long been a subject of learned debate. In my *King Aun and the Rök Inscription* (*Modern Language Notes*, XXXIX, pp. 223 ff.) I have tried to show that the runemaster thought of the Hreiðgotar as Geats. If so, he presumably located them in Jutland, since in his day a Geatish dynasty in all likelihood was either reigning there still or had not long ceased to reign there. For very different reasons von Friesen (*op. cit.*, p. 83) likewise concludes that the runemaster of Rök thought of the Hreiðgotar as living in Jutland.

The material here presented justifies us, I think, in concluding that Alfred's translation of the Bedan passage does him credit, warranted as it is by evidence from many independent sources. At the same time the long and occasionally acrimonious debate over the identity or non-identity of Jutes and Geats must be characterized as almost wholly futile. There is no good evidence that anybody identified the two tribes before the rise of modern scholarship.

KEMP MALONE.

BALTIMORE, MD., U.S.A.

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THE 'FIVE TYPES IN ANGLO-SAXON VERSE'[1].

ALL investigation of old Germanic rhythm is now necessarily based on Sievers' classical work. His famous scheme of the five types has on the whole stood the test of time, and has proved itself an efficient instrument of classification and analysis.

Nevertheless, there is perhaps no student to whom it has not at first sight appeared arbitrary and artificial. The object of the following paragraphs is to inquire whether it is not possible to state the facts of Germanic verse, at least as regards Old English, in a form which will be more helpful in suggesting the logical development of the scheme and the relationship of the various types.

The fundamental fact about Old English verse is that each half-line consists of two strongly stressed syllables (*viz.* arses) combined with a varying number of groups of one or more lighter syllables (these groups being known as theses). Starting with this fact, and considering for the moment only abstract possibilities, it will be seen that there are eight conceivable schemes for the half-line, which may be arranged as follows (writing ⏜ for arsis and ~ for thesis):

I			~⏜~⏜~			
II	(i)	⏜~⏜~	(ii)	~⏜~⏜	(iii)	~⏜⏜~
III	(i)	⏜~⏜	(ii)	⏜⏜~	(iii)	~⏜⏜
IV			⏜⏜			

We begin with I which represents the fullest possible scheme, with three theses. From this the four-fold schemes of II may be deduced by the suppression of the initial, final, or middle thesis respectively. The three-fold schemes of III arise by further syncopy; III (i) from II (i) or II (ii) by suppression of the final or initial thesis respectively, III (ii) from II (i) or II (iii), III (iii) from II (ii) or II (iii). Lastly, further

[1] A recent article in *Modern Philology* (XXI, 429), in which Mr James Routh of Oglethorpe University seeks a rational basis for Sievers' types, set me rummaging among old papers. I there found an essay on the same lines written in rare leisure moments seven years ago. I am not an Old English scholar and my knowledge of Germanic prosody and linguistic phenomena is about the least possible. At the time of writing I submitted my essay to W. P. Ker, and as from his very kind reply I concluded that it was without value, I laid it aside. I have now read it again, and it occurs to me that since others are apparently troubled by the same difficulties as I was, my attempt to solve them may after all not be wholly uninteresting. Since Ker saw no 'logical or mathematical objection' to my scheme, I hope that I may have avoided actual error; it is for readers with more knowledge than I can claim to say whether it has any but this negative virtue. It is here printed exactly as written in 1917.

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syncopation reduces all three varieties of III to the two-fold scheme of IV.

These schemes, however, are merely abstract formulae, not actual types, since $\sim$ is a variable which may have several different values. I may say at once that there is no reality corresponding to IV, since two syllables, heavy as they may be, are insufficient to form a half-line. The other schemes may have actual representatives, provided always that the theses are neither (in I and II) so heavy as to overweight the verse, nor (in III) so light as to leave it insufficient.

The theses consist of syllables lighter than those of the arses, but they are not necessarily all of the same value. We may distinguish, besides the heavily stressed syllables of the main accents, a middle-stress of secondary accents, and a light-stress of so-called unaccented syllables. Thus, indicating by $\backslash$ the secondary stress, and by $\times$ a group of one or more wholly light syllables, we may resolve our abstract schemes into actual types by replacing the variable $\sim$ by $\backslash$ or $\times$ or $\backslash\times$ or $\times/$. Theoretically a thesis might be of the form $\times\backslash\times$, but in practice this is not found, apparently because in such a position the stress would take rank as a primary and not as a secondary accent. Thus any thesis may either be light ($\times$) consisting of one or more unaccented syllables, or weighted; and, if weighted, may be either simple, consisting of one middle-stress ($\backslash$), or complex, consisting of a middle-stress either preceded or followed by one or more unaccented syllables ($\times\backslash$ or $\backslash\times$)[1].

We can now proceed to translate our abstract schemes into actual types. I use the letters ***α*** **a b c d e f** to represent the seven types of groups I, II, and III; writing ***α***, **a**, etc. for the light forms, ***α****, **a***, etc. for the simple weighted forms, and ***α***†, **a**†, etc. for the complex weighted forms[2].

The light types are:

I		***α***	$\times/\times/\times$			
II	**a** $/\times/\times$	**b**	$\times/\times/$	**c**	$\times//\times$	.
III	(**d** $/\times/$	**e**	$//\times$	**f**	$\times//$).	

It may be said at once that the types **d e f** are too light to constitute a half-line and do not occur in the unweighted form. The remainder are all well known.

[1] Strictly speaking, $\times$ is still a variable since the number of light syllables it represents is not determined. This, however, is not for the moment of importance. In particular cases $\times^1$, $\times^2$, $\times^3$ may be written.

[2] The reason for the choice of letters will be obvious. There is some advantage in the original notation II (i), II (ii), etc., since it groups the four-fold and three-fold schemes together: on the other hand it misleads by suggesting that there is some particular relation between, for instance, II (ii) and III (ii), which is not the case.

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We will now consider the weighted types, and first the weighted type of I, corresponding to the light type **a**. It is to be observed that the five-fold scheme is already the fullest possible and easily becomes over-weighted. Even the light type **a** is not common, and though weighted forms appear to be not unknown, it is to be expected that they should be exceptional. In particular weighting of the initial thesis is altogether avoided. This, however, appears to be for a particular reason. None of the combinations ⏑ ⏓, × ⏑ ⏓, ⏑ × ⏓, would seem to be common as initial forms in Germanic languages, while the generally marked trochaic or dactylic tendency of the verse is against their adoption. In any case such verse openings are entirely unknown except in one particular variety of Icelandic verse which admits ⏑ × ⏓. Thus, weighting of the initial thesis being excluded, it follows that the possible varieties of **a*** and **a**† are exactly parallel to those of **a*** and **a**†, and need not be separately elaborated.

We may proceed to elaborate the simple weighted types of group II, namely **a***, **b***, **c***. I use the letters a and b to indicate that the weighting occurs in the first or second thesis respectively. Thus we have:

a*a ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ ×	[**b***a ⏑ ⏓ × ⏓]	[**c***a ⏑ ⏓ ⏓ ×]
a*b ⏓ × ⏓ ⏑	**b***b × ⏓ ⏑ ⏓	**c***b × ⏓ ⏓ ⏑
a*ab ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ ⏑	[**b***ab ⏑ ⏓ ⏑ ⏓]	[**c***ab ⏑ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑].

I have bracketed the types beginning with the objectionable ⏑ ⏓. These and their complex counterparts need not further concern us.

The complex types corresponding to **a***a and **a***b (writing ,a or ,b for ⏑ ×, and a′ or b′ for × ⏑) are:

a†,a ⏓ ⏑ × ⏓ ×	**a**†,b ⏓ × ⏓ ⏑ ×
a†a′ ⏓ × ⏑ ⏓ ×	**a**†b′ ⏓ × ⏓ × ⏑.

It is evident that corresponding to **a***ab no less than eight complex varieties may be constructed, but since these are all over-weighted, and consequently non-existent, it is unnecessary to fill space with them. Corresponding to the two remaining simple weighted forms (**b***b, **c***b) we have the complex types:

b†,b × ⏓ ⏑ × ⏓	**c**†,b × ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ ×
b†b′ × ⏓ × ⏑ ⏓	**c**†b′ × ⏓ ⏓ × ⏑.

We now pass to the weighted varieties of the three-fold types of group III. We have seen that the unweighted varieties **d**, **e**, **f**, are too light for actual use, and the same applies to the simple weighted forms:

(**d***a ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ **e***b ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ [**f***a ⏑ ⏓ ⏓])

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while **f*a** also has the objectionable ⏑ ⏑ opening. But the complex weighted forms corresponding to **d** and **e** are well recognized:

d$^{\dagger}_{,}$**a** ⏑ ⏑ × ⏑ — **e**$^{\dagger}_{,}$b ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ×
d†**a**′ ⏑ × ⏑ ⏑ — **e**†b′ ⏑ ⏑ × ⏑.

The existing types may be arranged in the following table:

	Light	Simple Weighted	Complex Weighted
I	***α*** × ⏑ × ⏑ × [aA1]		
II	**a** ⏑ × ⏑ × [A1]	**a*a** ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ × [A2a]	**a**$^{\dagger}_{,}$**a** ⏑ ⏑ × ⏑ × [A*1, E*1]
			a†**a**′ ⏑ × ⏑ ⏑ × [A*2, E*2]
		a*b ⏑ × ⏑ ⏑ [A2b]	**a**$^{\dagger}_{,}$b ⏑ × ⏑ ⏑ × [D*1]
			a†b′ ⏑ × ⏑ × ⏑ [D*4]
		a*ab ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ [A2ab]	
	b × ⏑ × ⏑ [B]	**b*b** × ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	**b**$^{\dagger}_{,}$b × ⏑ ⏑ × ⏑ [aE1]
			b†b′ × ⏑ × ⏑ ⏑ [aE2]
	c × ⏑ ⏑ × [C1]	**c*b** × ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ [C1n]	**c**$^{\dagger}_{,}$b × ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ × [aD1]
			c†b′ × ⏑ ⏑ × ⏑ [aD4]
III	[**d**]		**d**$^{\dagger}_{,}$b ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ × [D1]
			d†b′ ⏑ ⏑ × ⏑ [D4]
	[**e**]		**e**$^{\dagger}_{,}$a ⏑ ⏑ × ⏑ [E1]
			e†a′ ⏑ × ⏑ ⏑ [E2]

After each type I have added the formula according to Sievers' notation. Type ***α*** he refuses to recognize, treating it (as well as the possible ***α****, ***α***†) as instances of **a** (**a***, **a**†) with anacrusis. As regards **a**$^{\dagger}_{,}$**a** and **a**†**a**′ he altered his mind, first treating them as E*1, E*2, subsequently as A*1, A*2 respectively. Type **b***b is again unrecorded by Sievers and I suppose is not found[1]. It should, however, be observed that such a half-line as ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, which seems quite possible and which Sievers would class as E1 with shortening of secondary stress and anacrusis, would, according to the above scheme, be regarded as **b***b with resolution of secondary stress.

Our table includes all the types recognized by Sievers except for a rather arbitrary selection of variants due to shortening or resolution of arsis, or position of alliteration, which he raises to the dignity of separate types. The reasons for this are, of course, purely practical, and have no interest in theory. Notation may easily be adapted to cover such, and other, variants. I would suggest the addition of the signs (A1) and (A2) to indicate that alliteration is found only in the first or second arsis

[1] [It certainly *does* occur. Compare 'wes þū Hrōðgār hāl' with 'Wēlandes geweorc'. Is there any reason for assuming a 'nebenton' in Weland rather than in Hroðgar?]

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respectively: (R1) and (R2) to indicate that resolution occurs in the first or second arsis, (Ra) and (Rb) that it occurs in the first or second thesis (secondary stress) respectively: (s2), (sa) and (sb) that shortening similarly occurs (s1 is, of course, impossible). In the same way the number of syllables in any thesis can be shown by adding (a^1), (a^2), (a^3) ...(b^1), (b^2), (b^3)... to the type-formula.

Thus while **a***a is Sievers' A2al, his A2ak would be represented by **a***a(s2), *viz.* ⏜ ⏝ ◡ ×. A3 would be **a** (A2), A3b would be **a***b (A2), in either case alliteration being confined to the second arsis. B1 would be represented by **b** (b^1), B2 by **b** (b^2), B3 by **b** (A2). Sievers' C2 is **c** (R1), × ◡ $\times^1$ ⏜ × (note that × ◡ × ⏜ ×, as Sievers writes it, might be × ◡ ◡ ◡ ⏜ ×, *i.e.* ***α***(R1)), his C3 is **c**(s2), × ⏜ ◡ ×, his D2 is **d**$^{\dagger}_{,}$b (sb), ⏜ ⏜ ◡ ×, his D3 is **d**$^{\dagger}_{,}$b (s2), ⏜ ◡ ⏝ ×, his D*2 is **a**$^{\dagger}_{,}$b (sb). The rare types of the Icelandic Málaháttr, B* ⏝ × ⏜ × ⏜, C*1 ⏝ × ⏜ ⏜ ×, C*2 ⏝ × ◡ × ⏜ ×, C*3 ⏝ × ⏜ ◡ ×, would, of course, be **b**$^{\dagger}_{,}$a, **c**$^{\dagger}_{,}$a, **c**$^{\dagger}_{,}$a (R1), and **c**$^{\dagger}_{,}$a (s2), had these not been previously excluded from our table.

Thus it will be seen that the system elaborated above represents exactly the same facts as does Sievers'. The only difference that I claim is that my arrangement proceeds logically from a consideration of the abstract possibilities, and so explains itself, and that the notation indicates the natural relation of the resultant types, whereas Sievers' is largely arbitrary. In particular, objection may be taken to Sievers' inclusion of D and E along with A, B, and C as 'ground types', thus suggesting that they are in some way more fundamental than the 'expanded' types A*, etc., with which they are really analogous. This misleading classification arises from the insistance on 'gliederung', a legacy apparently from the old 'zweitakt' *versus* 'viertakt' controversy. Irrelevant too is the introduction of the conception of 'feet'. It makes no conceivable difference whether you write E1 as ⏜ ⏝ × | ⏜ with Sievers or ⏜ | ⏝ × ⏜ with Ker.

The conventional nature of Sievers' classification becomes especially apparent in the case of the 'unterarten', where it is frankly arbitrary. Thus the resolution of arsis is allowed to make a special variety of C (*viz.* C2) but not of B or E1, shortening of arsis of C (*viz.* C3) but not of E1, number of light syllables in thesis of B but not of A, position of alliteration of A and B (*viz.* A3 and B3) but not elsewhere. This is perhaps justifiable in practice, since the importance of types depends in part upon their frequency, but it does not help systematic exposition.

The great and abiding value of Sievers' work is that it is based on statistical examination and reduces the actually occurring combinations

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to a limited number of recognizable types. What I have attempted to show is that these types are not simply given, or to be deduced from some hypothetical Indo-Germanic source, but that they represent the abstractly possible mutations of a two-stressed group, with the exclusion of such forms as we may reasonably suppose were unsuited to Old English verse.

W. W. GREG.

LONDON.

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THE TEXT OF SPENSER'S 'COMPLAINTS.'

THE textual history of Spenser's *Complaints*, though, apparently, of little complication, offers many points of literary and historical interest. The Folio edition of 1611 at first sight appears to show little divergence from the Quarto of 1591, except for certain specific changes in *The Ruines of Time* and for the exclusion of *Mother Hubberds Tale*. The Quarto text is fairly accurate and leads us to believe that Spenser had, at any rate, some part in preparing the volume; the implication of Ponsonbie, the publisher, that he himself was entirely responsible for the collection and editing of the poems cannot, therefore, be accepted without question, though Spenser may not have handed over to him the collection in its present form.

The smaller divergencies between the Quarto (Q) and the Folio (F), though of a familiar type, call for some consideration before we can secure a really reliable text, for F cannot be dismissed simply as the work of later editors anxious to modernize the text. Seeing that a number of manuscript copies of the poems were in existence after the publication of Q, it is not impossible that the editors of F had a more reliable text before them and that their revisions have some authority. Granting that they occasionally went too far in the process of revision, it may yet be questioned whether the text of the Oxford Spenser has not suffered from its close adherence to Q in preference to F. In order to determine the respective values of the two editions, it will be necessary to examine the Folio revisions in (*a*) punctuation, (*b*) spelling, and (*c*) diction.

(*a*) *Punctuation.*

Several of the changes in punctuation were doubtless the work of an editor correcting the faults in his original. In a few cases his revisions were quite unsatisfactory, or at least no better than the original readings[1]. These, however, are insignificant beside the large number of corrections made in F to the great advantage of sense and rhythm. Of the ninety-four changes in punctuation made by the editor of F, fifty-four are adopted in the Oxford Spenser. Further examination,

[1] *Ruines of Time* (*R. T.*), 44; *The Teares of the Muses* (*T. M.*), 492, 516; *Ruines of Rome* (*R. R.*), 77. In a few cases, such as *R. T.* 316, 323, the punctuation of F is needlessly adopted in the Oxford edition.

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however, suggests that about thirty more[1] may be adopted with advantage, leaving only about ten cases[2] where F is in no way superior to Q. The changes in punctuation here suggested necessarily vary in importance, though some of them—such as the correction of misplaced apostrophes and the insertion of marks for parenthesis—appear to be absolutely essential. In a text which adopts the punctuation of F in fifty-four cases, it is surely impossible to defend such readings as the following:

> And eke his skinne the terror of the wood, (F skinne,)
> *Mother Hubberds Tale*, 969,

and

> To register, and sound in trumps of gold; (F gold,)
> *The Teares of the Muses*, 98.

(*b*) *Orthography.*

The spelling changes in F include the modernization of archaic forms, as well as the correction of errors, and though none of these changes are altogether negligible, the editors appear to have carried the process of modernization too far. On the other hand, the correction of several errors furnishes additional evidence for the superiority of F. Mr de Selincourt adopts fourteen of these in the Oxford edition, but we see good reason for adopting at least ten more[3]. The forms 'Paradize' and 'devize' (*R. T.* 519, 521) are unusual, and there is little to recommend spellings such as 'yeolow' (*R. T.* 10), 'warlick' (*R. T.* 386), etc.; '*Phrigian*' (*Virgils Gnat*, 591), 'stal'd' and 'cal'd' (*M. H. T.* 1245, 1246) must surely be slips. The insertion of apostrophes and syllabic marks to smooth the metre need not generally be accepted as the work of the author, but in the interests of rhythm we are almost compelled to adopt the reading of F for *M. H. T.* 87,

> And so to wander to the worldes end,

as against the reading of Q,

> And so to wander to the worlds end.

(*c*) *Verbal changes.*

Lastly there are the verbal changes, which call for greater attention. Apart from the drastic alterations to *R. T.* 447–454, there are in F forty-three verbal changes of which Mr de Selincourt accepts thirteen,

[1] *R. T.* 2, 32, 267, 315, 454, 516, 631, 639, 640, 666; *T. M.* 65, 98, 165, 506; *Mother Hubberds Tale* (*M. H. T.*), 169, 261, 563, 564, 877, 969, 1165, 1180, 1303, 1377; *R. R.* 362; *Muiopotmos* (*M.*), 126; *Visions of Bellay* (*V. B.*), 135, 182.

[2] *R. T.* 33, 44, 291, 316, 323, 676; *T. M.* 492, 516; *R. R.* 32, 77.

[3] *R. T.* 10, 386, 519, 521; *Virgils Gnat* (*V. G.*), 511, 591; *M. H. T.* 87, 1245, 1246; *M.* 34. On the other hand, there is no reason to accept the readings of F for *R. T.* 499, 541, 664; *V. G.* 343, 417; *M. H. T.* 169, 264, 553, 984; *R. R.* 76; *M.* 254, 335, and *Visions of Petrarch*, 95.

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including two corrections to headings, outside the body of the text. Here again further consideration may incline us to accept other corrections of F, by which the text is improved. Q's reading for *R. T.* 361 :

But as things wipt out with a sponge to perishe

makes awkward syntax, which is obviated by substituting 'do' for 'to' (as in F). In line 571 of the same poem, F's reading :

Was but of earth and with her weightinesse

by two slight changes adds both rhythm and sense to the questionable text of Q :

Was but earth and with her owne weightnesse.

The same applies to *M. H. T.* 185, where the reading,

Wildly to wander thus in the worlds eye,

if not entirely satisfactory, is at least superior to that of Q. The inversions introduced by F in *R. R.* 48 and *V. B.* 38 save the metre of the lines, and may be accepted in view of the general inferiority of Q. The confusion of Tethys (Q) and Thetis (F) in *R. R.* 270 is an excusable error, but Spenser's original had Thetis, which should be sufficient to decide the point.

The general superiority of F inclines us to accept its readings in more doubtful cases, where Q, though inferior, is not unacceptable. Accordingly we would adopt the readings 'one' (*R. T.* 1), 'on seates' (*M. H. T.* 25), 'ere long' (*M. H. T.* 501), 'living' (*T. M.* 600), the Quarto readings of the last two being practically meaningless. There remain nineteen cases (apart from the special passage in *R. T.* already referred to) in which the verbal alterations of F may be rejected[1]. Some of them weaken or destroy the sense[2], some are unnecessary attempts to regularize the metre[3], whilst one (*M. H. T.* 629) was clearly an adaptation to suit the reigning monarch. It is interesting to notice that of these nineteen discrepancies, where F is more or less unsatisfactory, six occur in *Muiopotmos*, a poem of only 440 lines, the Quarto text of which contains no positive errors. In other words, the Quarto text of *Muiopotmos* is superior to that of the other poems, a fact which may be connected with the separate date (1594) on the title-page, and which suggests that the proofs were either corrected by Spenser himself or at any rate treated with greater care than those of the other poems. Mr de Selincourt draws attention to the comparatively large number of passages in

[1] *R. T.* 333, 401, 647; *T. M.* 401; *V. G.* 340, 609; *M. H. T.* 629, 650, 913, 1190; *R. R.* 111 (where the reading of Q corresponds to the original French), 149; *M.* 149, 250, 354, 392, 419, 420, and *V. B.* 163.

[2] *V. G.* 609, *M. H. T.* 650, etc.

[3] *R. T.* 647, *M. H. T.* 913, etc.

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which different Quarto copies of *Muiopotmos* contain different readings; whether this also can be connected with the separate date is doubtful, but in any case the discrepancies cannot be ignored, as they were before the publication of the Oxford Spenser, with its valuable collation. Two instances from *Muiopotmos* will suffice to show how earlier editors were misled by consistently following the readings of the Huth Quarto, to the exclusion of other copies. Line 250 runs thus:

In this fair spot dispacing to and fro.

The Folio, following the erroneous reading of the Huth Quarto, prints 'displacing,' which is quoted as the reading of the original edition by both Todd and Morris, who, however, accept Hughes' 'emendation,' 'dispacing.' But the 'emendation' turns out to be nothing more than the original reading of the more correct copies of the Quarto. A second instance occurs in line 354 of the same poem:

Enfestred grudge, the which his mother felt.

Here the Huth Quarto and the Folio print 'enfested,' which Collier 'emended' into 'enfestred,' the actual word used in other copies of the Quarto.

We have now to consider the problem attached to *The Ruines of Time*, which is substantially altered, and to *Mother Hubberds Tale*, which disappears in the first Folio. The changes in *The Ruines of Time* (ll. 447–455) are merely the substitution of a general reference for the personal attack, which Spenser obviously aimed at Burleigh. Precisely the same charges are levelled against the Lord Treasurer in *Mother Hubberds Tale*:

1. 'Learning lies unrewarded'; cf. *M. H. T.* 1191.
2. 'Men of armes do wander unrewarded'; cf. *M. H. T.* 1184 ff.
3. He lets 'none shoot up'; cf. *M. H. T.* 1193 ff.
4. He 'scorns the Muse'; cf. *M. H. T.* 815 ff.

Inevitably, therefore, the offending passages in *The Ruines of Time* were associated with the more direct satire running throughout *Mother Hubberds Tale*, so that there is good reason for placing the two texts together and for drawing similar conclusions as to the history of each.

The history of the *Complaints* between 1591 and 1611 is obscure, but it is quite certain that at any rate part of the collection was suppressed by authority, on account of the objectionable passages in *The Ruines of Time* and *Mother Hubberds Tale*. There are several allusions to the storm that resulted from the publication[1], but the most definite

[1] See Gabriel Harvey, *Works* (Grosart) I, p. 164; Nashe, *Works* (R. B. McKerrow) I, pp. 281, 321.

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statement on the matter is that of Weever, who writes thus in his *Epigram* on Spenser:

> Then his *Time-ruines* did our ruine show,
> Which by his ruine we vntimely know:
> *Spencer* therfore thy *Ruines* were cal'd in,
> Too soone to sorrow least we should begin[1].

This statement is open to more than one interpretation.

1. 'Ruines' may refer to the whole collection, which opens with *The Ruines of Time* and includes *Ruines of Rome.*

2. Weever may have meant what he said, but in this case his statement must refer not only to *The Ruines of Time* but to *Mother Hubberds Tale*, which was certainly 'called in,' as we know from Middleton's preface to *Father Hubberds Tales* (1604).

3. The statement need not be implicitly believed. Weever may have imagined that *The Ruines of Time* was suppressed with *Mother Hubberds Tale*, and have mentioned *The Ruines of Time* as an allusion best fitted to the context.

Probably the whole collection was called in, for no expurgated quarto has ever come to light, while the existence of several manuscript copies of the Quarto suggests that the printed edition quickly ran out and that the poems were difficult to obtain. This would also account for the fact that no one attempted to issue a fresh edition until the complete collection of Spenser's works, in spite of the 'New Poet's' fame and the popularity of these provocative works. This point being settled, it is much easier to deal with the alterations in the Folio, which admit of three explanations. Either

(1) Spenser revised passages in *The Ruines of Time* and cut out *Mother Hubberds Tale* in a subsequent edition or manuscript, now lost, or

(2) another hand altered and omitted, in deference to Burleigh and before his death (1598), or

(3) another hand—presumably that of the Folio editor—made the necessary changes, in deference to Sir Robert Cecil, in 1611.

Grosart indignantly denied the existence of 'an atom of sanction for these miserable improvements,' but the matter cannot be thus summarily dismissed on sentimental grounds. Mr de Selincourt, taking the opposite view, finds it 'difficult to believe' that the Folio editor acted without authority, and 'hardly likely that in 1611...the influence of Sir Robert Cecil was responsible for the change.' There is, indeed, good

[1] John Weever, *Epigrammes* (R. B. McKerrow), p. 101.

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reason to hesitate before dating the changes so late as 1611, when Spenser had long been dead and the whole trouble almost forgotten. Nevertheless the weight of evidence favours this conclusion, for it is hardly likely that Spenser himself would have gone to the extreme length of tampering with his own work, in recantation of his former view. At the close of *The Faerie Queene*, VI, the poet appears to deny that he had attacked Burleigh, but a denial of this sort does not amount to the same thing as a revision of earlier works. Moreover, *The Faerie Queene*, in virtue of its national character, was to some extent a fresh bid for patronage, and in these circumstances the less said of the *Complaints* the better. By issuing or even contemplating a second edition of the poems with certain obvious revisions, Spenser would have made a distinct tactical error and possibly have done himself the very injury for which Nashe reproaches Gabriel Harvey by raking up old grievances and rekindling against himself 'the sparks of displeasure that were quenched.' For why should Spenser or any of his contemporaries trouble to revise work which had almost certainly been called in soon after publication? Five years after the first issue, it was necessary to copy out the complete Quarto in manuscript, which suggests that copies must have been very scarce; moreover, until the publication of the Folio, there is neither evidence for revision nor definite allusion to any of the poems, apart from *The Ruines of Time* and *Mother Hubberds Tale*.

The two assumptions, therefore, that the whole volume was suppressed and that the alterations were first made for the Folio edition, appear to stand or fall together, but both are strongly supported by the available evidence. The editors of the Folio, anxious to obtain the complete works of Spenser, would naturally have to obtain special permission to re-issue poems previously suppressed. Seeing that the trouble had long blown over, there would be no serious obstacle to this, except in the case of one satire and certain passages in another poem, which had originally been aimed at the father of the present Secretary of State. The authorities met the difficulty in the simplest way—by ordering the omission of the famous satire and the revision of the objectionable passages. But the objection, no longer public, was now merely personal, and was altogether removed with the death of Cecil in the following year. The editors, therefore, at once seized their opportunity of reprinting *Mother Hubberds Tale*, and included it in subsequent editions of the Folio. The title-page of this poem, therefore, is dated 1612 in some copies of the Folio, though the poem is still excluded

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from some issues even as late as 1617. Probably the poem was printed separately and then bound up with the rest of the *Complaints*, for some separate copies of it exist, most of which bear the date 1613, and even when it is inserted in its right place among the rest of the *Complaints*, it frequently has new signatures—a proof of separate make-up. The textual revisions in *The Ruines of Time* were of far less consequence, and remained in all editions until that of Hughes, who, in 1715, restored the Quarto readings.

BERNARD E. C. DAVIS
LONDON.

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'MEMOIRS OF A GENTLEWOMAN OF THE OLD SCHOOL.'

Mrs Ann McTaggart, who published her *Memoirs* in 1830 at the age of 76, could hardly lay claim to be included among Browning's 'Persons of Importance in their Day,' but she was, as she modestly affirms in her preface, 'not unknown to the public.' Her comedy, *The Search after Perfection*, was read and criticised by Coleridge, who wrote his comments on the blank pages of her manuscript. Several of her plays were included by Galt, the author of *Annals of a Parish*, in a monthly periodical called *The Rejected Theatre*, which was re-published in four volumes under the title of *The New British Theatre* in 1814 and 1815. This collection was not compiled, as its title might suggest, in the flippant mood of *Rejected Addresses*. It brought together a number of plays, which had been declined by the managers of Covent Garden, and Drury Lane, and was intended as a protest against the monopoly exercised by the two London theatres. Galt hoped to convince the public, by this imposing array of evidence, that the dramas rejected were frequently superior to those which were staged. Kemble, it seems, had been guilty of neglecting to return the copy of Mrs McTaggart's plays submitted to him. Although a perusal of her serious dramas, *Hortensia, Theodora, Valville, Villario* and *Constantia*, does not arouse an implacable indignation against the careless actor-manager, there is certainly justice in Galt's claim that she shows a greater freedom from exaggeration than many luckier playwrights. When we think of the English stage in the latter part of the eighteenth century, we are apt to recall at first only the triumphs of Goldsmith and Sheridan and to forget the vogue of the sentimental comedies of Richard Cumberland, the imitations of Kotzebue, and 'Monk' Lewis's hair-raising melodrama, *The Castle Spectre*. Mrs McTaggart herself did not regard her dramatic work too seriously. She considered her plays the experiments of an amateur, and indeed shrank from being regarded as one of the Literary Ladies of the day.

In her comedy, *A School for Mothers or the Search after Perfection*, she satirises those whose zeal for educational reform has outrun discretion, and, under the guise of the despised maiden-aunt, Mrs Rational, makes a plea for moderation and common sense. Mrs McTaggart lived

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in an age which was keenly interested in the theory of education. Locke and Rousseau were studied assiduously. The estimable patriarch, Mr Edgeworth, experimented on his numerous family in Ireland. The author of *Sandford and Merton*, Thomas Day, who always seems more like a fictitious character than a real one, supervised the training of two specially selected orphans in the hope that one might be worthy ultimately to become his wife. The stories of this engaging egoist related in Mr Edgeworth's memoirs and in Miss Seward's *Life and Letters of Erasmus Darwin* may well have suggested one or two strokes of satire in Mrs McTaggart's portrait of Mr Moonbeam. She knew Hannah More and respected her because she had some practical experience in teaching, but she hints that many of the reformers evolved their knowledge of children out of their inner consciousness. Even Erasmus Darwin, not indeed without some apology, unbent his mind, after *The Loves of the Plants*, over the subject of female education in boarding-schools. Mrs McTaggart was dismayed by the rapid spread of Rousseau's dangerous doctrines. She displays in Mrs Bustle a woman who prides herself on her sensibility and is yet devoid of ordinary human kindness. Mrs Rational reserves her compassionate feelings for her fellow-creatures and has been known, to her sister's horror, to kill three or four innocent wasps and as many earwigs in a morning. Canning, in *The Anti-Jacobin*, notices the same false scale of values, when he deplores how the fair votaries of sensibility,

> Sweet sensibility, who dwells enshrined
> In the fine foldings of the feeling mind

shed their tears:

> For the crushed beetle first,—the widow'd dove
> And all the warbled sorrows of the grove;—
> Next for poor, suffering guilt, and last of all
> For parents, friends, and king and country's fall.

The Search after Perfection is a comedy of 'humours,' which still has salt and savour. Mrs Bustle's darlings, Julius Caesar and Serena, who are intended to develop into a second Émile and Sophie, are obstreperously and violently alive. Another spirited caricature is that of Mrs Tryal, who, having employed eleven governesses and seven tutors in the past six months has recently dismissed Miss Cauliflower, the greengrocer's daughter from broad St Giles, because she is guilty of the vulgar error of asking for *weal* cutlets of which she is *wastly* fond. The unhappy plight of little Miss Louisa Exact, in whose nursery the song of the Jolly Miller was strictly forbidden because it inculcated selfishness, reminds us of Maria Edgeworth's condemnation of fairy-tales and the

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austere moral code exemplified in *Rosamund and The Purple Jar*. The elbow-nets, the shoulder-weights, the stocks and pillory, instruments of torture devised to induce an erect and graceful carriage, are relics of the Spartan School, which developed as a reaction from the freedom and license of Rousseau's system of education.

The shrewd wit and cool judgment, expressed in the comments of Mr Caustic and Mrs Rational in *The Search after Perfection*, reappear in *Memoirs of a Gentlewoman of the Old School*, in which Mrs McTaggart describes the forty-seven years of her unmarried life as Ann Hamilton, ending in 1800. The personality revealed in her memoirs is that of an unaffected, dignified woman with a zest for life, keen powers of observation and a sense of humour. Her style has the merit of being natural and unpretentious. She makes no attempt to cull those flowers of speech which so lavishly adorned the letters of her contemporary, Miss Seward, the Swan of Lichfield, who praised the worst efforts of the worst poets with all the fervour of sensibility and found *The Ancient Mariner* the 'greatest quiz of a composition' she ever met with. She tells the story of her life with few of the elegantly edifying reflections and sentiments so popular with the bluestockings of the day. Her manner is garrulous and discursive. She frequently interrupts her narrative with some agreeable, but not always relevant, anecdote, and passes from one period of her life to another with a bewildering disregard of arrangement. She was writing chiefly to entertain the twelve great-grandchildren of her uncle with a contrast between the days of her youth and their own, and her memoirs throw many sidelights on the life of an unmarried woman moving, as she tells us, in the society of the gentry, and but rarely of the nobility, during the second half of the eighteenth century. A Scotswoman by birth, though her life was spent in England, she is proud of a certain aunt Isabella, who resorted to desperate measures to prevent her husband from joining the Pretender on his arrival in Scotland. Despite her entreaties, her husband was resolute. His horses were at the door and he was eating his breakfast preparatory to departure when his wife, as if by accident, threw upon him a kettleful of boiling water so that he was kept at home by his scalds. He ultimately escaped his wife's vigilance on the eve of Culloden, and was killed in battle the next day. The intrepid woman drove to the battlefield in a small cart, accompanied by two servants, found her husband's body, took it home and thereby preserved his property to the children. If Scott had known of her, this woman of mettle might well have found a place in one of the Waverley novels.

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Miss Hamilton's father was in the Navy, in command of a frigate in the West Indies. Her mother was delicate, and for the sake of her health, removed with her family to the Hotwells at Bristol, when Ann was eight years old. Her account of her school-days gives us a glimpse of girls' education in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The reading books of the three classes were a strangely ill-assorted trio, Æsop's *Fables*, *The Travels of Cyrus*, and Pliny's *Epistles*, but she also read many of the *Spectator* papers and extracts from Milton which made her long to read *Paradise Lost*. At the age of twelve she had 'a competent knowledge of Geography,' had acquired enough of Arithmetic for the practical purposes of life, and could read, work and dance. On the completion of her twelfth year, a new era opened in her life. She changed her bread-and-milk breakfast for tea and bread-and-butter, and turned her hair up over a roll in the prevailing fashion. When the uncle who adopted her offered her masters for music and drawing, she declined them with dignity, asserting that she was too old.

One of her chief occupations as a young girl was reading aloud to her aunt, who was an invalid. In this way she read the history of her native land 'in Mr Hume's elegant language,' the works of all the best poets and all the celebrated dramatic authors, beginning with Shakespeare and ending with translations of Terence and of Molière, many volumes of sermons and such novels as she could procure. She was an ardent admirer of Richardson, who, she declares, fortified her mind against the dangerous eloquence of Rousseau. She refers also to three of Defoe's works, *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Journal of the Plague Year*, and *The Memoirs of a Cavalier*, and to Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker*, which must have had a peculiar attraction for one so familiar as Miss Hamilton with the gaiety of the Hotwells and of Bath. She remarks that novels were comparatively few in her girlhood and she does not seem to have been contaminated, like Lydia Languish, by that 'evergreen tree of diabolical knowledge, the circulating Library.'

After the death of her aunt, she became at seventeen her uncle's housekeeper and lived in Exeter, at the time when England was, as she remarks, engaged in a fruitless endeavour to recover her American colonies. She frankly confesses that the political situation only concerned her, in so far as it brought two regiments to Exeter, whose officers became her partners at innumerable balls. Her life at Exeter seems to have been free and untrammelled, and she was shielded chiefly by her good sense and firm principles. There were no chaperons, but she adds, 'Where many are gathered together we are chaperons to one

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another.' Probably the code of etiquette in military circles was less rigid than that observed in the cathedral close. She contrasts the indefatigable energy of the seventeen-seventies with the lassitude of the eighteen-twenties. Quadrilles seemed to her languid performances when compared with the minuets of her youth, and she could never bring herself to approve of the waltz which was coming into fashion in her old age. She describes how she often saw the people selling chickens in Exeter market, as she was carried home in her chair after a ball.

> From twenty to thirty couple danced all night, that is, from seven till four or five next morning, without anything to sustain them, but tea, bread and butter, biscuits and negus; then such a spirit of constancy existed, we could dance with one partner a whole evening; there was no sickly love of change, requiring many partners, or weakness of constitution demanding strong drink and savoury viands; —this is one of the differences, my dear young readers, between my early days and yours.

As she did not wish to be thought too fond of dissipation, Miss Hamilton made a point of absenting herself from the first and last ball of the season to show that she was 'neither eager to begin nor unwilling to desist from the pursuit of gaiety.' She was somewhat vain of her skill in dancing, but excuses herself on the authority of Dr Johnson's dictum that what is worth doing at all should be done well. Another of her pleasures was listening to music, although she was not a performer. She was privileged, 'because she could hold her tongue and snuff the candle,' to be present while some of the pupils of William Jackson, the musical composer and organist of the cathedral, sang Handel's music to the accompaniment of the harpsichord. The pianoforte had already 'come to light and sound' but not in its full perfection. She was also a member of an informal literary circle, which met to read poetry together and included among its number Dr Hugh Downman, the Exeter poet, and the afterwards famous Vicary Gibbs. The members of this society, it is interesting to note, were early admirers of Wordsworth after the publication of *The Lyrical Ballads*[1]. On receiving some anonymous verses from an Eton school-boy, whom she afterwards discovered to be Hugh Downman, she called in the aid of Vicary Gibbs to concoct a reply. Her admirer had hailed her as the Clarissa of her age. Miss Hamilton preferred to be compared to Clarissa's lively correspondent, Anna Howe, whom, indeed, she more closely resembled if we may judge by the sallies of wit in her memoirs. This is her sprightly reply:

> I, a Clarissa! what an error!
> No! Anna Howe is just my mirror;
> A sevenfold portion of her spirit,
> Virago-like, do I inherit.

[1] This fact is mentioned in Harper's *Life of Wordsworth*.

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So, Master Hickman, whilst asunder,
'Tis fit your worship should knock under:
For, if again you send to me
Your fustian, highflown poetry,
I'll write you such a bouncing strain,
As shall, like thunder, shock your brain;
Disperse in air your boasted knowledge,
And, as an earthquake, shake your college:
Shall make your tutor lose his wits,
And frighten Forster[1] into fits.
But, ah, I've gone too far, I fear,
I would not have you quite despair,
I hope you're not so young and silly,
To construe women liter-ril-ly.
I in your verses well can spy
Some marks of ingenuity.
For learning still preserve a relish,
With zealous care your mind embellish;
With piety adorn your youth,
Courage, benevolence and truth;
Then eight or ten years hence, perhaps,
I'll bid adieu to pulling caps:
And should you, constant, still admire
Will not prefer another squire.
Be you Sir Charles, or such a man,
I'll be Clarissa—if I can.

It was while Miss Hamilton was living in Exeter that John Wilkes was released from prison, and she tells how her uncle's windows were attacked by roughs because he refused to illuminate on the occasion:

> On seeing his house not lighted up, made more conspicuous by our neighbours' candles, vengeance was the cry, and demolition followed as swiftly as nimble fingers armed with proper implements could effect it. The crash was tremendous. The woodwork alone of the drawing-room windows was left, and how that escaped surprised us, for on the carpet was found the bone of a leg of beef, which had it been thrown by a strong hand, must have made its way through everything.

Miss Hamilton possessed in her girlhood the only umbrella to be seen in Exeter. It had been brought by her uncle from Portugal and under its shelter she and a friend attended early morning services at the cathedral.

When her uncle remarried, she went to join her father in London, but her life, as her horizon widens, is described with fewer interesting details. Probably her early recollections were more deeply imprinted on her memory. The society in which she mingled in London was more aristocratic than that to which she had been limited in Exeter. She still continued to pay visits to the West Country. Among the public events which she mentioned were the celebrations in Bristol on the return of Lord Rodney after his victory in the West Indies. She describes the magnificent procession, in which 'an open carriage embedded in laurel, drawn by six horses, led the way, three postilions in jackets and

[1] The headmaster of Eton.

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trousers, the latter containing thirty yards of fine Irish linen, each a speaking trumpet in his hand.' A turtle feast in the Merchants' Hall was followed by a ball, at which the only mishap was that the tea was inadvertently made of sea-water.

Miss Hamilton and her father spent the winter before the Revolution (1788–1789) in France at Lyons, but were obliged to hurry home on account of political events. On their way back they spent three days in Paris, where they saw men parading the streets with an image called 'L'ami du peuple,' M. l'Égalité, whose head was cut off by the people not long after. They visited Versailles and saw the king and queen. Miss Hamilton observed that Marie Antoinette was wearing an English dress, a straw bonnet and a muslin cloak.

> We were stationed in a room through which the king passed to go to chapel; his neglected appearance betokened a mind ill at ease. We attended him at his devotions; he leant his head upon his hands, shaking it sometimes, as if agitated by painful thoughts. The queen's appearance was far different. We saw her also go to mass. Her form was erect; she smilingly conversed with a lady of her court, on whose arm she leant; if I mistake not it was the princesse of Lamballe.

After her father's death, she went to stay with some cousins in Ghent, who took her on a tour through Holland. Her descriptions of foreign travel have always a personal note. She records her own adventures and impressions, mentions the meals they ate and the price they paid for them. She gives a lively account of the amateur theatricals she organised at her cousins' château, when she acted the part of Hermione in a translation of Racine's *Andromache*, or *The Distrest Mother*, the play to which the Spectator took Sir Roger de Coverley. She also took the part of Miss Deborah Woodcock in *Love in a Village* and rehearsed the rôle of Zara in *The Mourning Bride*. Miss Hamilton regretted that the performance of Congreve's tragedy had to be abandoned, for she had once seen the majestic Sarah Siddons as Zara in Bath. She speaks of her acting with reverent admiration, praising her particularly in *Measure for Measure*, and as Hamlet on the occasion of her husband's benefit.

The memoirs close with her marriage at the age of forty-seven to a friend of her father. It is characteristic that almost on the last page of her book this Gentlewoman of the Old School boasts that twenty years later she opened a ball with a long Scotch dance out of doors in the Isle of Man. Her irrepressible vitality forms an arresting contrast to the delicacy of swooning heroines who are only kept alive by frequent applications of salts and hartshorn in the novels of the eighteenth century. But Mrs McTaggart belonged to the school of sense—not of sensibility.

BRISTOL. EDITH BIRKHEAD.

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MONTESQUIEU THE NOVELIST AND SOME IMITATIONS OF THE 'LETTRES PERSANES.'

I.

SEVERAL circumstances have conspired to divert the attention of critics from the importance of the rôle played by Montesquieu in the evolution of the French novel. His immense reputation as a publicist has so far excluded a proper consideration of the *Lettres persanes*. The fictitious element of this work is usually dismissed rather contemptuously and summarily as so much pill-gilding. It is of course natural that modern critics should find it difficult to pretend an interest in the attempt to portray the *mœurs* of a Persian harem as seen by an eighteenth-century Frenchman. The vogue for this sort of exoticism has passed, great as was its charm for a nation filled with eager curiosity about strange lands and peoples, a curiosity which had been but whetted by Galland's translation of the *Arabian Nights* and the travel books of Chardin and Tavernier. But perhaps the chief reason for our apathy towards the achievements of Montesquieu in the field of the *romanesque* is to be found in the contempt which he cherished for novelists, 'ces espèces de poètes qui outrent également le langage de l'esprit et celui du cœur : ils passent leur vie à chercher la nature et la manquent toujours[1].' Note however, that he is disgusted, not with the genre of the novel, but with those specimens of the genre which it had been his misfortune to read. He realises that the essential of the good novel is that it should be true to life. He thus ranks with Lesage as one of the first to entertain this conception of the function of the novel. Indeed, in his slashing attack on the ridiculous conventions which trammelled the action of the eighteenth-century novel, and particularly on the abuse of the 'merveilleux,' he goes far beyond Lesage, and paves the way for that divorce between the *conte* and the novel which was not to become effective until nearly 1750.

We know today that Montesquieu's strictures were, generally speaking, heartily deserved; but we must not infer from them that he meant to eschew novel writing. On the contrary, he was anxious to show, as in the *Lettres persanes*, what could be done in this direction by

[1] *Lettres persanes*, Lettre 137.

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someone who understood the law governing the production of good novels. The critic a novelist would be. We have in Voltaire a parallel to this attitude of mind, for surely none has criticised the novel with more violence and less sympathy and understanding than the author of those excellent *contes*, *Zadig* and *Candide*, which appeared under the appellation of 'romans.'

But if there were any doubt possible as to Montesquieu's intentions, we have but to turn to his *Réflexions sur les Lettres persanes*[1], and here observe his satisfaction at having produced 'une espèce de roman' under the guise of a collection of letters. As he goes on, it becomes clear that he intended to write not merely a novel but an epistolary novel. With the pride of the inventor he notes that several imitations of his work have appeared, and that their success is due to the form in which they are couched—that of the epistolary novel. He says: 'D'ailleurs ces sortes de romans réussissent ordinairement *parce que l'on rend compte soi-même de sa situation actuelle; ce qui fait plus sentir les passions que tous les récits qu'on en pourrait faire.*' It is interesting and somewhat startling to find at this stage in the development of the novel such a clear comprehension of the essentials of the epistolary novel. The characters in turn analyse themselves with the object of presenting a succession of personal narratives or confessions. By this means, as Montesquieu realised before Richardson, their sentiments and characters are conveyed to the reader in a much more vivid way than would have been possible in the usual descriptive narrative.

Montesquieu, intolerant of 'invraisemblance' in others, is careful to avoid the error of which the author of *Gil Blas*, for example, was guilty. He wants to show the gradual development and progression of the characters of his Persians. Thus their opinions and impressions are to undergo a natural and gradual alteration according as the manners and customs of the new country become less astonishing and more familiar to them. The author is careful to insist on this point because he takes a pride in revealing his mastery of technique. In reply to accusations of irreligion and immorality, he blandly points out that, in order to preserve *vraisemblance*, he had to attribute to Rhédi and Usbek a certain candour and naïveté. Their first thoughts and impressions, in order to be natural, 'devaient être singulières.'

Again, we note in these interesting *Réflexions* that Montesquieu was anxious to avoid another form of improbability. Remember that he

[1] Appeared in 1754 as preface to a supplement containing eleven new letters. See the edition of the *Lettres persanes* published by Firmin-Didot, Paris, n.d.

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is experimenting with a new species of the novel and consequently walks warily. His idea, as he frankly states, is to 'joindre de la philosophie, de la politique et de la morale à un roman et de lier le tout par une chaîne secrète et en quelque façon inconnue.' He realised that for this purpose the forms of the novel with which he was familiar, the *aventures*, bogus memoirs and *histoires*, were scarcely suitable and for this reason:—In such novels digressions, when they occurred (and they nearly always did), took the form of another novel, 'un nouveau roman[1].' Readers of *Gil Blas* and of the works of Mme d'Aulnoy will realise what he is referring to, the favourite intercalated story independent of the main narrative. But, says Montesquieu, such digressions cannot take the form of 'raisonnements,' at least not without changing the form of the novel; since 'aucuns des personnages n'ayant été assemblés pour raisonner, cela choquerait le dessein et la nature de l'ouvrage.' He considers, however, that the adoption of the letter-form disposes of this improbability since the general plan of the novel is not interfered with.

Nevertheless, laudable as were his intentions, Montesquieu did not produce a good novel. His theories were excellent but, like those of Diderot on the theatre, they failed when practised by their author. There are several reasons for this. In the first place Montesquieu was extremely deficient in psychological penetration, particularly so in regard to the psychology of love. What La Harpe so justly said of the *Temple de Gnide* aptly applies to the *Lettres persanes*: 'L'auteur est hors de son genre qui est la pensée; et il y rentre sans cesse malgré lui et au préjudice du sentiment.' But perhaps the chief objection to the *Lettres persanes* as a novel is the absence of centralised interest. It lacks that essential which Texte so rightly insists upon in the epistolary novel: 'une action qui se reflète tour à tour dans un certain nombre d'âmes.' What is the plot of the *Lettres persanes*?

Stripped of its digressions the novel proper reduces itself to this. Usbek the master of the harem is far away. He receives from time to time letters from his wives Zachi, Zéphis, Fatmé, Zélis and Roxane in which they assure him of their love and growing despair at his prolonged absence. These protestations and plaints are mingled with a certain amount of 'family' gossip. But soon Usbek learns from his head eunuch that all is not well. It is increasingly evident that there is a growing spirit of unrest and revolt among the wives, and this culminates in the discovery of a man in the seraglio. Soon all the wives but Roxane are openly insubordinate. Usbek is furious and orders his eunuch to restore

[1] See *Réflexions*, *op. cit.*

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discipline at whatever cost. The grand eunuch is murdered, whereupon his successor, Solim, gets instructions to purify the harem. The lustration is ruthlessly carried out despite the protests of the ladies, who live in a reign of terror. Suddenly it is found that the immaculate Roxane, the flower of the flock, has been unfaithful. Her lover whom she has smuggled into the harem stabs Solim and is condemned to death. The last letter is from Roxane to Usbek. Before committing suicide she confesses cynically that she has gloried in deceiving a hated tyrant who, having bought her body, imagined fondly that he had purchased her soul, her self-respect and her freedom.

It will be observed that there is not sufficient central action, and that there are no adventures either physical or psychological leading up to the dénouement. Montesquieu had intended to paint the growing sexual irritation of the wives ('la fureur') and the gradual waning of their love owing to the absence and indifference of Usbek[1]. But so impotent is he as a psychologist, so deficient is he in creative imagination that, instead of a succession of analytical portraits, of intimate confessions, all we get is a picture unpleasantly suggestive of the disorder in a *maison louche* in the absence of the chief bully.

As a *conteur*, however, Montesquieu is happier. The two stories intercalated in the *Lettres*, *l'Histoire d'Aphéridon et d'Astarté* and *l'Histoire d'Ibrahim*, reveal imagination and fancy. The first deals with the tragic love of a Parsi for his sister who has abjured the religion of her fathers, a situation which, with inverted rôles, recalls the theme of *René*. In *Ibrahim* we have a piquant situation, the revenge of an odalisk, ill treated and finally stabbed by a jealous master and who, once safely installed in a Paradise where men minister to her every desire, sends one of her lovers to earth where he works havoc in Ibrahim's harem.

In *Arsace et Isménie*, which is described as an *Histoire orientale*, Montesquieu relates the adventures of two lovers who find happiness in a return to nature. 'Loin du monde et du bruit,' they discover an idyllic existence in their mutual love. 'Le chant des oiseaux, le murmure des fontaines, les danses et les concerts de nos jeunes esclaves, une douceur partout répandue étaient des témoignages de notre bonheur.' But soon Arsace hankers after the tumult of the court and the glories of military life. Like René, he is seized with an indefinable longing for the unattainable, the ideal happiness. 'C'est l'orgueil,' he says, 'qui, à force de nous posséder, nous empêche de nous posséder et qui, nous

[1] See *Réflexions*.

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concentrant dans nous-mêmes, y porte toujours la tristesse. Cette tristesse vient de la solitude du cœur qui se sent toujours fait pour jouir et qui ne jouit pas; qui se sent toujours fait pour les autres et qui ne les trouve pas.' When we read these lines, do we not find a condemnation of at least one aspect of Romanticism? After all, is there any difference between the 'tristesse' and 'solitude of heart' of Arsace and the brooding melancholy of a René or a Werther? Both arise from concentration on self, a morbid state of mind which is dismissed by the un-Romantic Montesquieu as 'orgueil.'

As in *Paul et Virginie*, unhappiness is represented as coming from contact with society. In nature, says Arsace, we pass our lives in joy, innocence and peace, counting our years by the constant rebirth of flower and fruit. However, we must not interpret as a precocious manifestation of the feeling for nature of the late eighteenth century what is, after all, but an echo of the Virgilian 'O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint, agricolas....' The novel ends with the two lovers installed as monarchs of a large domain, a situation which provides the author with an opportunity for a disquisition on the principles of enlightened government. What is significant, however, is that the novel, as yet an embryonic genre, shows symptoms of becoming a vehicle for poetry at a time when France is practically devoid of poets. In the present state of our knowledge of the development of the French novel of the first part of the eighteenth century, it would be indiscreet to regard *Arsace et Isménie* as a precocious and exceptional apparition. Indeed a preliminary examination of some of the so-called 'lesser' novels of the period would suggest the contrary. Many of these reveal flashes of real poetry and in particular a growing appreciation for the poetry associated with nature[1]. After all this compensating movement in literature which we might call the reciprocity of the literary genres is a very natural one, and is very evident in the case of tragedy and the novel. The spirit of tragedy, absent from the theatre practically since Racine, finds a worthy cadre in the novels of l'abbé Prévost.

II.

It is clear from what Montesquieu says himself in his *Réflexions*, that the *Lettres persanes* was an attempt to write a novel in letters. Let

[1] In the course of researches carried out for a work on the novel of manners of this period, the writer found evidences of a growing feeling for the beauty of nature in such novels of manners as *Les Mémoires de Justine Magny*, 1754, *Le Financier*, de Mouhy, 1755, *L'ambigu d'Auteuil*, anon., 1709, *Le voyage de Mantes*, de Bonneval, 1753. He is convinced that an examination of other types of novel like for example *Le comte de Commynges*, Mme de Tencin, 1735, will reveal interesting material in this connection.

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us examine the fate of the epistolary novel in France subsequent to this rather unhappy experiment in the use of the new form. We shall see from an examination of some of the imitations of the *Lettres persanes* that, in one respect, its effect was to retard the development of the epistolary novel, a result which was of course far from Montesquieu's intention. The great success of the non-romanesque elements of the *Lettres persanes* led some writers to subordinate the love interest to criticisms of *mœurs* and disquisitions on social problems. As a rule, there is also a too slavish imitation of the Usbek-Rhédi motif, whilst Montesquieu's ulterior aim, the introduction of a number of characters linked together by a common chain of interest, is not always appreciated. This accounts to some extent for the origin of that bastard species, the so-called philosophic novel, a degenerate off-shoot of the budding epistolary novel cultivated by Montesquieu.

Saint Foix' *Lettres turques*[1] is a good example of what we have in mind. There is no attempt to weave the letters into a connected narrative. This book is, however, extremely interesting from another point of view. It contains two of the usual intercalated stories. The first, *l'Histoire du Comte Damille*, deals with an original situation. A lover, supposed dead by his mistress, returns after an absence of years and, to test the woman's love, tries to win her under his new name. He is not recognised, but the lady, faithful to the memory of her 'dead' lover, refuses all his advances. He reveals his identity, but his former mistress remains faithful to the lover of her memory and, indignant at his cruelty in keeping her so long in ignorance and suffering, rejects his love. La Chaussée used this theme incidentally for one of his comedies, *Le rival de lui-même.*

The second digression is called *l'Histoire de Félime et d'Abderamen* and opens in the Robinson Crusoe manner, introducing an island inhabited only by a hermit. A boat containing two little children, a boy and a girl, is washed up on the shore. These two are brought up in ignorance of the outside world and, like *Paul et Virginie*, in communion with nature. One day, however, Félime is nearly drowned but is rescued by the hermit. As Abderamen clasps her in his arms, sobbing with relief, the realisation comes to him in a flash that he is passionately in love with her. Love dawns too in the heart of Félime, and here we must note a remarkable similarity between Saint Foix' description of the love torments which agitate Félime and Saint Pierre's celebrated

[1] First published 1730. The edition used here is that published in 1778 in the *Œuvres complètes*.

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passage where Virginie goes to the spring to seek relief from her feverish longings in the cool waters. The two passages are given below.

SAINT FOIX.

La nuit, des songes séduisans la ravissent. Il lui semble qu'un nouveau sang coule délicieusement dans ses veines. Elle s'éveille toute émue. Elle tâche de se replonger dans les erreurs d'un sommeil que l'agitation même où elles l'ont mise, écarte de ses yeux; elle brûle; et dès que l'aurore paraît, elle se lève et va chercher les endroits les plus sombres.

Sa rêverie l'avoit conduite près d'une grotte d'où couloit un ruisseau dont les flots argentés, après avoir serpenté quelque temps dans un petit bois, y formoient un bassin sous un ombrage impénétrable aux rayons du soleil. Elle croit y retrouver un remède au feu qui la dévore. Elle se déshabille; et se tenant aux branches d'un arbrisseau, elle descend et s'assied dans cette onde claire et pure. Il lui semble qu'elle est plus tranquille. Elle cueille des fleurs qui viennent de naître sur les bords. Elle les regarde, se regarde, les approche de ses joues et sourit: quoique nouvellement écloses, elles ont moins d'éclat et de fraîcheur. Elle les met dans ses cheveux, et se regarde encore. Bientôt un soupir lui échappe.

SAINT PIERRE.

Dans une de ces nuits ardentes, Virginie sentit redoubler tous les symptômes de son mal. Elle se levait, elle s'asseyait, elle se recouchait, et ne trouvait dans aucune attitude ni le sommeil ni le repos. Elle s'achemine, à la clarté de la lune vers sa fontaine. Elle en aperçoit la source qui malgré la sécheresse, coulait encore en filets d'argent sur les flancs bruns du rocher. Elle se plonge dans son bassin. D'abord la fraîcheur ranime ses sens et mille souvenirs agréables se présentent à son esprit....

Here, however, the resemblance between the two novels ceases. Félime and Abderamen consummate their love. Saint Foix disposes of his heroine as improbably as Saint Pierre, but in his case an attack by pirates is the cause. However, in the Christian Iman who seeks to console Abderamen by exhortations to turn to religion, we have a parallel character to Saint Pierre's hermit.

Saint Foix' *Lettres de Nedim Coggia* represents a further departure from the spirit of the epistolary novel. Here the harem motif serves as the thinnest of pretexts for a discussion of the quarrel of the Molinists and the Jansenists, disguised as white and black eunuchs. These letters degenerate really into a series of historical sketches unrelieved by any fiction whatever. All trace of the novel in letters has disappeared.

The *Lettres iroquoises*[1], intensely interesting as a philosophic tract in the manner of Voltaire, contains nothing of the novel. The author, who is a sceptic, substitutes for the Persians of Montesquieu the Iroquois, Igli and Alha. This work is one of the most scathing productions of the anticlericals, but is not a novel of letters.

If we turn now to the *Mémoires turcs*[2] we have two complete novels. The first is in the consecrated *mémoires* form: the second is in the form of letters, and constitutes part two of the book. It is of course an

[1] *Lettres iroquoises*, nouvelle édition revue et corrigée, Irocopolis (Paris), 1755. According to Barbier, by Maubert de Gouvest.

[2] Godard d'Aucour, *Mémoires turcs*, 1st ed., Amsterdam, 1753.

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imitation of the *Lettres persanes*, but the kind of work Voltaire had in mind when he said that an imitation shows how the original should have been written. In contradistinction to Saint Foix, Godard d'Aucour, while he gives due prominence to the criticism of *mœurs*, keeps this part of the work within proper limits. In the first part of his book he improves on the Usbek-Rhédi idea by bringing his heroine to France. Zulime, as she is called, is used as a foil to the French women who surround her and affords an opportunity for interesting comparison of oriental and occidental morals and manners.

The second part of the *Mémoires turcs* is purely and simply an epistolary novel and a very good one. It consists of letters written chiefly by the Turk Achmet, in France, to his slave Atalide who, though for many years in the harem, is of French origin. These letters differ essentially from the *Lettres persanes*. Love adventures figure largely here, though there is a certain amount of satirical criticism of French fashionable society. Apart from these gibes at petits-maîtres, the Ancients and the Moderns, the conventual system and the materialism of the Church, there is typical eighteenth-century flavour which stamps Godard as one of the *romanciers corrupteurs*.

Atalide writes to Achmet telling him the latest news of the harem, which is an extremely cosmopolitan one and includes in its inmates a Spanish and an Italian girl. Far from displaying any petty jealousy, however, Atalide begs Achmet to give her a detailed account of his *bonnes fortunes*. She writes: 'Craindriez-vous de me rendre jalouse? Mais non. Vous savez que...vous savoir heureux m'a toujours tenu lieu de tout. De tous les plaisirs c'est le plus grand dont puisse jouir une âme généreuse.'

The real novel now begins. In France Achmet falls in love with a very virtuous lady, la marquise de Chambertin, and after prolonged wooing takes advantage of a momentary weakness to overcome her resistance. Full of bitter self-reproach, Mme de Chambertin refuses to see him again, and in despair Achmet leaves for Turkey. Here he meets Atalide, who in the interval has been brooding over her mode of life and now, though still in love with Achmet, is determined to go back to France and to take the veil. The struggle between religion and love in the heart of Atalide, and between passion and generosity in Achmet, is tellingly portrayed. The novel ends on a high note of renunciation on the part of these two and of Mme de Chambertin, whose remorse and love and steadfast resolution are confessed in a letter to her lover. Atalide goes to France and writes from the convent to

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Achmet. She tells of her agitation at their separation, yet shows that she is determined to atone for her past sins by a life of abnegation. In sincere and simple language she describes her touching reunion with her family and her first meeting with Mme de Chambertin. The author in the concluding words of Atalide strikes a chord which we are to hear sounded later by Rousseau and Chateaubriand. Speaking of Richardson's Clementine in *Sir Charles Grandison*[1], Texte says: 'Or personne n'a jamais peint comme Richardson ces combats intimes. Qui donc avant lui avait songé à mettre en conflit dans le cœur d'une femme, l'amour et la religion?' He qualifies this statement it is true in a footnote when he remembers the *Lettres d'une religieuse portugaise.* But surely, in the following passage, d'Aucour anticipates and even rivals Richardson? Atalide has tasted the fruits of love and here she differs from Clementine; but is not her renunciation on that account but a greater one?

C'en est fait; je te vois, je te tiens, je te baise pour la dernière fois; je ne te retrouverai donc plus, cher Achmet, qu'au fond de mon cœur. Mais que dis-je? n'ai-je pas encore promis de t'en bannir, ainsi que de ma mémoire? Où te trouverai-je donc? Nulle part. J'en frémis. La mort même, triste souhait des amants malheureux, ne peut nous réunir. Élevé dans une autre religion que moi, mon Dieu n'est pas le tien. S'il t'éclairait, que de grâces j'aurais à lui rendre! Que de vœux je vais lui faire! toutes mes prières seront pour toi. Si du moins je pouvais espérer te retrouver dans la demeure sainte qu'il me prépare, je mourrais sans regret....Adieu, Achmet. Songez quelquefois à votre chère Atalide. Je ne dois plus penser à vous. Je sens que mon cœur aura bien de la peine à tenir ce que ma bouche a promis. Adieu; je ne m'arrache de vos bras qu'en m'arrachant au monde entier. Me voilà renfermée toute vivante dans mon tombeau, dans le cercle étroit de quelques arpents de terre qu'environnent de tristes murs; rideaux terribles qui me cachent tout l'univers; mais de tout cet univers, Achmet, le ciel m'est témoin que je ne regrette que vous. Le sacrifice en est fait....Mes forces m'abandonnent; mes sens se troublent; la plume me tombe des mains; je cours au pied des autels. Adieu, cher Achmet, adieu! pour une éternité tout entière. Ah! Ciel!... Adieu! Adieu! Adieu!

When we read these lines can there be any doubt that in the hands of Godard d'Aucour the epistolary novel has made a gigantic stride forward, that we have here the promise of a *Nouvelle Héloïse*?

The exotic setting persists in the *Lettres péruviennes*[2]. Mme de Grafigny, like Montesquieu, places too much stress on the critical, didactic and satiric aspect of her novel. Keenly alive to the importance of *vraisemblance*, she obtains her local colour by the artifice of inventing a Peruvian language which she puts into the mouths of her heroine. Thus God becomes *Pachacamac*, thunder is *Yalpor*, and the priest is *Cusipata*. Zilia, the Péruvienne, expresses herself in the naïve and

[1] Published first in France in Prévost's translation, 1755.
[2] The edition referred to here is that of 1773. The *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* as they are also called were originally published in 1747. They are by Mme de Grafigny.

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natural manner which we would associate with a savage. At least this was the case in the early part of the book, but she develops with astounding rapidity the mental outlook of a *femme philosophe* who bears a striking resemblance to Mme de Grafigny herself. However, out of the tangle of philosophic ideas so typical of the period there does emerge a central action, the love story of Zilia and her countryman Aza, into which is woven the story of the hopeless infatuation of Déterville, a young Frenchman, for his exotic protégée. The faithless Aza, who is in Spain, falls a victim to the charms of a Spanish lady and Zilia buries her sorrow in a convent. The unhappy Déterville enters the celibate order of Malta.

It was this part of the work which was most admired by contemporaries. Sainte Colombe, himself no mean novelist[1], says: 'Tout s'anime et prend les agréments de la nouveauté sous son coloris. L'amour chez elle ne parle plus un langage étranger. Exacte dans ses peintures, finie dans ses portraits, tout nous plaît, tout nous enchante dans cette ingénieuse fiction....'

Although the modern reader will scarcely share Colombe's enthusiasm, *Les lettres péruviennes* deserves to live were it only for two remarkable pages in which the author describes the impression produced on the soul of Zilia by the grandeur of Nature.

A la fin d'un beau jour, le ciel présente des images, dont la pompe et la magnificence surpassent de beaucoup celles de la terre.

D'un côté des nuées transparentes assemblées autour du soleil couchant offrent à nos yeux des montagnes d'ombres et de lumières dont le majestueux désordre attire notre admiration jusqu'à l'oubli de nous-mêmes. De l'autre, un astre moins brillant s'élève, reçoit et répand une lumière moins vive sur les objets qui, perdant leur activité par l'absence du soleil, ne frappent plus nos sens que d'une manière douce, paisible et parfaitement harmonieuse avec le silence qui règne sur la terre. Alors, revenant à nous-mêmes, un calme délicieux pénètre dans notre âme : nous jouissons de l'Univers comme le possédant seuls....

And again :

Que les bois sont délicieux, mon cher Aza ! En y entrant, un charme universel se répand sur tous les sens, et confond leur usage. On croit voir la fraîcheur avant de la sentir ; les différentes nuances de la couleur des feuilles adoucissent la lumière qui les pénètre, et semblent frapper le sentiment aussitôt que les yeux. Une odeur agréable mais indéterminée, laisse à peine discerner si elle affecte le goût ou l'odorat ; l'air même, sans être aperçu, porte dans tout notre être une volupté pure, qui semble nous donner un sens de plus, sans pouvoir en désigner l'organe.

O mon cher Aza ! que ta présence embellirait des plaisirs si purs ! Que j'ai désiré de les partager avec toi ! Témoin de mes tendres pensées je t'aurais fait trouver dans les sentiments de mon cœur des charmes encore plus touchants que ceux des beautés de l'Univers.

Is it possible to mistake the sincerity of the accent—the lyrism of

[1] See *Les plaisirs d'un jour*, Bruxelles, 1764.

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these lines? Apparently it is, since not even the author of that excellent *Roman français au XVIII^e siècle* considered them worthy of comment. To students of the French novel of this period this is an innovation, for it is precisely this note, magnified by the genius of Rousseau, which is to make the literary reputation of that other and undoubtedly epistolary novel, *La nouvelle Héloïse,* fourteen years after the publication of *Les lettres péruviennes*[1].

F. C. GREEN.

MANITOBA.

[1] Appended to my edition of the *Lettres péruviennes* is a sequel called the *Lettres d'Aza* which, according to Raynal (*Nouvelles littéraires*, t. I, p. 252) is by Hungary de Lamarche-Courmont. In this continuation Zilia is reunited with Aza and the rift in the lute is stopped up in a banal fashion in order to bring about that happy ending which has ruined so many otherwise good novels.

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DANTE NOTES.

I.

Erasmus and Dante's 'Monarchia.'

I am indebted to Dr Percy Allen, the editor of the monumental edition of the Letters of Erasmus, for drawing my attention to the interesting fact that a proposal was made to Erasmus that he should edit the *Monarchia* of Dante.

This proposal is contained in the rough draft of a letter, written by Alonso de Valdés, one of the Imperial Secretariat, and addressed to Erasmus, which was recently discovered in the Archivo General at Simancas by M. Marcel Bataillon, who attributes it to Charles V's Chancellor, Mercurino Gattinara. The letter is not dated, but M. Bataillon and Dr Allen are agreed in dating it from Valladolid, c. 12 March, 1527. According to the text printed by M. Bataillon in his article *Érasme et la Chancellerie Impériale*[1], published in the *Bulletin Hispanique* (Tome XXVI, No. 1, Janvier–Mars 1924), it runs as follows:

S.P. Multa sunt, mi Erasme, quae te scire cuperem, ea tamen scribet Valdesius. Nactus sum his diebus libellum Dantis cui titulum fecit Monarchia, suppressum (ut audio) ab his qui eam usurpare contendunt. Quo nomine mihi aliquantulum arridere cepit, deinde, aliquibus locis delibatis, placuit utcunque auctoris ingenium. Cuperem ut (cum in rem Caesaris faciat) libellus in publicum exeat. Quia tamen scriptorum vitio corruptus est, oper[a]e precium me facturum existimavi, si eum ad te mitterem, teque rogarem, ut dum per ocium licebit, libellum legas, et, si res digna tibi visa fuerit, castigatum typographo excudendum tradas. Nullus enim in nostra hac tempestate est cui hanc melius provintiam demandare possim. Tuum erit Libellum vel emittere, vel supprimere. Id enim tuo committo judicio. Vale.

The answer of Erasmus, if he sent one, has not come to light. At any rate, if the proposal reached him, he did not accept it, for the editio princeps of the *Monarchia* did not appear until thirty-two years later, when it was published at Basle by Oporinus, the Protestant publisher (Johann Herbst), together with other tracts on the Roman Empire, having been seen through the press, as there is every reason to believe, by an Englishman, an Oxford scholar, John Foxe the martyrologist, in his capacity of reader of the press to Oporinus[2].

[1] I am indebted to the courtesy of M. Bataillon for an offprint of this article.

[2] See the article, 'John Foxe and the Editio Princeps of Dante's *De Monarchia*,' in my *Dante Studies* (1921), pp. 109–10. To the editio princeps ('Dantis Florentini *De Monarchia* libri tres') is due the title which Dante's treatise has continuously borne from 1559 to the present day. The tradition of the MSS. and of the early biographers of Dante in favour of *Monarchia* is confirmed by the title given to the treatise by Gattinara in the letter quoted above. *Monarchia* is the title adopted by the editors of Florentine *testo critico* of the *Opere di Dante*. The retention of *De Monarchia* in the fourth edition of the *Oxford Dante* is due to typographical exigencies.

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II.

Sonetto xxix. 1–2.

Di donne io vidi una gentile schiera
Questo Ognissanti prossimo passato.

The question is, What is the point of the mention of All Saints' Day here? In an article entitled 'Varietà Provenzali' in a recent issue of *Romania* (Vol. xlix, pp. 94–5) Professor Pio Rajna touches incidentally on the fact that, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Italy and the south of France, All Saints' Day (Nov. 1) was specially devoted to festive gatherings, and he suggests that Dante in this sonnet was probably referring to some such gathering.

Boccaccio makes mention of a festivity of this kind in Novella 9 of the third day of the *Decameron*, in which the heroine of the story learns that the Count her husband is to entertain a large company of guests on All Saints' Day: 'sentendo lui il dì d' Ognissanti dover fare una gran festa di donne e di cavalieri.'

Sacchetti also refers to this custom, and we learn from him that among the well-to-do in Florence it was the practice on these occasions to regale their friends with the dish which with us is associated with Michaelmas, namely roast goose. In Novella 185 he relates a gruesome story of how in revenge a neighbour of one Pero Foraboschi in Florence inserted the head of a dead cat, by way of stuffing, inside the goose destined for Pero's All Saints' supper, and of how it was cooked and served up without the trick being discovered:

Venuta la sera d' Ognissanti...e Pero e la sua famiglia essendo a tavola, facendo venire la detta oca, come la vide così rilevata nel corpo, disse: per certo, bene è riuscita quest' oca bella e grassa, com' io credea; guarda, quant' ella è piena!

In Novella 186 he tells how certain Florentine youths provided themselves with geese for their All Saints' festivity free of expense:

Non è molt' anni, che in Firenze in Porta del Duomo furono certi giovani, li quali si pensarono tra loro di fare uno Ognissanti, sanza fatica e sanza costo, alle spese altrui. E avviatisi la sera d' Ognissanti a certi fornai, tolsono alcune oche a' fanti e alle fanti, che le portavano a casa.

Novella 231 (which is incomplete) is concerned with the gallantries on All Saints' Day of a Florentine youth called Donnellino, 'piacevolissimo quanto alcun altro, il quale era tenuto di dare a uno cittadino fiorentino uno pajo d' oche per la festa d' Ognissanti.'

One reason for making All Saints' Day an occasion of merry-making was that this was the day on which it was customary to open the sale

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of new wines, and which was consequently an appropriate time for social festivities. Where the lower classes were concerned, these festivities, as might be expected, not infrequently degenerated into brawls and disturbance of the public peace; and it was on this account, as Dino Compagni records in his *Cronica* (II, 7), that in October 1301 the Signoria of Florence requested Charles of Valois not to make his entry into Florence on All Saints' Day:

Fu pregato il cancelliere di Carlo di Valos, che pregasse il signore suo che non venisse il dì d'Ogni Santi, però che il popolo minuto in tal dì faceva festa coi vini nuovi, e assai scandali potrebbeno incorrere, i quali, colla malizia de' rei cittadini, potrebbono turbare la città—

a request which, as is well known, Charles disregarded.

Del Lungo, in his edition of the *Cronica*, notes on this passage:

La festa d'Ognissanti, 1 novembre, è posta, per così dire, come data ufficiale dell' incominciamento della vendita del vin nuovo, in una Consulta de' 14 luglio 1285[1]; e in altre dei 20 e 26 luglio[2] si parla pure di vendita delle carni e del vino, del divieto ai vinattieri 'quod nemo possit comedere in taberna' (29 giugno 1285[3]), e della vendita del vino a minuto, circa la quale proponesi che l'anno si divida in quattro parti, da cominciare il primo novembre, il primo febbraio, il primo maggio e il primo agosto, ponendo, naturalmente, i prezzi più bassi dal primo novembre al primo febbraio[4].

III.

'Purgatorio' xxviii, 103–4; i, 15.

In the first of these passages, Dante states that the terrestrial atmosphere revolves 'in circuito tutto e quanto con la prima volta.' Nearly all the commentators, old and modern, take 'la prima volta' to mean the Primum Mobile, 'il cielo che tutto gira' (*Inf.* ix, 29), the Heaven which is the origin of the movement of all the corporeal Heavens, and consequently of that of the spheres of fire and air.

But inasmuch as the spheres of fire and air are in immediate contact with the lowest Heaven, 'il primo cielo' (*Convivio* ii, 4, ll. 2–3), the Heaven of the Moon, it seems more natural to understand 'la prima volta' of that Heaven, rather than of the ninth Heaven, the Primum Mobile. This interpretation is confirmed by a passage, quoted by Torraca in his *Commento*, from the *Composizione del Mondo* (written in 1282) of Ristoro d'Arezzo, who in the first chapter of the eighth division of his second book, speaking of the spheres of fire and air, says (ed. 1859, p. 133):

La spera del cielo della luna si volge nella sua concavità a punto a punto colla gibbosità della spera del fuoco, e la concavità della spera del fuoco si continua a

[1] See Gherardi's edition of the *Consulte*, i, p. 262.
[2] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 266, 267. [3] *Ibid.*, i, p. 256.
[4] Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, ii, p. 150.

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punto a punto colla gibbosità della spera dell' aire...onde, movendosi lo punto della spera della luna, per ragione si dee muovere lo punto della spera del fuoco, lo quale si continua con esso; e così si volgerà per ragione a punto a punto la spera del fuoco colla spera della luna, e la spera dell' aire colla spera del fuoco....

That is to say, 'The sphere of the Heaven of the Moon revolves with its concavity everywhere in contact with the convexity of the sphere of fire, and the concavity of the sphere of fire is everywhere in contact with the convexity of the sphere of air...so that, since the sphere of the Moon is in motion, it follows that the sphere of fire, which is in contact with it, must also be in motion; and consequently the sphere of fire will revolve with a motion exactly corresponding to that of the sphere of the Moon, and similarly the sphere of air will revolve with the revolution of the sphere of fire....'

Antonelli maintains the view that 'la prima volta' here is neither the Primum Mobile nor the Heaven of the Moon, but the sphere of fire, which, as we have seen, is the sphere immediately above, and in contact with, the sphere of air.

A somewhat similar difference of opinion exists with regard to the expression 'il primo giro' in *Purgatorio* I, 15. Dante is here describing the appearance of the sky when he first finds himself on the island of Purgatory, which he says was of a lovely sapphire blue, 'dal mezzo puro infino al primo giro.' The old commentators are practically unanimous in understanding 'il primo giro' in this passage to be equivalent to 'il primo cielo,' the Heaven of the Moon—'the whole expanse of air as far as it extends upwards was one stretch of cloudless blue.' This is the interpretation accepted by Fraticelli and others among the moderns. Lombardi, followed by Butler, takes 'il primo giro' to be the Primum Mobile, which seems quite untenable, inasmuch as in Dante's view the sphere of air did not extend beyond that of fire, which was next below the Heaven of the Moon, as has been explained above.

A third interpretation, which finds most favour at the present day, is that Dante is referring to the horizon, the 'circulus hemisphaerii,' as Albraganus calls it, 'circulus qui dividit id quod apparet de coelo super terram ab eo quod occultatur de eo sub terra' (cap. 6). Dante's meaning, then, would be that the sky was perfectly cloudless from zenith to horizon. This interpretation was approved by Torraca in his first edition, but in his latest edition (1920) he takes 'il primo giro' to be equivalent to 'il primo cielo, quello delle stelle, il cielo stellato,' 'the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, which is commonly reckoned as the eighth Heaven. This view, as well as another suggestion, viz. that 'il primo giro' here means the Empyrean, because it is used in that sense in

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Paradiso IV, 34, is open to the same objection as that of Lombardi and Butler above mentioned.

I may add that Angelitti, a professed astronomer, who devoted much time to the astronomy of Dante, is strongly of opinion that the horizon is the circle here in question (see his *Le regioni dell' aria nella Divina Commedia*), and I believe that our own astronomical Dantist, the late Dr Moore, took the same view.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.

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ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH SCHOLARSHIP AND LITERATURE DURING THE 'ROMANTIC REVIVAL.'

I.

WATTS-DUNTON, it is well known, wished to substitute for the accepted but not altogether satisfactory phrase 'The Romantic Revival' an invention of his own, 'The Renascence of Wonder.' This would have the disadvantage of even greater unfairness to the much maligned eighteenth century than the old label; but it has the merit of being more definite. 'Romantic' may mean almost anything: it is praise or blame, abuse or eulogy, according to taste; while 'wonder' does at least suggest a spirit of enquiry, of seeking after novelty, both in things of the intellect and in things of the emotions, which all are agreed in finding more prominent, on the whole, in the age of Wordsworth than in that of Dr Johnson.

Without going further into this much-vexed question, we may observe as one characteristic element in this search for novelty the growth of a real and very remarkable interest in the greatest Italian poetry, particularly Dante, Petrarch, and the narrative poets from Pulci to Tasso. Naturally this ran parallel with the revived appreciation of our own earlier literature from Chaucer to Spenser; but the former was by no means merely an adjunct of the latter; by 1800, at least, it had become a more or less independent movement, with a programme and manifestoes of its own. One especially striking quotation, of many which might be gathered, may be given to show the nature of the movement which it is proposed to outline in this essay. In 1802 T. J. Mathias, author of the once famous satire *The Pursuits of Literature*, but entitled rather to be remembered as an Italian scholar of remarkable industry and learning, published a large anthology of Italian poems (*Componimenti lirici de' più illustri poeti d' Italia*, 3 vols). In commending this to his readers ('ai poetici e colti lettori Inglesi') Mathias made the first deliberate and public appeal for a wider and deeper study of Italian poetry:

> Desiderei che tutti i letterati d' Europa, e principalmente GLI INGLESI, intendessero a fondo la lingua Italiana, e che fra quei che gustano la poesia non fosse così ristretto il numero degli esatti conoscitori de' suoi meriti e pregi....Lietamente dunque per voi ho raccolto questi fiori e frutti poetici per le piagge Toscane, sperando dar felice e ben augurato incominciamento a una diletta e lungamente pensata

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intrapresa mia; perchè l'ignorazione o l'obblio di tanti Poeti è la sola o la primiera cagione della caligine nella quale *tra noi* si giacciono trascurati; invogliato anch'io di cooperare, per quanto le mie forze permettono, al Risorgimento della Letteratura e della Poesia Italiana *in Inghilterra*, nella loro antica e consueta possanza.

He goes on, in his pleasantly excited fashion, to advocate the institution of chairs at the Universities 'ESPRESSAMENTE PER L'UNIVERSALE LETTERATURA ITALIANA,' a proposal which had to wait a whole century before being adopted. In other respects, however, the wishes expressed by Mathias here and elsewhere were gratified much sooner. The movement had indeed proceeded some way when he wrote; and during the nineteenth century the most ardent lover of the 'dolce favella' could not complain of any serious deficiency of interest in or understanding of Italian literature among English scholars and poets.

In conducting the present investigation, it will be convenient first to examine the state of Italian studies during the eighteenth century, proceeding to a survey of the chief works published in the early nineteenth century which belong to the movement, whether as contributions to scholarship and criticism in this direction, or as works of imagination noticeably inspired by an interest in Italian history and literature[1].

II.

The new enthusiasm for Italian literature produced no very striking results until after 1800, but it had been growing steadily during the later eighteenth century. Indeed, its origins may be traced back to Milton, who came in turn at the end of a long succession of writers, stretching back to Chaucer, and all owing much, directly or indirectly, to Italian culture. Milton was the last of the Elizabethans in this as in other respects, and his example proved the chief stimulus of such Italian studies as were prosecuted during the century following his death.

In the later seventeenth century both English and Italian literature came under the sway of French standards of taste and criticism. The

[1] The subject has hitherto been studied only incidentally or in single aspects. The most useful single work is Dr Paget Toynbee's *Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary* (2 vols, 1909), to which I am much indebted; it is however a compilation and not a connected study. This is supplemented and corrected in some details in A. Farinelli: *Dante in Spagna, Francia, Inghilterra, Germania* (Torino, 1922). The subject is touched briefly in histories of English literature of the period by O. Elton, H. A. Beers and others; but, in general, more work has been done in Italian than in English. See *Cambridge History of English Literature*, XII, 524, for bibliography; and add especially works by F. Olivero (University of Turin): *Saggi di Letteratura Inglese* (1913), *Studi sul Romanticismo Inglese* (1914), etc.; and for Dante, A. Galimberti: *Dante nel Pensiero Inglese* (Florence, 1921). J. G. Robertson's *The Genesis of Romantic Theory in the Eighteenth Century* (1923) discusses the contribution of Italy to the development of the aesthetic theories of Romanticism.

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new 'classical' or 'neo-classical' canons of art in France involved a break with the native tradition; the only models worthy of study and imitation, it was declared, were the achievements of classical antiquity. The development of taste followed a similar course in England and in Italy; in both countries the reaction against the 'metaphysical' poets and the 'concettisti' of the school of Marino led to the adoption of critical principles more or less after the French pattern. The pursuit of 'correctness' in poetry led almost of necessity to neglect of the earlier native poets. Chaucer and Spenser, Dante and Petrarch, gradually ceased to exercise a living influence on the poets of the day, and were handed over to the historian, the antiquarian, or the dilettante.

Hence it is scarcely surprising to find the study of Italian poets, especially the earlier and greater masters, at a low ebb during the Augustan ages in England. The study of the *language*, indeed, remained in a flourishing state, for the custom of making the Grand Tour continued, and the introduction of Italian opera in Queen Anne's reign was a powerful stimulus. In spite of Mr Spectator's ridicule, the Town crowded to the opera, and it was a common practice to take books of the Italian words to the theatre in order to follow the performances more closely. No young lady's education was complete unless she could warble the latest aria from Metastasio. Italian immigrants, who were numerous, found it easy to make a living by teaching their native language. But, with all this superficial activity, among the many who acquired a smattering of Italian very few read a line of Dante or Petrarch; even Ariosto and Tasso were read, if at all, as text-books rather than as poets. The opera, in fact, though it served to keep the study of the language alive, did much harm to the literature of Italy by gaining for it a reputation for frivolity, effeminacy, and artificiality. 'Nothing vitiates the poetic taste of young men more than a fondness for the Italian poets[1],' wrote a minor critic about 1750, and the remark displays the characteristic prejudice of the period, an obstinate misconception which lingered until within living memory.

Among professed men of letters, the all-powerful French influence put even contemporary Italian literature in the shade; while if Dante was half forgotten in his own country, it was not to be expected that he would be better remembered elsewhere. Addison, a typical Englishman of taste in his day, took no interest whatever in Italian literature or culture; it is doubtful whether he ever acquired an adequate knowledge of the language, and in the whole range of his writings even the name

[1] J. G. Cooper, *Letters Concerning Taste*, 2nd edition, London, 1755.

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of Dante never once occurs. Dryden, it is true, had a good knowledge of Italian, and in his *Fables* (1700) he adapted three tales from Boccaccio in a spirit of genuine affection for his author; but in his references to Italian poetry he follows the prevailing fashion of almost ignoring Dante and Petrarch, and considering Ariosto, Tasso, and Guarini (writers whom nevertheless he does not overpraise) as the greatest and most representative poets of Italy.

The successors of Dryden show a steady decline of interest in Italian literature. Pope read Harington's Ariosto and Fairfax's Tasso, and he may have had a smattering of the language, though his own statements on this point have to be received with caution. But in any case his acknowledged masters, after Dryden, were the French poets, and his Italian studies are negligible[1]. Dr Johnson also, in spite of his friendship for the Italian Baretti, his fellow-lexicographer, seems to have found little to interest him in Italian literature, with which his writings and his conversation show only the slightest acquaintance. Like Addison, he dismisses Milton's debt to the Italians in the briefest and most general terms; and, with his usual frankness, he confesses his inability to 'speak as a critick' of Milton's Italian poems. Members of 'The Club,' with Dr Burney as the sole exception, took their cue in this matter from the Doctor. Men of such eminence as Goldsmith, Burke, Gibbon, and Sir Joshua Reynolds were content to remain almost wholly ignorant on this head, and the faithful Bozzy amusingly exposes his sublime ignorance of Dante by quoting, at second-hand from a Latin work, three lines from the *Inferno* without discovering the identity of the 'divinus poeta' there referred to[2]. In fact, it is not too much to say that, from the death of Milton to well past the middle of the eighteenth century, the English reader of orthodox tastes knew the earlier Italian poets as mere names, to be vaguely classed with our own 'Gothick genius,' Chaucer.

There is little to set against this general apathy until near the end of the century; yet among the poets, Gray is a notable exception. At an early age he acquired, chiefly from the example of Milton, a keen interest in Italy and the Italians. Already in 1737 he was learning the language 'like any dragon,' and rendering the Ugolino episode from the

[1] Pope's friend Gay seems, curiously enough, to have had more interest in Italian poetry than most of his contemporaries. He used the ottava rima (otherwise almost completely neglected in this period) for *Mr Pope's Welcome from Greece*; and he translated two episodes from Ariosto, reverting however to the couplet for these. They were not published until 1909: see article by J. Douglas Bruce, in *Archiv für das Studium, etc.*, N.S., Vol. XXIII, 1909, pp. 279-297.

[2] See P. Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature*, I, pp. 463–4.

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Inferno (canto XXXIII) as an exercise. Like Milton, he went the Grand Tour, and viewed with delight the scenes in Rome, Florence and Ravenna associated with the names of famous Italian poets, which Addison had ignored. Gray was deeply read in Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso, and had no eyes for the lesser splendours of Filicaia, Guidi, and Metastasio, then the most popular poets in their own country. Yet in Gray's own poetry, with the exception of one or two famous echoes of Dante in the *Elegy*, we find few distinct traces of Italian influence, and his Italian studies had little immediate effect; only one of his friends, Norton Nicholls, studied Italian, and Gray's prestige with the English public was slight compared with that of Dr Johnson. Nevertheless his example was of great service in stimulating the efforts of T. J. Mathias, Cary, and many others towards the end of the century.

Another offset to the general apathy of the age, of a different nature but equally important, is seen in the work of two of the Italian immigrants, Paolo Rolli and Giuseppe Baretti. We may notice first their writings in defence of their native poetry. These were in great part inspired by patriotic indignation at Voltaire's famous strictures on the *Divina Commedia*. The Frenchman's wittily perverse criticism of Dante took the form of a succession of epigrams, one at least of which has become common property ('Sa réputation s'affermira toujours, par ce qu'on ne le lit guère'). Such remarks are scattered up and down various essays, the first and last of which were published as far apart as 1726 and 1766. The active ridicule of such a formidable wit might seem even more injurious to Dante's reputation than the cold indifference of Addison or Pope; but it is doubtful whether Englishmen at any rate—Dr Johnson for example—paid any more attention to it than to the same critic's peculiar opinions about Shakespeare. In both cases, moreover, there were compensations. Voltaire provided a useful spur to national feeling; for Italians never ceased to cherish the memory of 'il padre della lingua toscana,' even when they did not read his poetry. Rolli and Baretti were chief among those who wrote (in English) angry replies to some of Voltaire's earlier attacks[1]. This purely defensive skirmishing, however, was by no means the only work they did for Anglo-Italian culture.

Rolli, the senior of the two, lived in England for about thirty years

[1] Rolli published *Remarks upon M. Voltaire's Essay on the Epic Poetry of the European Nations* in 1728. Baretti's first work in English was *A Dissertation upon the Italian Poetry* (1753), in which he made a vigorous onslaught upon Voltaire. On Rolli, cf. P. Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature*, I, pp. 214–16, 682–3. Some slight errors in Toynbee's account of Rolli are corrected by A. Farinelli in *Dante in Spagna, Francia, Inghilterra, Germania* (Torino), 1922, p. 258n.

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(1715–1744). He held the post of Italian tutor to the royal family, and was also active as poet, opera librettist, and editor. Among his productions worthy of mention are an edition of the *Decameron* in the original, the libretto of an opera, *Sabrina* (1737), adapted from Milton's *Comus*, and a capable if diffuse translation of *Paradise Lost* into Italian (1735). Rolli, however, wrote little in English except his reply to Voltaire, which indeed betrays an imperfect command of the language; and the *Paradiso Perduto*, though published in London under English patronage, would appeal to Italians rather than to Englishmen. Still, these activities indicate a sincere affection for his adopted country, and a genuine desire to renew the ties, once so close, between Italy and England. It is pleasant to find confirmation of this in one of Rolli's original poems, the little known but pleasing sonnet *Londra*. In this he celebrates in enthusiastic terms the praise of London—its river, its countless people, its parliament, its commerce, and its freedom—concluding with the flattering sentiment:

> Queste di Londra e del Britanno regno
> Tutte le parti son: chi non le apprezza,
> Del nome d' uom, non che di vita, è indegno.

Better known, and on the whole more considerable, is Giuseppe Baretti (1719–1789), who like Rolli holds a place in Italian literature independent of his work for Anglo-Italian culture. In Italy his *Frustra Letteraria*, periodical essays in which he 'scourged' with the flail of satire the affectations of the degenerate *Arcadia* poetical societies, did much for the reform of public taste. Baretti came to England in 1751, and for a time kept a school for teaching Italian. Making the acquaintance of Dr Johnson, he joined the famous literary fraternity, and for many years was well known as a hard-working man of letters—'a very studious man, a man of great diligence' was the Doctor's description of his friend on a certain memorable occasion. Baretti had unfortunately and, it appears, quite innocently, been mixed up in a sordid stabbing affair in the Haymarket, and the Doctor, with Goldsmith, Burke, Garrick, Topham Beauclerk, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, gave evidence for the defence in support of Baretti's good character; it is not surprising that he was acquitted[1].

Baretti joined the ranks of those 'harmless drudges,' the lexicographers, in 1760, when he issued his well-known Italian and English Dictionary. This was the first serious attempt of the kind since John Florio's *Worlde of Wordes* (1598), which had not been reissued since

[1] Boswell's *Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II, p. 97 note.

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1688. It is a tribute to Baretti's thoroughness that his dictionary, in a revised form, remains in use. He was, in fact, a scholar of considerable attainments, both linguistic and literary, and extending to French and Spanish as well as English and Italian. In his *Italian Library* (1757), containing 'an account of the lives and works of the most valuable authors of Italy,' and in later books of a similar kind, he endeavoured to lead his English readers back to the earlier and greater Italian masters. Baretti was the first Italian to attain a creditable position by both Italian and English writings; and there is no doubt that in course of time his labours had a considerable effect[1].

Baretti, however, could not at once educate the English up to the standard of Dante and Ariosto, nor could he do the essential and now overdue work of translation; while Gray's fatal sterility kept him from a task which he alone might worthily have performed for the age. Translations of a kind, however, were abundant. Lesser men rushed in where angels feared to tread, and the generation from 1755 to 1785 witnessed the activities of a number of the worst translators our literature can show. It was not, on the whole, an age when exact scholarship went hand in hand with poetical genius or even talent; and a union of the two qualities, as H. F. Cary and W. S. Rose were to show, was the one thing needful for the adequate interpretation of Dante and Ariosto. The work of Huggins, Hoole, and their companions, moreover, shows the too rigid literary standards of the age in the worst possible light. Almost uniformly it has the fatal faults of bad choice and bad handling of metre, unfaithfulness both to the sense and the spirit of the original, and worst of all, an almost ludicrous failure to pay due respect to the grand masters of Italian poetry. The industry of these writers was portentous; thus John Hoole, who spent about thirty years in translating, did the *Orlando Furioso*, the *Gerusalemme Liberata* (both in heroic couplets, a most unsuitable measure), the *Rinaldo*, and the whole of Metastasio's works: and Henry Boyd, who belongs really to this group though his work actually appeared somewhat later, translated the whole of the *Divina Commedia*, Petrarch's *Trionfi*, and the contemporary poet Vincenzo Monti's *Bassvilliana*. Such efforts are almost pathetic in their futility; for popular and much praised as were many of these versions, they dropped utterly out of knowledge within a few years; and, before their authors were fairly dead and buried, the work had all to be done over again.

[1] His English works continued to be read during the early part of the nineteenth century: thus Miss Austen was reading one of them in 1807 (*Letters of Jane Austen*, Winchester edition, Edinburgh, 1912, II, p. 15).

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So far as verse renderings are concerned, we need do no more than record, for the sake of completeness, a few significant dates[1]; but it should be noted that the renderings of Italian prose works during this period reached a much higher standard of merit. As we should expect in an 'age of prose,' the less formidable task was carried out—so far at least as it was undertaken—in fairly competent fashion. Works like Ellis Farneworth's Machiavelli (*Works*, 1762, 2nd edition, 1775), A. P. Goddard's Guicciardini (*History of Italy*, 3rd edition, 1763), and T. Nugent's Benvenuto Cellini (*Life*, 1771, reprinted 1812), give evidence of useful and praiseworthy industry on the part of their authors; though for our present purpose they possess, naturally, but slight interest[2].

III.

The year 1785 is a convenient point from which to date the opening of a new period in Anglo-Italian studies. No sharp line can, of course, be drawn. Boyd and others continued their worthless labours well into the next century; while on the other hand the example of Gray was already bearing good fruit, and the general movement towards wider and sounder scholarship was beginning to have some

[1] William Huggins, Ariosto's *Orlando*, 1755. This was claimed in part by Huggins's quondam friend Temple Croker, who also did a version of Ariosto's *Satires*, 1759. Huggins also translated the *Divina Commedia* (the first complete version in English) before 1761, but this is lost (*Dante in English Literature*, I, p. 307). Also missing is a prose version of the *Inferno* by Dr C. Burney, father of the novelist (*op. cit.*, I, p. 323).

John Hoole, Tasso's *Jerusalem*, 1763; *Works of Metastasio*, 1767, 2nd edition, 1800; Ariosto's *Orlando*, 1783; Tasso's *Rinaldo*, 1792.

Henry Boyd, Dante's *Inferno*, 1785; The *Divina Commedia*, 1802 (a preposterously diffuse rendering); *The Penance of Hugo*, 1805, from Monti; *The Triumphs of Petrarch*, 1807. Boyd also translated from Spanish and wrote original verses.

Other versions which may be mentioned are: Tasso's *Jerusalem*, 1761, by P. Doyne; Tasso's *Aminta*, 1770, by P. Stockdale; Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, 1782, by W. Grove, and again anonymously in 1808; Dante's *Inferno*, 1782, by Charles Rogers.

From about 1730 there were innumerable versions of single plays by Metastasio; but otherwise translations from Italian are few and slight in bulk before 1750. Henry Brooke, author of *The Fool of Quality*, who in his younger days published a version of three books of Tasso's *Jerusalem* (1738), is worth mentioning; but the work was not continued.

[2] In concluding this survey of the eighteenth century a few other Italian visitors, less important for our purpose, may be mentioned. Algarotti, the scientist and poet, visited England in 1735 and met Sir Isaac Newton. N. F. Haym, a musician and scholar, edited in 1724 the first text of Tasso's epic printed in Italian in England. V. Martinelli, a teacher of Italian in London, published there in 1758 *Lettere familiari e critiche*, in which he joined in the attack on Voltaire (cf. *Dante in Eng. Lit.*, I, pp. 315 ff.). Later came the more famous Pindemonte, the poet (in 1796), and Vittorio Alfieri, the great dramatist. Alfieri, who was here four times in all (1768, 1770, 1783, 1791), praised England highly in his *Vita* and elsewhere; but, like most Italians at this period, he admired the freedom and social amenities of the country rather than its art. His work was little known here until after his death (1803), and had no effect on English poets before Byron and Shelley. His autobiography was issued in English in 1810; the tragedies not until 1815 (translated by Charles Lloyd, the friend of Lamb and Coleridge; second edition, with the *Life* added, in 1821).

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effect. Moreover, the subtle change of feeling, so difficult to define, though so easily perceived, which enters English poetry with Blake and Cowper and reaches its greatest intensity in Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats, is reflected in a new valuation of the Italian poets. This, however, develops somewhat slowly, and it is in the younger generation, in Keats, Shelley, and Byron, that we find the Italian influence most potent for good. The generation from 1785 to 1815 is mainly one of preparation; there is a notable amount of individual effort in the fields of historical research, translation, and, to a more limited extent, of aesthetic criticism. After 1815 the harvest of this sowing is gathered. Interest in Italian history and literature reached its maximum in the period 1815–1830, and during these years it was keener and more vital, more fruitful in its effects on the imaginative literature of the age, than at any time before or since, with the possible exception of the Elizabethan Age. Much work, however, continued to be done after 1830, and throughout the Victorian Age Italian literature continued to exert a powerful though less widespread influence on English poetry and belles-lettres.

We have first, then, to survey the Anglo-Italian activities of the period 1785–1815. Apart from Gray, the earliest signs of intelligent reading in the older Italian literature appear in the work of a few eminent scholars, who, however, read the Italian poets less from any special fondness for them than for the purpose of studying their influence on English poets. As typical examples we may mention Thomas Tyrwhitt and H. J. Todd, who used their knowledge of the literature of Italy to illustrate their editions of Chaucer and of Spenser and Milton respectively. By far the most interesting names here, however, are those of Joseph and Thomas Warton, both of them poets, editors, and critics of high reputation in their day. Both brothers were well acquainted with Italian poetry, as appears abundantly from the wealth of illustrative material in Joseph's *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (1756), and in Thomas's *Observations on the Faerie Queene* (1754) and his edition of Milton's Minor Poems (1785) which included a translation of the Italian poems[1].

The *magnum opus*, however, of the younger and more famous brother, Thomas Warton, was his *History of English Poetry*, sections of which appeared in 1774, 1778, and 1781, carrying the story down

[1] Milton's few Italian poems had previously been translated by J. Langhorne, the translator of Plutarch, in 1778. The poet Cowper rendered them again in 1792 (ed. and pub. by Hayley in 1808).

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to the Elizabethan period. Warton died in 1790, leaving the *History* unfinished; but, even so, it has importance as the first regular attempt of its kind. Warton had a good grasp of his subject, and his work shows wide reading and learning abundant if neither very exact nor very systematic. He handles the Italian influences on early English literature in a workmanlike fashion. In dealing with Sackville's *Induction*, he gave a comprehensive sketch of the *Divina Commedia*, which did some service in promoting the study of Dante in England; though this section was attacked, as being irrelevant, in ribald terms by the quarrelsome antiquary Joseph Ritson. Curiously enough, Thomas Warton shows less cordial appreciation of Dante's poetry than his elder brother[1].

With the exception of Gray, none of the persons hitherto mentioned show much interest in Italian letters for their own sake, and at the same time any genuine power of appreciation. It is in the last two decades of the century that these vital qualities first appear. Cary, the translator of Dante, whose opinion is worthy of respect, thought that the 'decisive impulse' to the revival was given by the poet William Hayley[2]. The latter's *Essay on Epic Poetry* (1782), to which Cary referred, is certainly, though as poetry of small merit, a work of considerable importance in the present connection. Hayley, who was a man of some learning, had studied the literature of seven or eight languages, including French, Spanish, and Portuguese, as well as Italian. In this poem he surveys the epic literature of Europe, and in the voluminous notes he gives a brief account of each of the poets mentioned, adding extracts in the original from the most important, with translations in verse. The Italian poets discussed are Dante, Boccaccio, Trissino, author of *Italia Liberata*, Ariosto, Tasso, and Tassoni, author of the mock-epic *La Secchia Rapita*. Particularly noteworthy is Hayley's tribute to Dante, in making the first attempt to render any part of the *Commedia* into English in the metre of the original. In his long note on Dante, Hayley prints the first three cantos of the *Inferno* with a

[1] Both of them gave prose versions of the episode of Ugolino (*Inferno* XXXIII) which it is interesting to compare (see *Dante in English Literature*, I, pp. 292, 302). Joseph's was the earlier, and he speaks of Dante a great deal more enthusiastically than his brother. The Ugolino episode was the best known passage from Dante in the eighteenth century. As early as 1719 it had been translated by the painter Jonathan Richardson; later versions were by Gray and Lord Carlisle. In 1773 Sir Joshua Reynolds exhibited the first of many paintings by British artists of the same subject.

[2] See Cary's *Life of Hayley*, *London Magazine*, Nov. 1824. (Reprinted in Cary's *Lives of the English Poets*, 1846, p. 317.) Before Hayley, Cary adds, 'Gray, Hurd and the two Wartons had done something, but the spell was completed by him.' Hurd's contribution, which was not very considerable, was his defence of Italian poetry against the strictures of Boileau (*Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, 1762, Letter IX).

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translation in terza rima. Though his references to Dante show that he scarcely realised the full greatness of that poet, Hayley's rendering has considerable merit, and is far superior to those of Boyd and Rogers, which are wholly of the past, while Hayley's is of the future, and prepared the way for Cary's translation. Hayley's work, however, met with little encouragement, and he did not continue his version of the *Inferno*; nor did he make any further contribution to Anglo-Italian studies in his later years.

Individual study of Italian literature, nevertheless, was rapidly growing during the eighties and nineties of the century. Mathias was reading Italian omnivorously, though he had published nothing as yet; William Roscoe was beginning his historical researches; Beckford, the accomplished author of *Vathek*, had read 'Dante with all his might and Ariosto with all his main[1].' At the universities, though the encouragement given to such studies was small indeed[2], Wordsworth, Cary the translator, Hallam the historian, and others, were bringing a new spirit to their reading in Italian poetry. Of these the first to make use of his Italian reading in his published work was Roscoe.

Roscoe was a Liverpool attorney and banker who devoted much of his leisure to historical and literary research on the Renaissance in Italy. Already in 1791 he issued a small volume of hitherto unpublished poems by Lorenzo de' Medici. These, with many additional poems by Lorenzo, Politian, and other famous Florentines, were printed also in Roscoe's chief work, the *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent* (1795). As a historical study this has been superseded by the work of J. A. Symonds and others; but for its time it was a learned and useful piece of research, and introduced thousands of readers at home and abroad to a period in Italian history and literature of which hitherto little had been known. Mention should also be made of the verse renderings which Roscoe published with the originals of many of the

[1] See Lewis Melville, *Life and Letters of W. Beckford* (1910), pp. 43 f. Beckford was a great reader in Italian, and spent much time in Italy. In 1783 he printed, but decided not to publish, a book of travels of the personal, impressionistic type recording observations in Italy and other countries: *Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents, in a Series of Letters from various parts of Europe.* Half a century later the substance of this was at last published in: *Italy, with sketches of Spain and Portugal* (2 vols, 1834).

[2] Italian shared the ill fortune of every other subject at the universities in the eighteenth century, active teaching of any kind being almost non-existent. At Oxford and at Cambridge there was a 'Professor of Modern History and Modern Languages' (Gray held this post at one time in Cambridge), who was supposed to appoint teachers in modern languages; but the Professorships being sinecures, there was no proper control, very little work was done by such official teachers as existed, and students were even forbidden to read with private coaches in modern languages (nevertheless they often did so). There was no adequate reform till 1850. Cf. C. H. Firth, 'Modern History in Oxford,' in *English Historical Review*, XXXII (Jan. 1917), pp. 1 ff.

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poems in this work. These translations do not, indeed, reach a high standard of merit; they are 'elegant' in the eighteenth-century sense, and suffer decidedly from the pomposity which De Quincey found also in the historian's prose style. But at least they were fairly correct and much closer to the originals than most translations at this time, and we may forgive much to a translator who prints the original side by side with his version[1].

Roscoe's later historical work, the *Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth* (the son of Lorenzo), which appeared in 1805, found also a wide audience, and was soon, like its predecessor, translated into French, German, and Italian; but it was criticised with some severity even at the time of its publication, and has not worn so well as the *Life of Lorenzo*[2].

Roscoe's enthusiasm inspired two of his Liverpool friends, William Parr Greswell and the Rev. William Shepherd, to follow up his work on the Italian Renaissance[3]. The value of his example is seen also in the work of his son Thomas, in the next generation, and in the large number of historical and biographical works connected with Italian culture which appeared during the early part of the nineteenth century.

A link of friendship as well as community of aims connects the name of Roscoe with that of T. J. Mathias, the eccentric scholar and one-time satirist whose plea for Italian studies has already been quoted. A few lines in praise of the *Life of Lorenzo*, inserted in the *Pursuits of Literature*, brought the two men together in spite of political differences, and Mathias dedicated one of his Anglo-Italian ventures to Roscoe in an original canzone in Italian, hailing him rhetorically as

ministro eletto
A ravvivar di Clio l' estinta lampa.

This canzone is only one example of Mathias's voluminous Italian writings in verse and prose, which have justly earned him the title of the best English scholar in Italian since Milton. His enthusiasm for

[1] Roscoe published one short translation separately, in 1798: *The Nurse*, from a didactic poem, *La Balia*, by the Neapolitan courtier-poet Tansillo (1510–1568). This had a kind of topical interest and was very popular. The original was printed with the translation, which is in stiff and stately couplets.

[2] J. C. L. de Sismondi, the Swiss historian, whose *Histoire des Républiques italiennes du moyen âge* (1807–1818) was partly suggested by Roscoe's pioneer work, made some adverse criticisms on the *Life of Lorenzo*, and in 1822 Roscoe published *Illustrations Historical and Critical of the Life of Lorenzo*, in which he replied to his critics.

[3] Greswell's chief work was his *Memoirs of A. Politianus, Picus of Mirandula, Sanazarius, Bembus, Fracastorius, M. A. Flaminius, and the Amalthei; with translations from their Poetical Works*, etc. (1801, 2nd ed. 1805). Shepherd wrote *The Life of Poggio Bracciolini* (1802, 2nd ed. 1837, Italian translation 1825). Neither has any permanent value.

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Italian literature was boundless, and he must certainly have written far more in the language than any other Englishman before or since. His innumerable translations of English poems into Italian (including Milton's *Lycidas*, Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, and Mason's *Caractacus*) were mostly issued in Italy after he left England in 1817, and we are here concerned rather with the works which he published in London before that date. The first was the anthology, *Componimenti lirici de' più illustri poeti d' Italia* (1802). This was the earliest attempt to put before the English reader a comprehensive selection of Italian lyrics of all periods. Mathias, indeed, was untouched by the new standards of taste, either as poet or as critic, as Englishman or as Anglo-Italian. The models of his own canzoni were the seventeenth-century poets Filicaia and Guidi, and to these poets, at the expense of Dante and Petrarch, he gave undue prominence in his anthology, for which he was severely censured by Ugo Foscolo some years later[1]. In the three supplementary volumes issued in 1808 as *Aggiunta ai Componimenti lirici*, the balance was redressed in regard to Petrarch, but Dante was still inadequately represented, and in the whole six volumes far more space was given to the poets of the 'Arcadia' than they deserved[2]. But if Mathias's taste was of the past, the effect of his work was far from reactionary. His prefatory epistles gave the Anglo-Italian literary 'Risorgimento' an articulate voice for the first time, and with all its faults his anthology, which included at least one lyric by every poet of importance from Dante to Metastasio, did valuable work in showing the range and variety of Italian lyrical poetry[3].

Of more permanent interest, however, than the work of either Roscoe or Mathias, is the well-known translation, by Henry Francis Cary, of the *Divina Commedia* in blank verse. The value of this sensitive and scholarly rendering, in revealing the real Dante for the first time to English readers, and in stimulating interest in Italian poetry in general, can hardly be overstated. Cary was a quiet and modest

[1] In the *New Monthly Magazine*, 1822 (Vol. v, p. 374, an article on Tasso's lyrics). Foscolo, who is a little hard on both Mathias and his Italian masters, adds concerning Mathias's canzoni: 'His Guidian bombast is as obscure and turbid as the originals.' Foscolo made a similar statement in the *Retrospective Review* in 1826 (Vol. XIV, Part I, Art. VI).

[2] In 1802 only one canzone and one sonnet of Dante were given: of Petrarch five canzoni and twelve sonnets. The two poets occupied about forty pages, while over two hundred were divided among Guidi, Filicaia, and Menzini. Boccaccio and the poets before Dante were not represented at all.

[3] Of great service also to English scholars were the condensed editions, which Mathias published in London, of the learned works of Italian literary and historical scholars like Tiraboschi, Menzini, and Crescimbeni. A bibliography of these and of Mathias's innumerable other publications is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

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country parson who, pursuing his Italian studies in the face of every discouragement, became the greatest Italian scholar of his age. Beside him, Hayley and even Roscoe seem little more than dilettanti; and he immeasurably exceeded Mathias, a man of perhaps equal learning, in sympathy and purity of taste. Yet it was long before he gained any recognition. His version of the *Inferno*, published with the original in 1805–6 in two volumes, was ignored, and for a time it seemed as if the same fate would befall the completed work, which he was obliged to publish (in 1814, in three volumes, without the original) at his own expense and in a microscopic type unworthy of its merits. Fortunately he made the acquaintance of Coleridge in 1817, and with the help of this influential critic, and of others who soon began to discover the translation, 'Cary's Dante' became a household word, and has remained down to the present day the accepted initiation for most readers into the study of Dante. New editions were issued in 1819, 1831, and 1844, and there are innumerable reprints of more recent date. It is pleasant to know that in some degree at least Cary reaped the benefits of his rise to fame, and in later years became a well-known and popular member of the circle of contributors to the *London Magazine*, which included Charles Lamb (Cary's intimate friend), Hazlitt, and many other famous writers.

Though opinion is divided on the question whether blank verse is the best medium for rendering Dante's terza rima, there is no doubt that Cary's version, the manner of which is a skilful blend of Miltonic dignity with the simplicity and freedom of earlier blank verse, has survived the competition of innumerable later renderings and remains the standard translation. It is certainly still the most popular, and probably it deserves the honour. As compared with its later rivals it is sometimes deficient in brevity and exactness; but it is more of a poem, that is, it has more of the natural flow of an original composition, than any of them. Comparison with its only predecessors, the versions by C. Rogers and H. Boyd, which are mere worthless paraphrases, reveals strikingly the gulf between the debased and degenerate style of the later eighteenth century and the revitalised, more genuine and sympathetic taste of the new age. Cary's highest merit, indeed is that he was the first Englishman to approach the task, so long and so strangely neglected in this country, of translating the *Commedia*, in a spirit of due understanding and reverence, prepared to treat Dante, as he deserved, like an ancient classic whose every word must be weighed and valued.

Cary was a pioneer also in the direction of pure scholarship as

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applied to the interpretation of Dante's work, and the usefulness of his notes to later research has been amply acknowledged by A. J. Butler and other recent scholars. He was particularly happy in illustrating Dante by quoting parallel passages gathered from his wide reading in both English and Italian poetry; but unfortunately he produced very little work on Italian poets other than Dante, a history of Italian poetry which he projected in his later years remaining a mere series of fragments[1].

Apart from Cary's work, which for the present remained unappreciated, the opening years of the century show little positive progress in the due appreciation of Italian literature. There are no other translations of high merit, no historical or critical work of the first rank, no great imaginative literature linked with Italian culture. Yet the general improvement in taste was coming, though slowly, to a head. Wordsworth, in the *Poems* of 1807, gave as a foretaste of what was to come a few translations from Michael Angelo, and the sonnet on the extinction of the Venetian Republic. Coleridge, whose profound knowledge of the Italian poets was put to so little use in his published work, was already exerting a powerful influence, in this as in other directions, on all who came in contact with him. Periodicals, also, were born in their modern form during these years, though the full power of the *Edinburgh Review* (founded in 1802) and the *Quarterly* (1809) came later.

A good deal of activity in the field of translation is noticeable between 1800 and 1815, but in the earlier years at least much of it is of the past; for the older type of translation was a long-lived species. As early as 1791, A. F. Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, had written an interesting and original little treatise *On the Principles of Translation*. The rules here propounded were for the most part unexceptionable, as theoretical principles; but their practical application produces some curious results. Tytler praises Melmoth's *Cicero* and Murphy's *Tacitus*, versions not conspicuous for fidelity; and the most indulgent critic of Pope would scarcely now go so far as to declare that his Homer 'improves the original[2].' At all events, Cary, who was familiar with the

[1] Cary wrote a few articles on Italian poets for the *London Magazine* in 1823; but most of his scanty leisure in later life was devoted to translations from Greek and French. Another projected history of Italian poetry which came to nothing was that planned by James Caulfield, Lord Charlemont (1728–1799), first President of the Royal Irish Academy. Cf. *Dante in English Literature*, I, pp. 432–7, II, p. 699.

[2] Tytler's book was reissued enlarged in 1797 and 1813. It has been reprinted in the *Everyman's Library*. He had also written a short *Essay on Petrarch*, translating a few of the sonnets (1784 and 1812).

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work, was the first to study it with any useful result. His immediate successors as translators of Dante, N. Howard and Joseph Hume, produced nothing of value[1].

Prose works of research were plentiful, once Roscoe had shown the way, and they testify, at least, to a growing interest in Italian history and art. A friend of Boyd, J. C. Walker, the Irish antiquary, published books on the Italian drama in 1799 and 1805, and his *Memoirs of Tassoni, Chiabrera*, etc., appeared posthumously in 1815. An art student, Richard Duppa, wrote a *Life of Michael Angelo* (1806) containing a few verse translations by his friends Southey and Wordsworth. A full and tolerably competent life of Tasso was published in 1810 by John Black, a protégé of Tytler and of William Roscoe. Works of wider scope are the *Literary History of the Middle Ages* (1814), a book of slight merit by Joseph Berington, a Catholic divine, and the much better known *History of Fiction* (1814), by J. C. Dunlop, which broke new ground in its historical account of the Italian *novelle*, and has scarcely yet been superseded.

R. W. KING.

BANGOR.

[1] Both rendered the *Inferno* only, and both used blank verse. Howard's (1807) owes most of its slight merit to the use made of Cary's translation; while Hume's (1812) is probably the worst rendering ever actually published.

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NOTES ON THE INFLUENCE OF BRANT'S 'NARRENSCHIFF' OUTSIDE GERMANY.

SEBASTIAN BRANT'S *Narrenschiff* is, it will be remembered, a series of satires in doggerel verse written with a didactic object, namely the promotion of 'heylsamer ler, vermanung und ervolgung der wyssheit, vernunfft und guter sytten.' In it the author describes an imaginary ship, or possibly fleet of ships, whose destination is 'Narragonia,' or the land of folly, and whose crews are entirely composed of different kinds of fools, misers, fops, dotards, over-indulgent parents, mischief-makers, bookworms, foolish lovers, gluttons, the profane, the improvident; these and several score more of the victims of 'dorheit' are there. It is little wonder that the writer is so absorbed in describing and castigating all these fools that he forgets his fleet altogether, and only at the close looks back on its adventurous and disastrous voyage.

The *Narrenschiff* was published for the first time at Basel in 1494. It was reprinted three times in the same year in German, and subsequently translated into Latin by Jacob Locher, under Brant's supervision. In this form it ran through five editions in 1497, and one in 1498.

The object of the Latin translation was, as Locher tells us in his preface, that the book might be read in other countries, 'where our rough Teutonic speech is unknown.' Locher speedily had his reward, for his translation was rendered further into French, Flemish, Dutch and English. As for the German original, it went through innumerable editions, and gave rise to imitations and adaptations in German about which much has been said, and which do not concern us here.

When estimating the influence of the *Narrenschiff* on literary works outside Germany, historians are apt, for want of sufficient data, to generalize too freely. As a rule, German writers attribute to this book more influence on the literature of other countries than the facts seem to warrant. French writers frequently go to the opposite extreme.

Those who exaggerate the effect of the *Narrenschiff* on contemporary writings forget that Brant was not so much a creator as an interpreter. His success was chiefly due to the skill with which he combined, and turned to his own advantage, two important factors in the life of his own

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day: on the one hand the still widespread popularity of mediaeval fool-drama and fool carnivals of every description[1], on the other, the new spirit of geographical discovery.

And so the writers who state, without actual proof, that the descriptions of ships, voyages, shipwrecks, etc., which are constantly recurring in fifteenth and sixteenth century narrative are due to the influence of the *Narrenschiff*, are frequently guilty of putting the cart before the horse. It is much more likely that the majority of these nautical themes and allusions are, like the *Narrenschiff* itself, but independently, literary reflections of the same spirit which drove Columbus, the Cabots, and Vasco da Gama in search of new worlds.

As an illustration of the ambiguous statements sometimes made in this connection, we have the remark of one author that Brant's book is chiefly responsible for the 'naufs' and 'navigages' of which the pages of Rabelais are full[2]. Another tells us that the *Moriae Encomium* of Erasmus is, to all intents and purposes, a 'sequel' to the *Narrenschiff*. Yet there seems to be no actual proof that Rabelais ever read the *Narrenschiff*, or any of the literature based thereon. As for the *Moriae Encomium*, it is so entirely different in scope and object that at most one can only say that the popularity of the *Narrenschiff* may have been partly instrumental in determining its form and title[3].

But if we should be on our guard against attributing to the *Narrenschiff* too widespread an influence, it is equally important not to underrate its effect. What we need, in order to arrive at a just estimate, is a careful list of actual facts resulting from a comparison of dates, texts, illustrations and so on. There is, for instance, evidence that Erasmus knew and admired Brant's work, for he expressed his approval of it in no measured terms[4]. If he did not borrow from it for the *Moria*,

[1] See E. Lintilhac, *Histoire générale du théâtre en France*, Paris, 1904–1911, t. II, pp. 34–38; L. V. Gofflot, *Le théâtre au Collège, du moyen-âge à nos jours*, Paris, 1907.

[2] V. Rossel, *Histoire des relations littéraires entre la France et l'Allemagne*, Paris, 1897, p. 24. Rabelais was apparently influenced by Erasmus' *Moriae Encomium*, but his borrowings from this work bear not the slightest resemblance to anything in the *Narrenschiff*. See J. Plattard, *L'Œuvre de Rabelais, sources, invention et composition*, Paris, 1910, pp. 121 f.

[3] H. Schoenfel in *Modern Language Notes*, Feb.–March, 1892, pp. 138–148, shows by numerous quotations from the *Narrenschiff* the fundamental differences between Brant and Erasmus with regard to the Church, the Pope, etc. Brant was a scholiast in the best sense of the word, but not a humanist. Cf. Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*, 3rd ed., London, 1887, pp. 137–156; M. Radlkofer, *Literarisch-historische Parallele*, Burghausen, 1877–8; the Clarendon Press edition of the *Moria* (1913), and the very fully annotated edition of the same work by Marco Besso (Rome, 1918).

[4] In an epigram beginning:

Ornarunt alios suae Camoenae,
Ornas ipse tuas magis Camoenas...

(*Opera Omnia*, Bale, 1540, t. I, Epigr., col. 1223 F).

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are there traces of the *Narrenschiff* in others of his writings? Nor are there wanting abundant indications of Brant's influence on other Renaissance writers outside Germany, and especially in France. Unfortunately, although the subject is both interesting and important, and provides ample scope for a monograph, such does not as yet exist.

There were at least three different French versions of the *Narrenschiff* before the middle of the sixteenth century. There is no need to say very much about them here, as Zarncke describes them fully and gives extracts. The first, in verse, by Pierre Rivière, was based on Locher's Latin translation, and published in Paris in 1497. The second, by Jehan Droyn, was merely a prose adaptation of Rivière's work. It appeared in 1498 as *La petite Nef des Folz*, and its author was sufficiently encouraged by its reception to produce a more ample version in 1499—*La grant Nef des Folz*. This was reprinted at frequent intervals at various places, and we find an edition of it as late as 1579. In 1530[1] an independent translation, also based on the Latin of Locher, was published at Lyons, followed in 1535(?) by an abridgement of Rivière's version entitled *Le grant Nauffraige des Fols*.

All these keep reasonably close to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the original. All are intended, as the 1530 edition tells us, to lead mankind along the path of salvation: 'en voie de salut.' It is to be wondered how far this object was realised, and how much the often clumsily expressed didacticism of the book had to do with its success. There can be little doubt, however, that one cause of its popularity was to be found in the woodcuts with which it was illustrated.

In the original *Narrenschiff* there were a hundred and ten of these woodcuts, a few being used twice over. Brant himself would seem to have attached great importance to them. At a time when reading was an accomplishment confined to the leisured classes, it is not surprising that in issuing a book whose aim was chiefly moral, pictures should be used to supplement the written word. Brant says in his preface, although the first line is obviously not to be taken literally:

> Der bildniss ich hab har gemacht
> Wer yeman der die gschrifft veracht
> Oder villicht die nit kund lesen
> Der siecht im molen wol syn wesen[2].

[1] There is some doubt as to whether the date was 1529 or 1530, the one being the date on the title-page, the other in the colophon.

[2] An excellent facsimile of the first edition (Basel, 1494) was issued in 1913 by the Weimar Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen and by the Gesellschaft für elsässische Literatur—the latter with a 'Nachwort' by Franz Schultz on 'Das Narrenschiff und seine Holzschnitte.'

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Compared with other woodcuts of this early period, those of the first (Baseler) edition of the *Narrenschiff* are in execution extraordinarily clear, detailed and bold. One cannot help thinking that the artist must have enjoyed every moment he spent over them. Each figure has its own individuality, each picture tells its own tale, tragic, ironic, or comic. There is the Fool Unmindful of Death who is stopped on his way by a truly terrifying skeleton carrying a bier over his shoulder; above him are the words 'du blibst.' There is the Procrastinating Fool, who stands with an appropriately vacant expression on his countenance, while two ravens, one on either hand, and a magpie on his head, croak 'cras, cras, cras.' It is unnecessary to multiply examples, but without the woodcuts the satire of the *Narrenschiff* would all too frequently lose its savour. Sometimes, even for those who could read, the text must have seemed a trifle dull in comparison with the corresponding illustration. Details not infrequently appear in the picture for which there is no authority in the text. Here again instances might be multiplied, but one will suffice. In the woodcut designed for the satire on foolish lovers, Venus stands holding in leash various sorts of Fools (among them a priest), while over her shoulder looks the conventional representation of Death, realistically grim. Nothing whatever is said about Death in the text.

It would be possible to write a chapter on one aspect alone of these woodcuts, namely the light they throw on the philosophy of life of their age, and to add another on their *mise-en-scène*,—costumes, backgrounds, and so on. That they were almost, if not quite, as important as the text itself in the eyes of fifteenth and sixteenth century readers, is shown by the following facts.

The first is that all the French versions contain them[1]. The second takes somewhat longer to expound. In 1520 a Parisian librarian issued a French translation of the *Encomium Moriae* of Erasmus, about which something has been said already. The translation was entitled *Éloge de la Folie*, and contained a series of thirty woodcuts, seven of which are used more than once in the book.

Galliot du Pré was the librarian, and his translation was a very poor one[2], though to judge from the rather fragmentary list which has come

[1] In the 1499 and 1530 editions the woodcuts are exact replicas of those used in 1498, but differ in some unimportant details from the original 1497 edition. The reproductions in all these editions are much better than those in the first English versions (by Barclay and Watson). Cp. Zarncke, p. 242.

[2] On one occasion the translator omits a whole passage of the original in order to enlarge on his own theories.

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down to us of books printed under his auspices, he thought himself something of a Latin scholar[1].

As for the woodcuts, they seem, for the most part, to have little or nothing to do with the subjects which they are meant to illustrate. And in fact they had little or nothing to do with the *Moria* at all, being somewhat blurred, but on the whole faithful, reproductions of those in Brant's *Narrenschiff*. The theft seems all the more brazen when we find that Du Pré safeguarded his book by royal 'privilège.'

It was doubtless the fact that both books dealt with Folly and Fools which sent the translator of the *Moria* to the *Narrenschiff*, or more probably to one of its French equivalents, for his illustrations. A minor consideration, but one likely to have counted for something in those days of unrepentant punning, may have been that Du Pré, whose first name, 'Galliot,' had induced him to take a 'galiote' for an emblem, and 'Vogue la galère' for a motto, was attracted by books having 'nef,' or 'navire' on their title-page[2].

Be that as it may, Du Pré's version of the *Moria* seems to have been the only French sixteenth-century translation of this work, and, as far as I have been able to discover, the only illustrated edition in any language before 1676[3].

A few changes were necessary in order that the stolen drawings might not seem too absurdly out of place in their new setting. Thus when the illustration which originally stood for 'Procrastination' is made to do for 'Les folz ne sont point flateurs ni dissimulateurs de leur couraige,' the words 'cras, cras, cras' had perforce to be omitted. Even so, this picture seems peculiarly inapt for its new purpose. Another adaptation seems to show more discrimination on the part of Du Pré. The woodcut which was originally intended to represent the five

[1] Some of these, though not the *Nef des Folz*, are given by P. Delalain, *Notice sur Galliot du Pré* (extrait du *Journal général de l'imprimerie et de la librairie*, December, 1890). Cp. Jean de la Caille, *Histoire de l'imprimerie et de la librairie*, Paris, 1689, p. 85. Du Pré translated several other books from Latin into French. He revised Oresme's version of Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, and printed the revised edition in 1523 (see catalogue of British Museum).

[2] Information about Galliot du Pré is scarce. As far as I know, he did not publish any other work by Erasmus, though the *Encyclopaedia Erasmiana* mentions the name of Nicolas du Pré once or twice.

[3] It was only in 1676 that Charles Patin, a Frenchman, discovered and published at Basel the drawings made in 1515 by Hans Holbein on the margin of a copy of the *Encomium*. In the Basel edition of 1676 there are eighty-two of these drawings, which are in pen and ink, and of course incomparably finer than those in Brant; but not all are by Hans Holbein. Thirty-seven are his, fifteen are the work of his brother Ambrose, and thirty belong to other artists. See K. Woermann, *Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker*, 2nd edition, Leipzig and Vienna, 1915–22, IV, pp. 497 f., and the edition of the *Encomium* by Marco Besso already mentioned. The first English translation to contain Holbein's drawings was written by Chaloner in 1709.

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foolish virgins is requisitioned twice for *Éloge de la Folie.* On one occasion it is supposed to portray 'Les nourrices de Folie,' and on the other, 'Medée, Circes, Venus, Aurora, et plusieurs sont refformez en jeunesse par la vertu daucuns enchantemens....' Shall we be accused of frivolity if we consider the group of well-dressed, rather corpulent, and distinctly worldly dames better suited to either of these texts than to that for which Brant intended them? Similarly, the illustration which in Brant is appended to 'Wer vogel hund in kyrchen furt,' and which represents a man with falcon and dog, is not altogether ill-suited to 'Chasseurs, veneurs, etc.'

Such cases, however, are the exception, not the rule, and are due obviously more to good luck than good choosing. As a rule, the illustrations, if not altogether inappropriate, are without point or meaning.

The *Nef des Folz du Monde* is supposed to have given rise to almost as many imitations in France as its prototype did in Germany. It would be an interesting if lengthy process to examine these so-called imitations with the object of finding out how many were in reality influenced directly by the *Nef des Folz*, and how many resemble it merely in name. The latter is true, for instance, of a curious book illustrated with crude woodcuts and entitled *La Nef de Sante avec le Gouvernail du Corps Humain.* It is not true of at least one book by no less a person than Symphorien Champier, the enlightened founder of the Lyonese School of Medicine. This book was called *La Nef des Dames Vertueuses* (1503), and was written as a kind of counterblast to a translation by Droyn of a satire on women by Badius Ascensius. This famous publisher and printer had written a Latin paraphrase of the *Narrenschiff*, and his two satires on women are directly influenced by Brant's work. Champier had already written *La Nef des Princes* (1501), but the connection between this work and the *Nef des Folz* is not so evident.

Another and this time distinctly odd testimony to the popularity of the *Nef des Folz* in France belongs in part to literature and in part to the annals of the law-courts.

In 1500 Antoine Vérard of Paris undertook to publish a book by Jean Bouchet, who was at that time a young and inexperienced writer. In order to ensure the sale of the book, Vérard published on the title-page, not the name of Jean Bouchet, but the name of Sebastian Brant. The title then ran as follows: *Les Regnars traversant les Périlleuses Voyes des Folles Fiances du Monde composées par Sebastien Brand lequel composa la Nef des Folz derrenièrement imprimée à Paris.*

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Vérard tried to redeem this most daring imposture by adding, in acrostic and in a less noticeable place, the name of the real author: 'Jehan Bouchet, natif de Poictiers.' But Bouchet was not to be trifled with in this fashion, and went to law with him. The affair actually reached the Châtelet, and Bouchet was finally victorious. He entrusted no more books to Vérard[1].

If, like Galliot du Pré, Vérard was unscrupulous, there was more method in his unscrupulousness than in that of Du Pré. For *Les Regnars* does bear a resemblance to the *Nef des Folz*, even though the allegory deals with foxes and not with ships. Part of it is a category of satires on different sorts of fools and their folly. There is one on Navigation:

> Fol est qui vit sans doubtance
> Et est en navire qui flote....

The woodcuts are decidedly poor, and have nothing to do with those of Brant.

It is curious that two cases of literary thieving should be among the evidence of Brant's popularity in France. The first of these, the appropriation to his own use by Galliot du Pré of the thirty illustrations, is, after all, more or less on a par with much of the plagiarism which went on in his day. Moreover it might conceivably be taken as evidence of unpopularity rather than popularity, if Du Pré imagined that the real origin of his illustrations would be unsuspected by his readers. The reverse is more likely, namely that he used the already well-established fame of the *Nef des Folz* as an advertisement for the as yet unvulgarized because untranslated *Moriae Encomium*.

In the second of these two instances of literary plundering there can be no doubt at all as to the motive for the fraud. There could hardly be better testimony to the vogue enjoyed by Brant in France at the time.

DOROTHY O'CONNOR.

FARNHAM ROYAL, BUCKS.

[1] Aug. Hamon, *Un grand rhétoriqueur poitevin: Jean Bouchet*, Paris, 1901.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

MIDDLE ENGLISH 'ASKANCES.'

The etymology of the obsolete adverbial conjunction *askances* and its variant forms[1] meaning *as if, as though,* occurring in Chaucer and other English writers of the middle period has been much discussed[2]. It was at first confused with a quite different word *askance* meaning 'slanting, aslant.' Skeat in the 1887 edition of *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* connected the word with O.F. *escance* < L. *excadentia* defined as *ce qui échoit*, the same root as found in O.F. *cheance*, Mod. F. *chance* (hazard or risk). This etymology which did not appear to correspond to the sense of *askances* was rejected in the *New Oxford Dictionary* (1888) which simply states that the etymology is unknown. The last two syllables of the word have since been connected with entire plausibility with O.F. *quainses* (*quanses, queinsi*), a rare subordinating adverbial conjunction meaning *comme, comme si* and found in passages of the *Cligès* of Chrétien de Troyes (v. 4553) and the *Partenope de Blois* (v. 4495)[3], and of which the etymology seems to be L. *quam* + *si* + adverbial *s* in the forms in which it occurs. This word is attested for Modern Walloon and Lorraine where it is used also as a noun with the meaning of 'appearance, pretence'[4].

Skeat in the notes and glossary to Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*[5] has given up old hypotheses and considers *askances* to be a hybrid or contaminated form containing English *as* in the first syllable + O.F. *quainses*, thus exhibiting a reduplication in sense: *as as if.* He does not bring forward any analogous forms in support of his claim. In fact such

[1] The following variants are noted in the *New Oxford Dictionary*, I, p. 490: *ascauns(e, ascance, ascaunce, ascaunces, askaunse, as skaunce, asscaunce, ascanses, askaunces.* A number of illustrative passages from Chaucer, Lydgate and Sidney are quoted under the word, for example: Chaucer, *Sompn. T.* 37, 'And wroot the names....Ascaunce that he wolde for hem preye.' Lyd. *Bochas* IV, XIV, 114 *a*, 'A sprite of feined pacience....Ascaunce she had been in vertue strong.' Sidney, *Arcadia* (1622), 162, 'Keeping a countenance ascanses she understood him not.'

[2] Cf. *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, XI, pp. 251, 346, 471; XII, pp. 12, 99, 157, 217, 278.

[3] Both are quoted with MS. variants in Godefroy, VI, p. 478, col. 2.

[4] Cf. W. Foerster, editions of *Cligès* of Chrétien de Troyes, note to verse 4553.

[5] *The Tale of the Man of Lawe, The Pardoneres Tale, The Second Nonnes Tale, The Chanouns Yemannes Tale*, revised ed., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1904, p. 214.

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hybrid forms are extremely rare in the old language and Skeat's suggestion seems to be nothing more than a guess.

In my opinion the first syllable of *askances* merely represents the Latin prefix *ex-*, *es-* in O.F. which we might expect to find as *as-* in Anglo-Norman which has a distinct predilection for *a* instead of *e* in pretonic position especially in the case of *e*+*s*+consonant (cp. O.F. *estoner*, Mod. F. *étonner*, Eng. *astonish*). In this particular case the other word *askance* (slanting) may have exerted an influence. In vulgar Latin *ex-* was very commonly used in juxtaposition with adverbs, prepositions and other parts of speech to form compounds: *exante*, *eante*, *exadversus*, *etrans*, *exsuper*, *econtra*, *de exiam*, *de expost*, etc., most of which are adverbs or prepositions. A number of examples in the Romance Languages also attest this formation: Fr. *dès*, *dès que*, O.F *desanz* (*de ex ante*), Sp. *desde*, *desde que*, *despues*, O. Sp. O. Port. *estonces* (L. *ex tuncce*+*s*). Latin *econtra* (found repeatedly in the *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*) and the old Romance forms, Sp. and Port. *escontra*, seem to be more in point, for here we have a co-ordinating adversative conjunction containing the prefix *ex*.

How then can we explain the presence of *ex* in the initial syllable of such a word as *askances*? The original sense of *ex-* was, of course, *from*, *out*, *away from*. This idea of 'movement away from' probably brought about the idea of completion, so that we have it in numerous Latin compounds where it has merely an enhancing value. But popular expression seeks out such methods of intensifying speech, and so the prefix, used continually in such a sense, gradually lost its force and became practically meaningless. Besides, a number of verbs compounded with *ex-* had, to start with, the identical meaning of their simplexes This would have contributed toward the same result. In any case, it is true that we have the meaningless prefix *es-* (*ex-*) continuing its popularity in Old French down through the Middle Ages. We even find it prefixed to nouns: O.F. *esterminal*, *escarboucle*[1].

Es- (*as-* < *ex-*) in *askances* may have originally lent an intensive force (*just* as if) to the sense of the Latin compound *quam*+*si*+*s*. In any case an etymology *ex*+*quam*+*si*+*s* seems to be more natural than the one advanced by Skeat.

CHARLES H. LIVINGSTON.

BRUNSWICK, MAINE, U.S.A.

[1] Cf. *Modern Philology*, vol. v, for a discussion of cases of *es-* (apparently meaningless) in O.F. compound words.

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'Scamels' in 'The Tempest.'

In connexion with Mr Bertram Lloyd's note (*Mod. Lang. Review*, XIX, p. 102) on the 'Scamels' of *The Tempest*, the following may be of interest. About a year and a half ago I was paying a visit to the eastern shore of Strangford Lough, Co: Down, Ulster—a region still remote from railways—and was surprised to hear a local resident apply the name 'scameler' to a bird which I took to be a sheldrake but which was probably a merganser. Though fairly intimate with the Ulster idiom I had never heard this word before, and thinking that some light might be thrown on Shakespeare's scamels I appealed in the Belfast press for information concerning the distribution of this word in Ulster and the identification of the bird to which it is applied. My letters brought a reply from Mr E. A. Armstrong of Belfast, contributed to the *Belfast Newsletter* of January 4th, 1923, from which I make the following extract:

> In Newton's *Dictionary of Birds*, pp. 814–815, the following note occurs: 'Scamel, a word used once by Shakespeare...that has given rise to many conjectures...but is commonly accepted as a bird's name, a signification rendered more likely by the fact that at Blakeney, on the coast of Norfolk, it was applied to a Godwit (Stevenson, *B. Norf.*, II, p. 260), though it is not to be supposed that Shakespeare used it in that sense. It seems to be otherwise unknown.'
>
> The word 'scamler' or 'scameler,' as I have it in my notes, is used to my knowledge in the district about Ardkeen and at Portaferry, both on Strangford Lough, and is an uncommon local name for the red-breasted merganser (*mergus serrator*). I am of the opinion that the bird which your correspondent saw and 'took to be a sheldrake' was a merganser. The sheldrake inhabits Strangford Lough, but is not nearly so common nor so likely to be noticed by a casual observer as the merganser.
>
> Confusion between these two birds is natural, as at a little distance there is a superficial similarity. This is exemplified by the fact that in some places the local name 'scale-duck' refers to the sheldrake, while in others, e.g. at Strangford Lough, 'scale-duck,' or more commonly 'scaler,' is the folk-name for the merganser. I conclude that this confusion actually occurred when the name migrated to England from what I believe to be its birthplace, Scotland—the sheldrake being thus called 'scameler.' It is, however, possible that the word came to be used more generally (perhaps especially of ducks) just as 'sea-gull,' as used popularly, includes a number of different species.
>
> My belief is that in Shakespeare's time 'scamel' or 'scameler' was a name for the sheldrake, used possibly in the loose manner of many local names, and perhaps also used even then of the merganser. At any rate since it is likely that Shakespeare heard the name in England, and since the sheldrake nests in England, but the merganser does not, being limited at the breeding season to Ireland and Scotland, it is almost certain that if Shakespeare had any particular bird in mind it was the sheldrake. My reason for believing the word to have come from Scotland is that the majority of the people where the word is used are of Scottish descent, immigrants at the time of the Plantations. Perhaps 'scamel' may yet be tracked to its lair in North Britain!

W. A. Osborne.

Melbourne, Victoria.

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'A Divine Love' addressed by Lord Herbert to Lady Bedford?

In his recent edition of the poems of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Professor G. C. Moore Smith has included among the doubtful poems *A Divine Love*, which first appeared in the second edition of Thomas Carew's poems in 1642. The poem was among the seven added by the publisher, Thomas Walkley, to the second edition. Since one of these seven poems is known to be Waller's, the ascription of the other six to Carew (unless further evidence can be found to prove them his) becomes doubtful. In the lack of any further evidence Professor Moore Smith justly comments on *A Divine Love* that 'Carew cannot therefore be said to have a clear claim to it.' Earlier, the editor of Carew's poems in The Muses Library, Mr Arthur Vincent, had noted that 'the metaphysical vein and the sustained argument' in *A Divine Love* were somewhat uncommon in Carew. Truly enough the poem is like a stranger in Carew's volume; among Lord Herbert's poems it seems to be restored to its proper home. It bears the mark of Herbert's mind.

The poem is written of an 'admir'd Lucinda,' which Professor Moore Smith thinks is 'a point in favour of Carew's authorship, other of his poems being addressed under this name to Lucy, Countess of Carlisle (a lady whose character is hardly reflected in this poem). If Herbert wrote the poem, he may have addressed it to the same lady.' Assuming the poem to be Herbert's, as I think we are amply warranted in doing, it seems to me that Lucinda is more probably another Lucy, the third Countess of Bedford, a friend of Lord Herbert's and a lady whose character is reflected in the poem. The compliment which Herbert is paying her is very like, in nature and spirit, the many poetical compliments which she was receiving from Donne and Jonson during the years in which Herbert formed one of her circle of friends and admirers. In all ways, *A Divine Love* is just such a poem as we should expect Lord Herbert to write to Lady Bedford.

In 1609 Herbert, whose earliest surviving poems date from the preceding year, wrote an elegy on one of Lady Bedford's closest friends, Mrs Cecilia Boulstred, on whose death both Donne and Jonson also wrote poems in order to please Lady Bedford. She, herself, seems to have written an elegy for her friend, if the ascription to her in several manuscripts of 'Death be not proud' is correct[1].

In 1610, after Lord Herbert's return from the siege of Juliers, Lady

[1] *Donne's Poetical Works*, ed. Grierson, I, p. 422. This elegy must not be confused with the well-known sonnet by Donne beginning with the same phrase. There is the possibility that Lady Bedford wrote the elegy for her cousin, Lady Markham.

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Bedford was one of the friends who warned him that Sir John Ayres (jealous because his wife, Lady Ayres, thought so highly of the attractions of Lord Herbert that she, like others, wore a miniature of him about her neck) intended to kill him in his bed[1]. The attack actually took place by day as Herbert was leaving Whitehall on horseback, and all readers of the *Autobiography* will remember the stirring scene, in describing which Herbert does ample justice to his own valiant conduct in beating off Sir John and his four bullies. The next three years, 1611–14, Herbert spent in England, living sometimes at the court, sometimes in the country, and at all times so peaceably and quietly that he can say little of himself. During these years he must now and again have visited Lady Bedford at her place in Twickenham, where Donne, Jonson, and many other poets and wits of the day were welcome. It seems most probable that Herbert addressed to Lady Bedford his compliment, *A Divine Love*, sometime between 1609, when he wrote the epitaph for Mrs Cecilia Boulstred, and 1614, when he again set out for the continent. It might, indeed, have been written later. We know that their friendship continued, for in 1619 Herbert noted in his *Autobiography*[2] that at Lady Bedford's request he measured heights with the Earl of Pembroke; but it was earlier that Lady Bedford was being addressed so frequently by the Jacobean poets and that Lord Herbert would be most likely to vie with his friends, Donne and Jonson, in her praise.

In the opening stanza of *A Divine Love* Herbert comments on the inability of poets adequately to express the worth of Lady Bedford:

> Why should dull Art, which is wise Nature's ape,
> If she produce a shape
> So farre beyond all patternes, that of old
> Fell from her mold,
> As thine (admir'd *Lucinda*) not bring forth
> An equall wonder, to express that worth
> In some new way, that hath
> Like her great work, no print of vulgar path?

Possibly this is a sly allusion to Donne, who was certainly doing his best in his verse-letters to Lady Bedford 'to express that worth In some new way.'

In his second stanza, Herbert finds that in Lady Bedford Nature may be showing 'such a light as Poets could not feign.' She is, perhaps, Nature's rebuke to the 'ayrie Creations' for which Poetry has rifled 'the spacious sky Of all its fires, light, beauty, influence.' Ben Jonson,

[1] *Autobiography*, ed. S. Lee, p. 130.
[2] p. 208.

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with less of metaphysical intricacy, has used almost the same conception in the beautiful poem on Lady Bedford which he wrote one morning 'timely wrapt with holy fire.' He had attempted to imagine 'the kind of creature' he 'could most desire,' and found that she already existed:

> Such when I meant to feign, and wish'd to see,
> My Muse bade, Bedford write, and that was she[1]!

For both Jonson and Herbert, Lady Bedford surpasses the imagination of poets. It is possible that Herbert had seen Jonson's poem and was spinning out the conceit with more subtlety, though with less beauty.

In his *Elegy for Doctor Dunn*, Herbert stated his principles of complimentary verse:

> Praises should then like definitions be
> Round, neat, convertible, such as agree
> To persons so, that, were their names conceal'd,
> Must make them known as well as if reveal'd[2].

A Divine Love agrees to the person of Lady Bedford, to the compliments in verse which Donne and Jonson were paying her; and Lucinda helps to reveal for us the name concealed.

The whole argument is, and I suppose must remain, hypothetical; but the steps are clear and as well authenticated as is possible in such questions. The editor of Carew finds in the poem qualities uncommon in his poet; the editor of Herbert finds a place for the poem, already half disowned, in his volume, with the qualification that if it is addressed to Lucy, Countess of Carlisle (whose character does not suggest that the poem was written of her), it is a point in favour of Carew's authorship. We find that the poem does fit much better the character of another Lucy, the Countess of Bedford, the circumstances of whose friendship with Lord Herbert almost demanded a poem of him in her praise. This identification, in turn, makes the poem more certainly Herbert's, for by it the point in favour of Carew's authorship is removed.

J. William Hebel.

Ithaca, New York.

S. T. Coleridge and the London Philosophical Society.

In the Wrenn Library of the University of Texas there is an unpublished holograph letter from Samuel Taylor Coleridge to T. J. Pettigrew that is of interest not only for the light it casts upon the dissolution of the London Philosophical Society, but for what it adds to our very scanty knowledge of Coleridge's connexion with this society.

[1] *Epigram*, lxxvi, 1616.
[2] Ed. G. C. Moore Smith, p. 58.

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Even the date of the lectures on Shakespeare and Milton which Coleridge delivered at Scot's Corporation Hall under the auspices of this learned society has been in dispute. The hand-bill advertising the lectures announces 'Nov. 18th[1]' as the day of their commencement, but gives no year. J. Payne Collier's assignment of 1812 as the year of this advertisement[2] had its part in calling into question the authenticity of his notes upon these lectures. *The Dictionary of National Biography* places these lectures in the winter of 1810–11. Crabb Robinson's *Diary*[3] shows that the series ran from November 18, 1811 to January 20, 1812.

My dear Sir,

There are cases, in which a triall redounds to the honor of the accused and yet leaves the accuser blameless or even praise-worthy. There are others, in which the honorable acquittal of the accused involves the condemnation of the accuser. Fully convinced, that the present (Le Maitre versus Pettigrew) is a very aggravated instance of the latter; and that the refusal to express the sense of the society in sanction of this truth by the only adequate Exponent—(*for how can a Body of men prove their contempt and abhorrence of Calumny but by expulsion of the Calumniator*?) —makes it evident, that besides the nuisance to be eliminated there exist matters that fall under the same predicament by their preventing the requisite elimination; and lastly that when 55 in an hundred ought to be expelled, it amounts, in the remaining 45, to the duty of *seceding*: I can not hesitate in withdrawing my name, a *mere* name I well know, from a philosophical society which has become worse than a *mere name*—a misnomer, and a false promise.

If there were a man in the world, to whom in *all* things *but* one I should yield myself inferior—and thank God! there is no lack of such men—yet in that point I would *not* yield—viz. in my *Love* of Truth in the Individual, and of Liberty in the community. But for this very reason I fear, and detest the *passions* and malignant *restlessnes* of Jacobinism, as much as I despise the shallowness and empiricism of its principles. A Jacobin spirit can thrive in a mob only; and whatever society, it thrives in, becomes ipso facto a mob. Were a proof of this to have been afforded by the majority of votes in the verdict of an Oyster Club, the fact would suffice to compel me to throw up my membership therein; but in a *Philosophical Society* passions and intrigues preclusive of all *philosophy* and subversive of whatever is *social*, leave no choice to a man not in love of contradictions.

As I was elected without any knowledge of the forms, you will not be surprised that I am ignorant of the forms, by which I am to ratify my resignation of what I had hitherto regarded as an honor. I can therefore only inform you, that henceforward in consequence of the refusal on the part of the majority of the Society to expel Wm. Le Maitre for the repetition of charges dishonorable to their highly meritorious Secretary, to whose Zeal and active service the Society owes the greater part of its prosperity, after the charges had been examined into, proven and publicly declared to be groundless, I deem it my duty to withdraw from the same.—S. T. Coleridge, 8 June, 1818.

P.S. Dear Sir

The L.P.S. has dropped the seed—and the dry, rotting stalk, and worm-cankered root remain—how long such a stalk with such a root can *remain* is another question. It is my sincere opinion that as you are not enamoured of names, this event will be eminently conducive to the very best ends (and that there is now such a glorious opening, worthy of the patronage of the Dukes of Sussex and Kent) and

[1] J. Payne Collier: *Seven Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton.* By the late S. T. Coleridge. London, 1856, p. viii.
[2] *Ibid.* Preface.
[3] *Diary of H. C. Robinson*, ed. Thomas Sadler. Third Edition. Vol. 1, pp. 181–193.

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capable of proving an epoch in the history of the Metropolis !—*This and more particulars* when I see you.

My respects to Mrs P—— G. a happy tho late arrival—

Your's sincerely,
S. T. COLERIDGE.

Highgate,
8 June, 1818.

Addressed on outside : T. J. PETTIGREW, Esquire,
Surgeon,
22 Spring Gardens.

The letter becomes clearer and therefore more interesting when read in connexion with a series of pamphlets found in the Library of the British Museum[1]. The first of the pamphlets[2], giving the rules and by-laws of which Coleridge professes himself ignorant, shows that new members were elected to the society upon the recommendation of three old members, after the names of both proposed and proposing members had been posted in the lecture room of the society for fifteen days; and provides for the expulsion of members by a two-thirds vote of all members present at a meeting especially called for the purpose.

The second of the pamphlets[3] gives an account of the affair of 'Le Maitre versus Pettigrew' referred to in the letter, first going into the object of the Society in some detail.

The account is condensed below :

The subjects to be embraced in lectures and discussions comprised all included in literature and science, excepting theology and politics. The Society met weekly and the lecture of one week was discussed at the next meeting....As many subjects important in their nature would not admit of a discussion of sufficient interest to engage the attention of a large auditory,...philosophical questions were occasionally discussed....This at length led to the destruction of the institution....Several persons obtaining admission to the Society solely for the purpose of debating, and frequently indulging in personal invective, created dissensions, and disturbed the regularity of the meetings. Notwithstanding, by the exertions of a few individuals,...a very large proportion of the literary men of this country were numbered among its members, as well as many distinguished foreigners.

It was a regulation of the Society that one month previous to the Anniversary meeting, two of the members should be appointed by the Council auditors of the treasurer's accounts. Mr Pettigrew, who had always taken the most active part in the Society and who was, in fact, *the father of it*, who had principally conducted its proceedings, and obtained at least three-fourths of its members, was chosen at the commencement, and to the year 1818 remained, its treasurer, and from that moment to the present time was in considerable advance on its account.

It was the practice of the Council to appoint the junior auditor of the preceding

[1] The portions of these pamphlets used in this article were kindly copied for me by Professor Mary E. Gearing, of the University of Texas.

[2] *Statutes and Regulations of the Philosophical Society of London, Instituted October 5, 1810.* London, 1830.

[3] *Reply to a pamphlet purporting to be a 'Report of the Council and Committee of the Philosophical Society of London' presented to a general meeting of the Society held at the Crown and the Anchor Tavern, Strand, on Tuesday the 12th of December, together with the resolutions of the meeting thereon.* By G. N. Rankin, London.

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year, the senior auditor of the succeeding,...a practice which had been invariably followed, though not provided for by the regulations.

Some unpleasant circumstances had transpired between the Society and one of its members, and as an officer, Mr Pettigrew was obliged to take active part against him. He thus incurred the enmity of the member's brother. At one of the meetings of the Council, when Mr P. was absent from indisposition, this gentleman proposed himself and a very young member as auditors. Mr Pettigrew was naturally indignant over the appointment, and refused to invite these gentlemen to his house, his custom with other auditors, to go over the accounts,...but offered to lay them before the whole Council....The Council, realizing the impropriety of their former resolution, revoked it, and appointed auditors as before.

Mr Lemaitre, a friend of the member's was indignant at the second action of the Council, and at a general meeting of the Society openly asserted that Mr Pettigrew's accounts were incorrect....The assertion was at the time satisfactorily refuted. At a special meeting of the Society, held on 23rd May last, when His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex was in the chair, Mr Lemaitre again brought up the affair, and reiterated his former statements....Mr Brown, the auditor, was present, and refuted the foul calumny. Mr Lemaitre then indulged in invective and abuse of the whole of the Honorary Members and of the *then* officers of Council....The reproof was felt to be unmerited and a vote of thanks was passed to Mr P. and Dr Collyer for their conduct of the affairs of the Society.

Dr Collyer demanded the expulsion of Mr Lemaitre....A meeting was called for the purpose with Mr Gregory in the chair. The vote was 19 for to 27 against expulsion. Mr Lemaitre was indebted for this majority to his distinct and unequivocal disavowal of his previous observations reflecting on Mr P.'s integrity and honour,... and to a feeling that expulsion would injure his character in the world.

In consequence of this vote, three-fourths of the members retired from the Society in disgust, among them their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Kent, Sussex, and Cambridge, his Serene Highness the Duke of Orleans, Rt Hon. Earl Pomfret, the Rt Rev. the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr Clutterbuck, Dr Merriman, Dr Heath, Mr Coleridge, Mr Sowerby, etc.

The third and last of the pamphlets bearing on the letter is the *Annual Report of the Council of the Society for 1819–1820.*

The Council of the Philosophical Society, in making their report for the past year, regret much to have to notice that subsequent to Christmas last, the Society has fallen into great disorganization, and experienced a very serious diminution in its members; the resignations have been numerous, while the accession of new members has been comparatively small.

The Council are the more concerned at this insomuch as it has been too evidently the natural result of the desultory and unattractive nature of the Ordinary Meetings. They have found it impossible with the utmost exertion to bring forward a succession of such lecturers and papers as the former high character of the Society required, and which it had been accustomed to have presented to its attention.

There follows a report of the financial condition, showing an indebtedness of over fifty pounds and lack of funds to meet it.

The whole income amounts to 60 pounds in consequence of the number of ordinary members being now reduced to 30....

The report was forwarded to the President, Dr Olinthus Gregory, who 'regrets the condition of the Society and his inability to render any assistance, either by any advice or otherwise.' He states that he would have tendered his resignation before, only that the Secretary had changed his place of residence and he had not his new address. 'My

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present opinion,' he continues, 'is, the best thing you can do under the existing circumstances is to dissolve the Society and form and remodel a new one on its ruins.'

The Council after mature deliberation on the above issued the following circular, dated Aug. 11, 1820:

> The Council having resolved on a dissolution of the Society, a General Meeting will be held at Scots Hall, Wednesday evening next at 7 o'clock precisely, to consider the best mode of settling the Society's affairs. Members not attending will be considered as sanctioning the proceedings.
>
> Signed,
>
> CHARLES LAW, registrar.
>
> FANNIE E. RATCHFORD.

AUSTIN, TEXAS, U.S.A.

RUSTAN AND MIRZA.

Grillparzer's choice of the names Rustan and Mirza for the hero and heroine of his *Der Traum ein Leben* is usually explained by reference to a sentence in one of the sources of his story, Voltaire's *Le Blanc et le Noir*. Voltaire's hero is a Rustan who 'était fils unique d'un mirza du pays: c'est comme qui dirait marquis parmi nous, ou baron chez les Allemands.' This passage is, I daresay, sufficient to satisfy the most exacting of source-hunters; at the same time, the names open up some interesting problems. Grillparzer's drama bears witness to his knowledge of the old Persian epic of Sohrab and Rustan, familiar to us in English literature through Matthew Arnold: 'Wo ein Rustan, weitbekannt In der Parsen Fabelland...' (Act II, 934 f.); but Görres' *Heldenbuch von Iran*, which first made the epic generally known to the German-speaking world, appeared too late (1820) for the inception of Grillparzer's play. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were, moreover, familiarised with the name Rustan in the theatre, not by the Persian saga, but by the group of tragedies which sprang from Bonarelli's *Il Solimano* (1619; French translation, 1637), reinforced by Madeleine de Scudéry's novel, *Ibrahim ou l'Illustre Bassa* (1641). Here come into question—besides several plays which I only know by title—*Solyman, ou la Mort de Mustapha*, by Jean Mairet (1630), the tragicomedy by Georges de Scudéry bearing the same title as his sister's novel (1643); Jean Desmarets' tragicomedy *Roxelane* of the same year; *Soliman*, a tragedy by De la Tuillerie (or the Abbé Abeille) (1681); *Mustapha et Zéangir*, by François Belin (1705); and the tragedy of the same name by Chamfort (1777). In German literature the novel provided the matter for the *Ibrahim Bassa* of Lohenstein (ca. 1650),

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who possibly also knew the work of his dramatic predecessors; and Belin's play, no doubt, gave the suggestion for Weisse's *Mustapha und Zeangir* (1761)[1]. In all these works, except Chamfort's, a Rustan plays an important part.

The choice of the name Mirza is not quite so simple a matter. It is, as Voltaire uses it, a masculine appellation; it appears as such in Addison's *Vision of Mirzah* in the *Spectator*, No. 156 (1716), which was translated by Wieland as *Gesicht des Mirza* in 1755. In the *Mercure de France* of January 1774 there is a 'conte,' *Mirza, ou la nécessité d'être utile*, which passed over into the voluminous *Cabinet des Fées*, long a delight to lovers of oriental fiction. Mirza is the name of an old man, one of the chief personages in J. D. Falk's *Die heiligen Gräber zu Kom* (1796). It is possible, indeed, that this satire, not Voltaire, gave Grillparzer the suggestion for the name of his heroine; and that she already bore this name when Rustan may still have been Ishmael. The earliest hint we have of Grillparzer's preoccupation with the theme that ultimately became *Der Traum ein Leben*, points to Falk as the first source; and Falk's possible share in moulding Grillparzer's plan deserves careful consideration[2]. Goethe, it might also be noted, uses the word Mirza correctly as a masculine title in the notes to his *Westöstlicher Divan*[3]. The form of the name Mirza naturally suggests to the western mind its use as a female name; but I have been unable to find any instances of such use in French literature. Martin Lamm in an article quoted below says that it appears in a Swedish translation (1778) of Cahusac's opera *Zoroastre* to which Rameau composed the music; but neither in the original French work (1749), nor in the earlier opera of the same name by Le Brun (*Théâtre lyrique*, Paris, 1712), is the name of the heroine Mirza. In fact, strange to say, almost the only examples I have found of the use of Mirza as a female name, before Grillparzer, are in Scandinavian literature: in the opera by the Swedish poet Creutz, to which I shall come immediately, in P. A. Heiberg's 'Syngestykke' *Selim og Mirza* (1790)[4], and in Oehlenschläger's oriental tale, *Aly og Gulhindy* (1811; German translation, 1816), where, however, it only occurs once in passing. Goedeke's *Grundriss* (VI, p. 507) quotes a German example from the *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, 1806, p. 144, a prologue to an unprinted

[1] J. Minor in his *C. F. Weisse*, Innsbruck, 1880, p. 222, was unaware of Belin's play, which leads him to make the very improbable conjecture that Chamfort must have known his German predecessor's work. The explanation is, of course, to be found in the common source or sources.

[2] Cp. S. Hock, *Der Traum ein Leben*, Stuttgart, 1904, pp. 20 f.

[3] Weimar Edition, VII, pp. 78, 81.

[4] P. A. Heiberg, *Samlede Skuespil*, 2nd ed., Copenhagen, 1806, I, pp. 808 ff.

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tragedy, *Mirza die Afrikanerin*[1]. In later times Hebbel used the name Mirza for a female character in his *Judith*.

So far, this matter of names is only of curious interest. A new factor is introduced with the fact that Grillparzer was not the first to use the two names Rustan and Mirza together. When the Swedish poet, Count Creutz, was ambassador in France, between 1766 and 1783, he wrote an opera, *Rustan och Mirza*, which was handed over to, or appropriated by, his younger countryman, Bengt Lidner. A fragment of it was printed in the second edition of Lidner's *Samlade arbeten*, vol. II (1814). The original manuscript has, however, been preserved, and it is the subject of a study by Martin Lamm in *Samlaren*, XXXII (1911), pp. 99 ff. In this opera the hero is 'Rustan, prins i Persien,' and the heroine 'Mirza, prinsessa från Cyrus.' The question inevitably presents itself to us: is there any possible connecting link between Creutz and Grillparzer? Deeper research into the fascinating field of eighteenth-century orientalism and pseudo-orientalism may perhaps yet reveal some common source. Meanwhile I throw out the following possible explanation of the juxtaposition of the two names. Among the friends and correspondents of Usbek in Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721) are a Rustan and a Mirza[2]; and in the *Universal Magazine* of July 1752 there appeared an 'oriental tale' entitled *Rustan and Mirza*. Mirza is again here, as in Montesquieu, a man, the story being one of self-sacrificing friendship; but the juxtaposition of the names is significant. Now in 1759 a Madame Bellot published in Paris two volumes, *Mélanges de littérature anglaise*, consisting of translations from the English journals; and among these is the story in question (vol. I, pp. 126 ff.) from the *Universal Magazine*. Madame Bellot's work seems to have been widely known, or at least, widely reviewed in France[3], and it might well have contributed to the association of the names.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

[1] For the references to Oehlenschläger and Goedeke, I am indebted to Hock, *l.c.*, p. 126

[2] *Lettres persanes*, VIII, X, XI, LXXXV, XCI.

[3] See especially *Année littéraire*, 1759, II, pp. 49 ff.

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REVIEWS.

The Text of Shakespeare's Hamlet. By B. A. P. Van Dam, M.D. [Including an edition of the play.] London: John Lane. 1924. Imp. 8vo. vii + 380 pp. 21*s.*

Dr Van Dam believes Q 2 to have been printed from Shakespeare's autograph and to furnish the only authoritative basis for an edition. This is a view which has received of late a good deal of support, and one would expect it to lead to a respectful or even reverent treatment of the text. But not so, the critic finds extensive corruption on almost every page, and treats the play in a more high-handed manner than any editor since Pope.

The writer's views are perhaps better known and more regarded on the continent than in this country, but those who have had occasion to consult his earlier works are aware that he has persuaded himself, on what he regards as irrefragable evidence, that the structure of English dramatic blank verse is of an invariable nature, permitting practically no licence and demanding a practically constant syllabic pronunciation. Twenty years ago I gave my reasons for doubting the validity of the evidence and the conclusions drawn from it, in a review which evidently annoyed Dr Van Dam. What value, if any, my criticisms had, I do not now pretend to say, but I do not think it is necessary to reopen the controversy here for reasons which will appear in a moment.

It is evident on the face of it that the text of Q 2 does not conform to the critic's metrical theories, a fact which calls for explanation. The corruptions are ascribed to a variety of causes. In a minor degree the old bogey of the wicked compositor is galvanized to new life for the purpose—his quondam associate the careless transcriber is of course *ex hypothesi* unavailable. He is provided with the excuse of an illegible (if unblotted!) manuscript for copy—a postulate which conveniently accounts for his constant reference to, and incorporation of all manner of mistakes from, Q 1. But by far the most effective source is to be found in the interpolations, alterations, and omissions made by actors in course of performance, though why these should have been inserted into the author's manuscript is a problem which even our critic found a little difficult of solution[1].

Here then we have but another of the many attempts to invalidate the textual tradition in order to leave the field free for emendation in accordance with some preconceived idea.

By the textual results of Dr Van Dam's theory it may fairly be

[1] F 1 is supposed to be printed from a transcript which had been further altered or contaminated for the stage. But again the compositor was unable to read his copy, and consulted and introduced errors from one of the later Qq.

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judged, and if he really believes in it he will probably ask for no better test. One preliminary admission should be made. The editor, namely, is able to show that a considerable number of the alterations he finds it necessary to introduce have already been proposed by former—mainly eighteenth-century—critics. This, however, is not an unqualified recommendation, and I, at least, find it difficult to believe that anyone with a sense of Elizabethan style and verse will be able to look through the carefully prepared text at the end of Dr Van Dam's volume without becoming convinced that a theory which leads to such results stands self-condemned[1]. It would indeed be no small miracle if the monotonous cadence and the dull flat style of the text here offered as Shakespeare's had by a mere process of corruption grown into the wonder of subtle and varied music with which we are familiar. 'Miracles are all right, Polly. The only difficulty about them is that they don't happen nowadays.'

The other most important discussion in the present volume, and one far more worthy of serious attention, concerns the still-vexed problem of the origin of Q 1. The text there printed Dr Van Dam regards as purely derivative. The foundation is the same authorised version as in Q 2. This was severely cut down, and occasionally recast and rewritten, for the stage, in part by Shakespeare himself, in part apparently by other hands. It was severely mauled by actors who did not know their parts, and taken down in short-hand[2] by a reporter who often failed to hear what was said, and whose notes were pieced together and eked out by conjecture. Of course various transcribers and the compositor contributed their mites to the general confusion. Dr Van Dam does not deny the possibility that in some passages the original of Q 1 was rewritten before it appeared as Q 2, but he finds such an assumption quite unnecessary. Even the name 'Corambis' he regards as an invention of the stenographer, who failed to catch 'Polonius'!

It is hardly necessary to say that each and all of these agencies are capable on occasion of producing errors of the most disconcerting kind, but although it would perhaps be presumptuous even to guess at the possibilities of human depravity, it would be a far worse mistake to assume a high degree thereof as normal and constant even in a proved delinquent. Assumptions must not only be possible but reasonable. In illustration take two lines of the Clown's song as they stand in Q 1 and Q 2:

Most fit it is, for t'will be made,	O a pit of Clay for to be made
For such a ghest most meete.	for such a guest is meet.

This may, we are told, be no more than a printer's mistake. He begins by misprinting 'fit' for 'pit,' and afterwards 'reading over what he has

[1] This is not logic, and if Dr Van Dam objects that I have not refuted his arguments he will be quite right. But it seems to me an excellent reason for not wasting print and paper on the attempt.

[2] Probably on Willis's system. Dr Van Dam doubts the adequacy of Bright's—a point on which I am inclined to agree. It is no very serious objection that Willis did not publish his system till 1602; still its use before publication is an assumption for which, so far as I am aware, no evidence can be adduced.

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printed' without the copy, finds it nonsense and alters the whole couplet to make sense[1]. Well, it depends on one's conception of an Elizabethan printer's ways. I cannot deny the abstract possibility, but neither can I allow the assumption as legitimate.

However, it is the actor who is the most hard-worked member of the nefarious gang. He not only mangles his part, but shows a diabolical ingenuity in patching it up into something quite different. He not only introduces tags from other portions of his part—thereby sadly upsetting his fellows who have to counter with improvised lines—but from any other play in which he happens to have been acting[2]. Thus Q 1 contains reminiscences not only of eight or nine earlier Shakespearian plays, particularly *Romeo and Juliet* and *Henry VI*, but of *The Spanish Tragedy* (a whole bunch), and *Satiromastix* and *Old Fortunatus* as well. Indeed diligent research could probably recover a veritable anthology of fragments from lost plays, such as the lines:

> A front wherein all vertues are set downe
> For to adorne a king, and guild his crowne,

so patly suggested to the actor by 'the front of Joue himselfe'.

This, of course, is Dr Van Dam's interpretation, who is bound to account somehow for all elements of Q 1 absent from Q 2. But many of the parallels are indeed of the slightest, and he cannot even feel happy with what he oddly calls the 'strange expression' in the line:

> And borne before an euerlasting Iudge,

till he has referred it to the couplet in *Titus Andronicus*:

> For which attempt the Iudges haue pronounst,
> My euerlasting doome of banishment!

Is there any evidence for the wholesale interpolation of the text by actors? Yes, says our author, the good actor's duty is not only to 'sute the action to the word, but also to sute the word to the action... In other words, where the right gesticulation requires a word that is not found in the written text, the actor has to supply it.' He seems to have forgotten Hamlet's other caution to the players to 'speake no more than is set downe for them'. And if here his memory has tripped him, elsewhere fate has played him an equally ugly trick. After quoting Nashe's words about the players having supplied the last four acts of the *Isle of Dogs*, he continues: 'It is very improbable that the players should have commissioned another person to complete Nashe's play... So it seems likely that the plot having been decided upon, the parts were played *ex tempore*, as it were.' Such assurance may well cause the reader to gasp. And we now know with tolerable certainty that the player who supplied the last four acts was Ben Jonson!

[1] Dr Van Dam does not mention the fact that the lines occur twice over in Q 1, and that on the second occasion the first of them reads 'Most fit it is for to be made'. Was 'pit' misprinted 'fit' twice over? and if so why the second time was the second line altered and the first left?

[2] Such interpolations did in fact sometimes occur. The *Merry Wives* of 1602 contains a line from *Hamlet*, but it agrees with Q 2 and not with Q 1, a point that is a little awkward for Dr Van Dam.

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But to return to the main point: What degree of corruption are we asked to ascribe to players too lazy to learn their parts? There is the long rigmarole, a mere string of disconnected phrases, that in Q 1 takes the place of the passage beginning:

> why she should hang on him
> As if increase of appetite had growne
> By what it fed on...

This represents the puzzled actor producing a sort of mosaic out of his tortured memory. Again there is Laertes' speech, which in the two Qq. runs as follows:

My gratious Lord, your fauourable licence,	My dread Lord,
Now that the funerall rites are all performed,	Your leaue and fauour to returne to Fraunce,
I may haue leaue to go againe to France,	From whence, though willingly I came to Denmarke,
For though the fauour of your grace might stay mee,	To showe my dutie in your Coronation;
Yet something is there whispers in my hart,	Yet now I must confesse, that duty done
Which makes my minde and spirits bend all for France.	My thoughts and wishes bend againe toward Fraunce...

Here the actor 'remembered something of what he had to say and said it in his own words'; that is, he produced a perfectly good speech in perfectly good verse, but it happened not to be the one he had learned! But what the devil, one asks, was the prompter about? Of course actors make mistakes, they forget their parts and at a pinch have to improvise, but a definite limit is set to such corruption by the existence of the prompt book.

Now it is possible to conceive circumstances in which no prompt copy might be available, and in that case it is by no means difficult to suppose that an acting version originally based on the text preserved in Q 2 might degenerate into something very like that of Q 1. But this would almost inevitably lead to the conclusion that the play, if a piracy, was taken down in the provinces—an hypothesis of immense difficulty.

One passage which Dr Van Dam selects for comment is in fact so instructive that I cannot refrain from quoting it. In Q 1 Corambis says to his daughter:

> Ofelia, receiue none of his letters,
> "For louers lines are snares to intrap the heart;
> "Refuse his tokens, both of them are keyes
> To vnlocke Chastitie vnto Desire;
> Come in Ofelia, such men often proue,
> "Great in their wordes, but little in their loue.

There is nothing corresponding to these lines in Q 2, and since Dr Van Dam finds them in Shakespeare's manner he assumes an accidental omission. Be this as it may, their presence in Q 1 is of the highest significance. For not only are the sententious 'quots' a clear indication that we are dealing with author's copy or a transcript of it, but their

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absence from two of the lines shows that the words 'both...Ofelia' are no part of the original text but a marginal addition[1]. In my view this passage is of itself sufficient to disprove the stenographic origin of Q 1.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the discussion is a mere tissue of headstrong assertion and perverse argument. On the contrary, it contains a great deal of useful observation which future critics will be foolish to neglect, and of sober and acute reasoning from which they may learn much. In particular Dr Van Dam is singularly successful in showing that passages of Q 1, to which previous critics have pointed as exhibiting early drafts subsequently rewritten into the Q 2 text, cannot possibly as they stand be original; though he hardly seems fully to appreciate the difference between proving Q 1 to be unoriginal and proving Q 2 to be original. It is a great pity that so much really scholarly investigation and scrupulously moderate argument should be marred by the constant outcrop of less admirable qualities. For there is hardly a page on which the reader will not stumble across some astonishing instance of purblind confidence or wrong-headed 'ratiocination'. I will conclude this notice with three examples which appear to me to show how untrustworthy a guide our author at times can be.

Everyone knows the conversation between Hamlet and Ophelia on the subject of beauty and honesty; it ends:

> *Oph.* Could beauty my Lord haue better comerse then with honestie?
> *Ham.* I truly, for the power of beautie will sooner transforme honestie from what it is to a bawde, then the force of honestie can translate beautie into his likenes...

I do not think that anyone has ever found any difficulty in these lines, and surely, granted a very modest degree of imagination, the sequence of the thought is clear enough! But to Dr Van Dam 'the last answer of Hamlet to the last question of Ophelia is irrational, the logical connection between answer and question is wanting', and he proposes in Ophelia's question to transpose the words 'beauty' and 'honestie'. The reader will probably protest that this puts into Ophelia's mouth a question it could never have occurred to her to ask, and he may begin to wonder whether a critic who proposes such emendations has any right to be heard at all.

Turning on a few pages he will find his worst fears but too amply confirmed. Here we are solemnly assured that the lines in Q 2:

> A fault...
> To reason most absurde, whose common theame
> Is death of fathers, and who still hath cryed
> From the first course [= corse], till he that died to day
> This must be so:

cannot have been written by Shakespeare, because 'the first corpse was [according to *Genesis* iv. 8] of a son and not of a father; and the latest corpse of to-day might just as well be the corpse of a child as of a father'!

[1] 'The inverted commas', says the writer elsewhere, 'belong to punctuation'—and are therefore negligible, as due to the printer. This is a facile form of argument. I merely say, on the other part, that they are due to the author and therefore significant.

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The last example I shall take is from a passage in the final chapter in which Dr Van Dam argues against the view that the Shakespearian addition to *Sir Thomas More* is autograph. His method is simple. He takes the fine but difficult passage beginning:

> o desperat as you are.
> wash your foule mynds w^{t} teares...

rewrites it according to his own theories, and then asserts that, because it is not so written in the manuscript, the latter cannot be autograph! Moreover, he slurs over the fact that the text as it stands is the result of elaborate alterations made *currente calamo*, and that one half line has been added by a different hand from the rest. His assertion that 'it is incredible' that the author should have placed the 'full stop' at the end of the first line quoted above, where we should write a comma, of course merely shows how ignorant he is of Elizabethan palaeography. Equally significant is his argument that if 'momtanish' is wrong (as it pretty certainly is) we must give up the idea of its being autograph. Until we know for certain what the author did intend (and the prospect of this seems remote) it is quite impossible to say whether the error is one that an author might be expected to make or not. Only the other day I found that I had written 'in debt' where I undoubtedly intended to write 'in doubt'.

If Dr Van Dam makes converts they are unlikely to be found in this country. It's no use. We have a certain easy-going way of taking things as we find them, that determines our attitude in criticism much as it does in philosophy. And when we meet a critic claiming a special *gnosis* of what an author *must* or *cannot possibly* have written, we are more inclined to set him down for a fool than a prophet. It may be very lamentable, very illogical, but there it is; and it is perhaps less urgent to warn readers against the fundamental faults of this book, than to recommend them to study its many incidental excellencies.

W. W. Greg.

London.

Elizabethans. By A. H. Bullen. London: Chapman and Hall. 1924. 8vo. xii + 226 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The collection and publication of these papers is an act of piety on the part of an unnamed friend for which all who cherish Bullen's memory will be grateful. And those who had not the great privilege of his acquaintance will learn from this, better perhaps than from any other of his books, something of the rare quality of his mind, something of the impression he made on those who had heard him talk of the authors he loved.

The first six papers dealing with Drayton, Daniel, Chapman, Dekker, Nicholas Breton and Campion represent a course of lectures given at Oxford in 1889, except that the original paper on Drayton was expanded in 1916 and that that on Breton, having had some pages excised, has had to

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be supplemented from his notes. In 1889 Bullen was only 32 though he had already produced most of the work for which he is best known. These papers therefore give us glimpses of him when he was at the height of his powers and life had still cast no shadow on his genius. The three next papers in the book are given to William Bullein whom he claimed as a kinsman and admired as a writer, Hakewill's *Apologie*, a favourite book on which he once lectured to the Elizabethan Literary Society, and Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke. Finally comes a paper characteristic of the man who combined with his love of poetry a sturdy English patriotism. Entitled 'Shakespeare the Englishman,' it was 'written, by special request, for the Shakespeare Tercentenary number of "Khaki," a magazine supported by voluntary contributions wholly for the benefit of our fighting men and prisoners of war.'

In all these papers, then, Bullen is addressing a semi-popular audience. He does not assume in his hearers any special knowledge of the subject on which he is speaking, and he does not carry them on to ground of controversy. Experts will not look to these pages for new facts or what is called 'original research.' Even what was new in 1889, for example, the discovery of Campion, is not new now. But if they are more than Dryasdusts, it will be of intense interest to them to see how the authors whom they study appealed to one who knew the Greek and Latin poets as well as he knew the English, whose catholic taste embraced Balzac and Mr Yeats, who was absolutely honest and independent in his likings, scrupling not to differ here from Ben Jonson and there from Coleridge, and who was as exquisite a judge of the best in literature as Charles Lamb himself. With Lamb, indeed, he had much in common, alike in the sinewy strength and in the tenderness of his nature, both naturally reflected in his style.

Does he not recall Lamb when he writes:

> In reading Drayton's 'Nymphidia' one is transported to the golden time of childhood, when the air was alive with mystery, when the shadows on the window-blind or the embers in the grate held an Iliad of imaginary joys and sorrows. Few pleasures are better than that of looking back into the delightful world where once we wandered at will; and such a pleasure Michael Drayton has given us in this airy masterpiece.

> Drayton is not to the taste of today, for he is not widely read and is known to most people only by his 'Ballad of Agincourt' and his incomparable love sonnet. The reason may be that the world grows older and life more sombre; the gospel of Science is spreading, the revels of Oberon have long been broken up, and not the Sicily of Theocritus is more remote from us than the London of Shakespeare.

> It is a mysterious affair, but we need not regret that in the lives of many of the Elizabethans there is still some mystery left; something to inflame our fancy, pique our curiosity, and leave the figures on the canvas all the more attractive because the outlines are not too sharply defined.... Like the stained glass in our old cathedral windows (to which the dust of time has given that mellowed light we sometimes wrongly attribute to the cunning of the old glass-workers), so these lives, but imperfectly known, of the poets and the playwrights are decked by our imagination with colours made all the livelier from the very poverty of our knowledge: we may lose more than we can hope to gain when, if ever, painstaking students shall have brushed away all the cobwebs.

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Surely we may apply to A. H. B. the words he uses of his namesake: 'in his graver utterances he may be compared—not to his discomfiture—with the acknowledged great masters of English prose.'

Little but praise can be given to the manner in which these papers have been given to the world. The quotations from Daniel on pp. 33–42 might however with advantage have been divided into stanzas, and on p. 74 'Carbell' is misprinted for 'Carlell.'

On p. 203 Bullen quotes Fulke Greville's song from *England's Helicon*, beginning:

> Away with these self-loving lads,
> Whom Cupid's arrow never glads:
> Away poor souls, that sigh and weep,
> In love of those that lie asleep:
> For Cupid is a meadow god
> And forceth none to kiss the rod.

It so happens that in February 1920 I wrote to Bullen questioning the authenticity of the phrase 'a meadow god.' I take this opportunity of printing his interesting and characteristic reply:

Stratford-upon-Avon
19 ii 1920

I had puzzled my head over the 'meadow god,' but came to the conclusion that it was the right reading, and I think it so stands in the beautiful MS. probably written by Fulke Greville's private secretary under the author's own eye at Warwick Castle. Cupid was born in the fields and reared among flowers: hence his gentleness. I think that F. G. may have had in memory some lines from the 'Pervigilium Veneris,' a favourite poem in the XVII[th] century:—

> 'Rura fecundat voluptas: rura Venerem sentiunt:
> *Ipse Amor puer Dionæ rure natus creditur:*
> *Hunc ager cum parturiret ipsa suscepit sinu,*
> *Ipsa florum delicatis educavit osculis.*'

Ten days after this letter was written Bullen died. Spiritually and materially the War had hit him hard. One might have said of him:

> Vex not his ghost; O, let him pass! he hurts him
> That would upon the rack of this tough world
> Stretch him out longer.

We shall never see his like again, but in *Elizabethans* we may still 'learn his great language,' still catch from his lips 'that large utterance of the early gods.'

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

A Bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne, Kt, M.D. By Geoffrey Keynes. Cambridge: University Press. 1924. xii + 256 pp. 42*s*.

Dr Geoffrey Keynes established his reputation as a bibliographer by his *Bibliography of Donne*. We have now to thank him and the Cambridge Press for a no less magnificent work, the *Bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne*.

Like its predecessor the book gives us much more than its title

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promises. In the first place we have five beautiful plates—the portrait of Sir Thomas and Lady Browne recently discovered at Swaffham Prior, the first page of one of the MSS. of *Religio Medici*, the engraved title-page of the first unauthorised edition, the first page of the *Repertorium* in the author's handwriting, and a portrait of Simon Wilkin, whose merits as Browne's editor are abundantly shown in this work and are fittingly emphasized by its author. In addition thirty-six title-pages are reproduced, as well as a grimly *macabre* drawing presented by the artist, Mme G. Raverat. The Bibliography deals in turn with each separate work of Browne, then with his Collected Works, Selections from his works, and books of biography and criticism. An article is devoted to the Sale Catalogue of his library. Then follow appendices on (1) imitators of the *Religio Medici*, (2) forerunners and imitators of *Vulgar Errors*, (3) the works of Sir Thomas' son Dr Edward Browne, and (4) Simon Wilkin and his correspondence with Southey in connexion with his editorial task.

Dr Keynes' researches have established various new facts. Of the two pirated editions of 1642 of the *Religio Medici*, it appears that the earlier is the one hitherto considered the later. There were two authorized editions (not merely issues) in 1645. The edition of 1682 appears not to have been supervised by the author. There is no evidence for a 1663 edition.

The work is so masterly throughout that one grieves that it should contain one serious omission. Unfortunately that is the case. The MS. of the *Religio Medici* in the library of St John's College, Cambridge, was unknown to Wilkin. It is unknown, alas, to Dr Keynes. Yet it appears as No. 281 in Dr James' Catalogue of the college manuscripts (old pressmark 'H 15.'), being bound with 'Overall. Episc. Norwic. de Statu questionum V inter Remonstrantes et Contra Remonstrantes Controversarum.' The book according to Baker's note quoted by Dr James came to the College 'Ex dono venerabilis viri Bambridge (really Bainbridge) Dean hujus Coll. olim alumni.' Dean, a native of Dufton, Westmorland, was admitted to the College from Sedbergh School as a sizar in 1682, and became B.A. 168⅝, M.A. 1689, rector of Beeston, Norfolk 1692. The gift was made, in the opinion of Mr Previté-Orton, Librarian of the College, about 1700. The MS. is not a copy of the authorized text, but agrees more closely with the spurious editions and the other surviving MSS., with which it seems to compare favourably.

The following points are of small importance.

p. 23. The facsimile of the title-page of *Religio Medici* 1754 here given has 'carefull corrected' (the 'y' of 'carefully' having dropped out). The copy in the University Library, Edinburgh, as the Librarian informs me, has 'carefully.'

p. 32. No. 42, an edition of *Religio Medici* in the 'Temple Classics' series, is described as 'Ed. Gollancz.' Sir Israel Gollancz was the General Editor of the series, but of this book it is stated: 'The proofs have been revised by Miss Ursula Holme, B.A., who has added the marginalia and the accompanying Glossary.' Is not Miss Holme therefore the editor?

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Similarly, p. 35, No. 54 is described as 'Ed. Whibley.' Yet Dr Keynes tells us that while Mr Charles Whibley provided an Introduction, 'the text' was 'revised and notes prepared by Thomas Bayne.' Is not Mr Bayne therefore the editor?

p. 170. No. 308. Pater's essay is included in *Appreciations* (1889).

p. 210. The Sheffield University copy of *Pseudodoxia*, 1669 (presented by the late Professor J. E. B. Mayor) has a MS. note in the margin of Sir Thomas Browne's preface to *Pseudodoxia*: 'Bachot has also pub^{d} a B^{k} Intit^{d} Erreurs populaires touch^{t} la medecine & regime de santé. v. B. 1655 b.' Bachot's book is not in Dr Keynes' list.

The bibliography is gracefully dedicated to the memory of that great collector of Browne's works, the late Sir William Osler. Acknowledgment is made of help received from him, from Mr Cosmo Gordon who for some time co-operated with Dr Keynes in his task, and from others, including Mr Charles Sayle whose recent death so many scholars have cause to lament.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

F. C. Roe. *Taine et l'Angleterre.* (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature comparée*, vi.) Paris: É. Champion. 1923. 8vo. viii + 209 pp. 15 fr.

Arthur Lytton Sells. *Les Sources françaises de Goldsmith.* (Same Series, xii.) viii + 233 pp. 15 fr.

Sybil Goulding. *Swift en France.* (Same Series, xv.) ii + 210 pp. 15 fr.

The Library of the *Revue de Littérature comparée* has been adding so rapidly to its volumes that it is difficult for a journal with a restricted space for book-reviewing to keep pace with it. The three volumes here selected have in common that they deal with Anglo-French 'comparative' themes and are the work of English writers. Mr Roe has given us an excellent book on Taine—I say advisedly a book, and not an academic thesis; it is only in the final chapter on Taine's influence that the uningratiating accumulation-of-materials methods of the usual thesis assert themselves. But that chapter is, after all, somewhat extraneous to his main theme, and might have been omitted. There is a maturity in his grasp of the subject and in his judgment which shows that he has already got beyond the academic leading-strings. Perhaps readers who are unfortunately old enough to have begun life in an England not very distant from that which Taine knew, will miss a warmth and fulness in the picture which Mr Roe conjures up of it; they may experience a certain disillusionment in reading his dispassionate twentieth-century estimate of an author who meant a great deal to them; they may miss in particular an emphasis on the things in Taine that meant most to them in those far-off days. But that is no fault of Mr Roe's; he is certainly right; it is we of the older generation who cling unreasonably

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to our old illusions. In his skilful demonstration of the extraordinary way in which Taine's judgment of us and our literature was dominated by the preconceived ideas he brought over with him from France, he is particularly enlightening and convincing. This excellent study might well appear in English dress. But in that case some revision would be advisable; for Mr Roe is sometimes vulnerable in little things, opinions thrown out on the literature of the seventies which would benefit by reconsideration. I have also noted some inaccuracies in dates: *The Origin of Species* did not appear in 1850; to say that the University of London was founded in 1836 is hardly accurate, and Carlyle did not die in 1875. The footnotes, too, would be improved by a more systematic method of citing authorities and a more liberal sprinkling of dates. The volume contains a few interesting letters from Taine's English correspondents. Surely there must be many more which would be well worth printing.

Miss Goulding's study of Swift in France is, by the very nature of its theme, a much more laborious undertaking. And she has not shirked the labour; she has conscientiously worked through dusty old translations and she has carefully collected data from the periodical press. The latter undertaking—tedious as it is—is essential for all who would investigate the comparative literature of the eighteenth century; for the great journals of France were the common meeting-ground for the whole literature of Europe. Miss Goulding has even consulted at least one German journal. I have a few Swift notes from others, which might throw some small light on her immediate theme; but this is hardly material. Professor Baldensberger, reviewing Miss Goulding's work in the current number of his *Revue de Littérature comparée*, finds deficiencies in her treatment of Swift in the France of the late eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries; but, unless in the interest of bibliographical completeness, this does not seriously invalidate her work; for, as she is herself quick to see, the fecundating significance of Swift for the intellectual movement in France and Europe was early exhausted. There was, it is true, a brief revival of interest in the later eighteenth century when Lord Orrery's *Life* and Hawkesworth's publication of the *Journal to Stella* brought Swift's love-story into prominence; indeed for a time it made fashionable a new erotic motive in the novel and drama. Possibly a little more might have been said here. The theme of Swift in France is not exhilarating at the best; and I am inclined to think that Miss Goulding's interest in it has waned a little as she proceeded. There is a pleasant freshness in her treatment of Van Effen, which one misses when she comes to the egregious Desfontaines and the Abbé Yart. But her book is a valuable contribution to Anglo-French relations in the eighteenth century, and a boon to all students of the period. Her bibliography is particularly welcome in view of the long way the printed Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale has still to go before it reaches the letter S.

Mr Sells deals with the French sources of Goldsmith. He is fortunate in his subject; for he is in the happy position of not being

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hampered by inconvenient predecessors who have already secured the plums. He has methodically and conscientiously accumulated a surprisingly large mass of valuable material; but he has failed, it seems to me, to take full advantage of the opportunities his discoveries provide him with. His work remains disappointingly on the conventional thesis level throughout. He has, for instance, admirably shown us Goldsmith's large and hitherto unappreciated debt to Marivaux, and the importance of Voltaire for Goldsmith's dramatic theory; but he leaves it at that: he has missed his chance of throwing new light on the share of France in the evolution of English comedy from *The Way of the World*—or let us even say *The Beaux' Stratagem*—to *She Stoops to Conquer*. And surely this was the important thing.

These three theses by English investigators are written in French. One is tempted to ask why? It is surely not a desideratum in France that French should be the sole medium of the cosmopolitan science of Comparative Literature, and that foreign workers are to be denied the use of their own tongue. The cause of literary scholarship is certainly not furthered thereby, and the training of the critic is hampered in a way of which he is perhaps not himself fully conscious. A writer who masquerades in a foreign idiom is necessarily warped in his natural expression; he is unwittingly at the mercy of *clichés* that are not his own; and he learns with fatal ease to bend his thought to suit his medium, instead of the infinitely difficult art of compelling his medium to serve his thought. Such mastery is rarely or never attained except in our mother-tongue; and how few ever attain it completely there! It is in most cases the lack of this art, and not shortcomings in industry and research, that gives the first efforts of our academic critics an appearance of immaturity. This consideration has been particularly forced on me—not, let me say at once, by any deficiency, but rather by an excess of virtue—in reading Mr Sells' thesis. For Mr Sells carries the process of denying his nationality to a degree that even impairs the value of his work. Goldsmith for him wrote, not *The Good-Natur'd Man*, but a play with the absurdly colourless title of *Le brave Homme*; and it is difficult to think that it would not have gone against the grain in an Englishman, to substitute a French translation that leaves us cold, for one of the daintiest titles in the whole range of English comedy. Even *The Vicar of Wakefield* is turned into *Le Ministre de Wakefield*! Mr Sells, indeed, only draws the line at his Frenchification of Goldsmith, when the titles are absolutely refractory. Could one imagine any Frenchman writing a monograph on De Musset in English—or for that part, an Englishman—foisting on us a translated title for say, *On ne badine pas avec l'amour*? When Mr Sells compares *The Good-Natur'd Man* with Marivaux' *Le Legs*, he puts in parallel columns passages from Marivaux and—not Goldsmith, but a French translation of Goldsmith. Needless to say, this makes the comparison worthless for critical purposes; or would do so, if Mr Sells did not here (but by no means everywhere) print the original in footnotes. For the hypothetical French reader, who would turn to this volume, without knowing the English language, surely the

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process might have been reversed: the translation relegated to the footnotes. But is any Frenchman ignorant of English likely to read an investigation like this at all? Need he be so solicitously catered for?

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

Poésies Choisies de Ronsard. Recueillies sur un plan nouveau et annotées par PIERRE DE NOLHAC. Paris: Garnier. 1924. 8vo. xvi + 546 pp. 7 fr. 50.

In his 'Avertissement' M. Pierre de Nolhac explains the 'Plan nouveau' according to which he has chosen and arranged this collection of Ronsard's poems, published in connection with the fourth centenary of the poet's birth: 'pour mieux faire comprendre Ronsard, c'est-à-dire le faire mieux aimer.' The contents are distributed in distinct series, corresponding for the most part with the different sources of inspiration and the different themes treated by Ronsard in the course of his life, e.g. antiquity, love, nature, France, friendship, country life, religion, the court, while some of those less easily labelled are classed under 'Scènes et Croquis,' and 'Idées littéraires.' This arrangement is meant to help the reader who, unless expert, might lose his way in the extent and prolixity of the works as they appear in the edition of 1578, now completely reprinted by M. Hugues Vaganay (1923), or in that of 1584 (much altered and re-arranged by the poet), reproduced (1924) by M. Paul Laumonier.

Ronsard himself often changed the order in which he placed his poems, as well as their wording, and it seems by no means necessary to take them all from one edition. M. de Nolhac, while not disregarding chronology, has endeavoured to catch the thought of the poet, whether for a whole poem, or merely for an extract, at the moment in which it seemed nearest to perfection. Such a method, depending to some extent on personal impression, may have its dangers, but it leaves a freedom in the use of variants which M. de Nolhac has used to great advantage with his expert knowledge and judgment. The date of each variation is always exactly indicated, and, where no date is given, the edition of 1578, now generally preferred, has been used. Suppressions are frequent, they are indeed necessary ('par un respect filial') in the interest of the poet's reputation, and are clearly marked by suspension points.

In his selection the editor has been guided principally by literary taste, sometimes by historical interest, rarely by mere curiosity. 'Plus d'un beau sonnet, plus d'une exquise chanson nous semblent manquer ici,' and he would fain have given many a graphic extract from the *Poèmes* and the *Hymnes* which space forbade. Its length alone also accounts for the exclusion of the *Récit sur l'Équité des Vieux Gaulois*, which it was found impossible to mutilate.

The standardization of the spelling will not appeal to all readers, but since there was much inconsistency and confusion, often resulting from mere typographical caprice, it was considered more convenient to

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modernize all the orthography, unless prevented by the exigencies of scansion or rhyme, so that such forms as 'français' and 'françois' are found in juxtaposition. The simplification of the punctuation is claimed to assume the interest of a commentary on the sense, but here some misprints mar the value of the alterations. There is a complete glossary of the Old French terms found in the collection. If some of these (*bailler*, *sus*, *voire*, *verdelet*, etc.) might have been interpreted without assistance, the greater part will be welcomed by the non-specialist reader. Discreet and excellent Notes give the necessary elucidation, biographical, historical, geographical, mythological, and the critical suggestions are clear and brief. Variants are rarely given. The editor has not found it possible to indicate all the passages of ancient authors utilised by Ronsard, whether by conscious imitation or through simple reminiscence. The reader will find an interest in supplying many of these for himself (e.g., the reminiscence of Dante, *Vita Nuova*, in Sonnet vii, page 140, to Hélène de Surgères).

The Introduction, containing M. de Nolhac's discourse, delivered at the yearly séance of the Academy in October of last year, to inaugurate the celebration of the fourth centenary of Ronsard's birth, is on 'La Jeunesse de Ronsard,' and forms a helpful preliminary to a study of the poet's work. A note is added resuming his later achievements, and insisting specially on the fact that Ronsard is the true creator, whatever its ancient use may be, of that most French of all metres, the Alexandrine, 'don magnifique fait à nos poètes, plus précieux à lui seul que tant de belles formes lyriques qu'il a étudiées pour eux.'

This volume will be valuable to those who desire to renew their knowledge of the poet of the French Renaissance, who is being celebrated this year far outside the limits of his own country with an enthusiasm which even Sainte-Beuve would hardly have anticipated.

F. C. JOHNSON.

LONDON.

Ronsard, sa Vie et ses Œuvres. By G. COHEN. Paris: Boivin. 1924. 12mo. viii + 289 pp. 12 fr.

M. G. Cohen publie chez M. Boivin les conférences qu'il a faites en 1922 à la Sorbonne alors qu'il suppléait M. Henri Chamard pendant la mission de ce dernier aux États-Unis. A vrai dire, ces conférences avaient déjà paru dans la *Revue des Cours et Conférences* de 1922 à 1924, mais la présente édition a l'avantage de contenir un nombre considérable de notes et d'additions qui en font une œuvre nouvelle.

Les travaux sur Ronsard ont été des plus nombreux et des plus variés dans ces dernières années. *Ronsard* de M. J. J. Jusserand; *Pierre Ronsard, Essais de biographie, les ancêtres, la jeunesse* de M. H. Longnon; *Ronsard poète lyrique* de M. Paul Laumonier; *Ronsard et l'Humanisme* de M. de Nolhac; l'article *Ronsard*, également de M. de Nolhac dans *l'Histoire de la Littérature française* de MM. Bédier et

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Hazard; *Le Poète et son œuvre d'après Ronsard* de M. Henri Franchet, sans compter une quantité d'articles dans différentes revues, telles que la *Revue du XVIe Siècle*, la *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, la *Revue de la Renaissance*, etc. et les éditions de ses œuvres, dont deux donnent les *Œuvres complètes*, celle de M. Laumonier, terminée en 1919, qui contient huit volumes, et celle de M. Vaganay en sept volumes, qui remplacent avantageusement celles de P. Blanchemain et de Marty-Laveaux.

Le livre de M. Cohen se propose surtout d'initier les étudiants et le grand public à cette œuvre considérable 'de recherches érudites qui ont complètement renouvelé la connaissance d'une des productions lyriques les plus abondantes et les plus homogènes que présente l'histoire de la poésie française.' Mais l'auteur ne se borne pas à faire œuvre de vulgarisation. Tout en donnant à propos des questions soulevées par la biographie et l'œuvre du grand poète français les derniers résultats auxquels soit parvenue la critique, M. Cohen s'est surtout efforcé de mettre en relief les diverses phases de son génie poétique et les qualités essentielles de son inspiration. Il nous montre la part considérable qu'il a faite à la transposition du lyrisme grec dans la poésie française, le charme de ses sonnets, de ses églogues, de ses odelettes, de ses élégies, le souffle épique de quelques-uns de ses grands poèmes comme *Discours des misères de ce temps*, l'empreinte profonde dont il a marqué le style, la syntaxe, le vocabulaire et le rythme de la langue poétique. Il fait aussi ressortir l'originalité du chantre vendômois, qui apparaît nettement au milieu des imitations si nombreuses auxquelles il s'est livré; et, s'il voit en lui le grand ancêtre de la poésie lyrique française du XIXe siècle, il ne laisse pas que de signaler en toute franchise et netteté la distance qui le sépare d'un Hugo, d'un Lamartine, d'un Musset et d'un Vigny.

Le livre est émaillé d'un nombre considérable de citations, parmi lesquelles on relira avec plaisir quelques-unes des pièces les plus célèbres du chef de la Pléiade.

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

Rivas and Romanticism in Spain. By E. ALLISON PEERS. Liverpool: University Press. 1923. 8vo. xviii + 132 pp. 6*s*.

The Duke of Rivas is in some ways the most attractive poet of Spanish Romanticism. Less subjective and morbid than Espronceda, less of a poseur and a rhymester than Zorrilla, he appears a sincere and manly figure, as likable in real life as in his works. Distinguished gifts as narrator and verbal painter raise him to an honoured post in the ranks of the raging thirties. His fundamental discretion and good sense kept him from extreme aberrations, as they kept him also from extreme genius. Possessed by no ruling enthusiasm save patriotism, he reflected many currents. Even in the celebrated drama *Don Álvaro*, which is to Spanish Romanticism somewhat as *Hernani* to French, one feels through all the wild ranting and the wilfully tremendous finale that the author

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did not take his *furor* altogether seriously. Indeed, the reviewer has sometimes wondered, in reading this play with a class, as he has many times done, whether the Duke had not in the back of his head some whim of parody, did not perpetrate a literary joke on his enthusiastic compatriots. The notion is somewhat borne out by the anecdote related on page 47 of Professor Peers' book, wherein Rivas is shown setting deliberately to work to plan a drama on the Romantic model, more in obedience to a current mode than to an imperious desire for expression. And Professor Peers rightly observes that the *beau ténébreux* and his inexorable fate are typically exotic in origin, while the best qualities of the drama are Spanish.

Don Álvaro lacks the note of supreme lyrism which alone gives *Hernani* and *Ruy Blas* claim to be called masterpieces, and raises Hugo to the seats of the immortal. 'Masterpiece,' it appears to the reviewer, can be applied to *Don Álvaro* and *El Moro Expósito* only in a restricted, relative sense. The latter reveals a story-telling vigour superior to its often prosy language. In the former, on the other hand, the classic quality, which certainly exists there, resides precisely in the picaresque concise realism of the prose passages. Rivas visualized clearly, and he used no more words than he had images. By these purely stylistic traits the play lives, although the conception is vacillating and even puerile, and the plot full of flaws.

The volume before us is an admirable contribution to Hispanic studies. Rivas has been relatively neglected by scholars, and Professor Peers is able, by his long and intense reading in the Romantic period, to add novel and important material to our knowledge of him. Thus, he proves beyond cavil certain literary relationships which had hitherto been only vaguely suspected, if at all: that Rivas drew on Byron (*Manfred* and *Lara*) for the attitude and even speeches of *Don Álvaro*: that *El Moro Expósito* owes an amazing number of situations to Scott's *Ivanhoe*[1]: that Shakespeare (*The Tempest, Macbeth, Hamlet*) presided over the composition of the important, though little read play, *El Desengaño en un Sueño*[2].

In his charmingly discursive manner Professor Peers shows us (Part I, *Rivas and Romanticism*) how Rivas was by early training a frigid classic: how then he became converted, by travel and especially by the companionship of Hookham Frere, to the more realistic style then known as Romantic: how the better characteristics of the movement remained with him through life, while its grotesque abnormalities fell quickly from him. Then, in a sympathetic 'appreciation' (Part II, *Rivas and his Art*), we are told that painting, a lasting hobby of the writer, transferred its major qualities, light and colour, to his literary art. His love for Andalusia, the region of his birth, the influence of England, to which

[1] This relation had, it is true, been noticed by an American scholar, Professor Arthur L. Owen, but I am not aware that he ever set forth the details in print. See *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. xxxii (1917), p. xxxv.

[2] Professor Peers might well have mentioned other sources of this drama, as: *El Conde Lucanor*, Enxiemplo XI, and, according to some, an eighteenth-century play, *Sueños hay que verdades son y efectos del desengaño*.

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we have already adverted, furnish other chapters. The last, on the Duke's religion, is to our mind one of the most valuable. Rivas was, like practically all Spaniards ('even the atheists,' says Unamuno), a believing Catholic, and as such his later writings show him. But in his youth he played with the idea of an all-powerful and hateful Destiny. The conflict between this 'pagan' concept and his inbred piety produced, without doubt, that wavering in point of view which has puzzled readers of *Don Álvaro*.

A *Select Bibliography* closes the book. One wishes it completer; important articles, some of Professor Peers' own, are not listed. (Cf. pp. 20, note 2; 30, note 3; 34, note 3.) Nor is there any index. In the body of the text, the author perhaps assumes on the part of the reader an unlikely familiarity with Spanish history and the Spanish language[1]. These are slight weaknesses. They leave the impression, as does the entire volume, that it is by way of a sketch for a definitive biography and criticism of Rivas. If it be true that Professor Peers projects such a work, it is to be hoped that he will find the cooperation necessary to carry it through. Few living scholars are so well qualified as he for the task[2].

S. Griswold Morley.

Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.

Gahmuret Anschevin. A Contribution to the Study of Wolfram von Eschenbach. By Margaret F. Richey. Oxford: B. Blackwell. 1923. 96 pp. 3*s*.

In this little volume Miss Richey has amply justified the modest claim advanced on the title-page; and all lovers of Wolfram von Eschenbach's poetry have reason to be grateful to her for her charming and appreciative study of the two introductory books to *Parzival*. She contends, with justice, that these books—far from being merely 'ein Gewühl uninteressanter Nebenpersonen' (Wilhelm Hertz, quoted on p. 61)—are a self-contained narrative of great interest and significance, serving as prologue to the drama of Parzival's career. Gahmuret, father of the greater hero, is a heroic figure too; and his life-history forms a miniature drama in itself, which has yet also a distinct value for the poem. The task Miss Richey has set herself is to amplify this statement, with a wealth of illustration and apt translation—and thereby to refute the recent theory that *Parzival* I and II were written, like some other prefaces, as an afterthought. But one feels throughout her book—as the authoress would doubtless wish—that the main business is not refutation, nor argument, but simply an appreciation, vivid, penetrating and intuitive, of a poetic work of art. 'The story of Gahmuret Anschevin,' she concludes, 'as Wolfram tells it, is free from political symbolism and

[1] The lay English reader cannot possibly know that a Spanish 'romance,' printed without italics or explanation (pp. xv, xvi, 14, 51), means a ballad.

[2] Since these words were set in type, such a complete study, 600 pages long, has been published by Professor Peers. It occupies the whole of vol. LVIII (1923) of the *Revue hispanique*.

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must be read as an individual poetic experience, humanly and intimately true.' The restriction of theme enhances the value of this short study; it is concrete, fresh, and personal, not dealing in generalities but indicating the significance of particular instances. Without pretending to be a comprehensive treatment of Wolfram's poetry, it suggests the relationship of the Gahmuret episode to his poetic work in general. The contrast between Gahmuret and Gawan (p. 62), the comparison of Gahmuret and Parzival (pp. 66, 77), the analysis of the characters of Gahmuret, Kaylet and Belacane, are not only valuable in relation to the prologue to *Parzival*; they illuminate Wolfram's artistic and dramatic method in all his work. For it is the dramatic realism of *Gahmuret* that is emphasised as its characteristic excellence; the story is, in Miss Richey's view, 'a unique example of a mediaeval novel, representing the age in which it is composed in a manner akin to that of the Elizabethan Drama, with clear-sighted intimacy, yet with a heightened *flair* of romanticism pervading all.' In this it may be contrasted with some of the later books (the wonder tales) of *Parzival*, just as Gahmuret himself is more individual, less conventional, than Gawan. The small indications and suggestions thrown out by the poet are skilfully used to complete the picture of Gahmuret's character; heredity, for example, explains the real motives of his desertion of Belacane, and 'the first allusion to his fairy ancestry sheds sudden light upon his waywardness of action' (p. 24).

The first two chapters of the study give an account of the story of Gahmuret, expanded by references from the later books of *Parzival* and from *Titurel*. They do not, however, merely reproduce the tale; it is here that some of the most interesting and critical comments occur. The situation in Zazamanc, for instance, gives occasion for criticism of Wolfram's mode of exposition, and for an admirable distinction between his use of narrative and of dialogue (p. 8). Similarly, the references to the quarrel between Kaylet and Hardiz at Kanvoleis illustrate the poet's economy of his material, his masterly use of dialogue, and the wealth of allusion and experience which he inserts into the dramatic passages.

The third and final chapter contains a critical appreciation of the value, both intrinsic and relative, of *Gahmuret*, and a detailed consideration of Dr Schreiber's theory that books I and II of *Parzival* were composed in an interval between the last books of *Willehalm* and the *Titurel* fragments, and were then added when the epic was finally revised. The arguments against this theory are clearly stated, but the chief stress is laid on the difference of atmosphere between *Willehalm* and *Gahmuret*, and a penetrating analysis shows the striking contrast. Here once more the argument is convincing because it is based on literary feeling and critical appreciation; and it is this above all which marks the volume as the work of a lover of Wolfram's poetry, whose enthusiasm is matched by scholarly discrimination.

EDNA PURDIE.

BANGOR, N. WALES.

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Studien zum Bedeutungswandel im Deutschen. Erster Teil. Von ERIK WELLANDER. Uppsala: E. Berling. 1917. 8vo. iv + 204 pp. Zweiter Teil (*Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, 1923). 8vo. vii + 186 pp. 6 kr.

Einführung in die Bedeutungslehre. Von HANS SPERBER. Bonn: K. Schroeder. 1923. 8vo. iv + 96 pp. 2 M.

Betydningslære (*Semasiologi*). Av HJALMAR FALK. Christiania: H. Aschehoug & Co. 1920. 8vo. ii + 125 pp. 8 kr.

Leitfaden der vergleichenden Bedeutungslehre. Von HELMUT HATZFELD. Munich: M. Hueber. 1924. 8vo. xvi + 116 pp. 2 M. 50.

The study of 'Meaning' in its philosophical and philological aspects is attracting an increasing number of investigators and in at least two of the books under review new ground is broken. Semantics (or 'semasiology' as all our authors prefer to call it) is no longer a superfluous luxury in linguistics, as it was termed as late as 1896, since Schuchardt[1], Elise Richter and Gilliéron among others have demonstrated its capital importance for etymology. As to the psychological implications of meaning they are briefly touched upon by Falk whose statement (p. 53): 'forbindelsen mellem gjenstanden og navnet formidles av vor forestilling om tingen,' is endorsed by Wellander's (p. 7): 'die Bedeutung eines Wortes ist die Vorstellung, die ein Individuum mit diesem Worte verbindet.' Wellander, too, concurs with Paul's distinction between the 'usual' meaning, i.e. the 'Vorstellung' shared by a whole speech-community, and the 'occasional' meaning, i.e. the 'Vorstellung' which an individual wishes to arouse in the community, and supplies a valuable analysis of the three factors involved in significant speech, viz. the word, the idea ('Vorstellung') and the object designated. To him the word is not a mere complex of sound-waves, but the activity of the speaker in producing a meaningful series of sound-waves and of the listener in apprehending this series as the sign for some mental content. Some philosophers would demur to this. To my colleague, Mr Heath, the meaning of the sign consists in the relation of the sign to something objective[2] (with the qualification that 'if the sign denotes an image, then the meaning of the sign is the object, if there is one, corresponding to that image'). By 'Vorstellung' Wellander understands a sum or complex of ideas, out of which the listener selects a definite partial content suggested by the context (or whole situation), and by object (Sache) he understands not only a concrete thing, but also a quality, action, process or state. Next, following Otto Erdmann, Wellander discusses the penumbra of varying associations existing in loose attachment to the nuclear meaning of most words, e.g. *storm, tempest*; *Adler, Aar*, etc. He cannot agree with Erdmann's subdivision of these penumbral associa-

[1] Schuchardt shows how the etymologist would never have separated out the two sources of French *cousin* (1, 'cousin,' 2, 'gnat') as 'consobrinus' and 'culicinus' but for the stimulus of the divergent meanings (cf. Hatzfeld, p. x).

[2] Sperber seems to take this view (p. 1): *Was bedeutet z. B. der Name 'Albrecht Dürer'? Für mich...den groszen Nürnberger Maler*, etc. Wellander himself (p. 18) thinks that mechanization through long practice may result in 'direct reference' of word to object.

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tions into (*a*) 'secondary sense' (Nebensinn) and (*b*) 'emotive value' (Gefühlswert or Stimmungsgehalt), holding that these two aspects are not cleanly separable, and himself proposes the single term 'Assoziationsgehalt' to cover both. This he defines as 'jene spezifische Zugehörigkeit des Wortes zu einem bestimmten Vorstellungskreis, welche gerade diese assoziativ verbundenen Vorstellungen dem Bewusstsein nahebringt' (p. 41). Sperber, however, upholds Erdmann's distinction on the ground that words like *Tisch, Stuhl, gehen* may stimulate a number of 'Nebenvorstellungen' and yet lack emotive force. It seems, however, to be a matter of degree and the distinction between Erdmann's classes is often difficult.

It is precisely in their attitude towards the emotive factor associated with meaning that Wellander and Sperber part company and that their studies supplement each other. Their attitude affects their treatment in regard to both the classification and the genetics of semantic change. Wellander applies his precise, logical mind to improving the terminology (which may well have collateral effects upon method), parcelling out the field legitimately belonging to semasiology and fining down the meaning of the term 'semantic change' (Bedeutungswandel). The strength of Sperber (as one would expect after a perusal of his *Über den Affekt als Ursache der Sprachveränderung* and his psycho-analytic study of Meyrinck's vocabulary) lies in his sensitiveness to the latent emotive implications of language and his pioneer work on the development of the High German vocabulary in the ages of chivalry and humanism. Wellander lays a much lower estimate on the emotive factors, which are the main props of Sperber's theory. Both authors commend Paul's logically exhaustive classification of semantic changes, viz. specialization, extension, metonymy, miscellaneous—on the ground of its practical convenience for description and identification. Wellander himself prefers a *genetic* basis of classification, because 'a transition of meaning is an historical process which can be adequately explained only by a demonstration of what actually took place.' Hence the origin rather than the successful propagation of a change is the objective of semasiology. In some cases we can lay our finger on the actual historic causes responsible for a change in the 'Vorstellung' held by the users of a given language, e.g. (1) where the 'nominandum' or object itself undergoes change: *Danzig*[1], *Liverpool Cathedral*, or (2) where man's interpretation of the object has changed: *electricity, ether*. Such historically (and culturally) conditioned semantic development is styled by Wellander *Bedeutungsunterschiebung*, literally 'subreption' of new meaning, cf. the use of 'subreptive' in translations of Kant. Neither this phenomenon nor 'semantic borrowing' (Bedeutungsentlehnung), nor 'name-giving' (Namengebung) is counted as a semantic change proper. Mistakes in the past have arisen through failure to arrive at the true original meaning (Urbedeutung), i.e. the meaning actually attributed to a word on its first employment and not—as upholders of the root-theory believed[2]—a highly generalized

[1] I have adapted many illustrations for English readers.
[2] Cf. Falk's criticisms (p. 7).

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etymological abstraction. Thus *pomme de terre* denoted 'potato' from the outset and shows no semantic evolution from an original literal meaning. Wellander treats this word as a case of 'Namengebung' (cf. Falk's 'navnegivning'), perhaps translatable by 'onomathesia.' This term should cover all such processes available in a language—e.g. new creation, derivation, composition, truncation, selection of already existent words—as may be utilized to name an object hitherto unknown (*gas, radium*), to name a known object more precisely or more adequately (*stress accent* and *pitch accent* for older *accent* alone) or to provide a substitute for a current word which, for some reason, appears objectionable (*pass away, strategic retreat*). A new meaning is sometimes given by legal enactment, e.g. *summer-time*, and an apt quotation from Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* shows how an apparently colourless locution like *to sit on the stones* may for a given couple in a particular situation not only become charged with emotional significance, but may eventually forgo its primary meaning and be immediately apprehended (through a mental short-circuit) in the sense of 'to yearn for company.' The essence of such a transference (Bedeutungsübertragung) is that 'one says A and means B.' In a freshly minted metaphor the original meaning is for a time compresent with the new until the new obscures the old. Metaphor being dependent on *conscious* transference comes under Wellander's 'Namengebung,' and he shows the different ways in which metaphor and the other figures of speech perform their function of intensifying the impact and deepening the emotional impression of speech. Metaphor, hyperbole and 'Derbheit' all spring from a heightened emotional state; metaphor seeks to impress and please by propounding terse, striking or intriguing comparisons[1], hyperbole acts by magnifying the dimensions or proportions, and rough endearments (Derbheit) of the *imp of mischief* type attain their effect—in conjunction with a roguishly affectionate intonation—by utilizing the full emotional force of the original drastic meaning. On the other hand euphemism and litotes result from deliberation. Where metaphor avoids the current expression because it is too commonplace and hyperbole because it is too weak, euphemism avoids it because it is too strong, too blunt or too offensive, i.e. emotionally too potent. Litotes, e.g. *not so bad, quite drinkable*, pursues the same aim as hyperbole, but uses the opposite method, viz. understatement, to grip the listener's attention. The remaining category distinguished by Wellander from semantic change proper is that of 'Bedeutungsentlehnung[2],' the characteristic feature of which is the translation element for element of a foreign expression and the endowment of the product with the meaning of its foreign prototype (*superman* for *Übermensch*). He fails to note any essential difference between Oscar Weise's 'Bedeutungslehnwörter' like *Kammer* when used under the influence of the French *chambre* in the political sense and 'Bildungs- oder Übersetzungslehnwörter' like *Schöngeist* < *bel esprit*,

[1] Wellander defends the traditional view that a metaphor is a condensed simile.

[2] By this term he obtains a neat correlation, viz., Wortentlehnung : Lehnwort :: Bedeutungsentlehnung : Lehnbedeutung.

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but is prepared to accept Weise's separate class of 'Ersatzlehnwörter where the substitute like *Umwelt* for *milieu* is uninfluenced by the foreign form replaced. Similarly he rejects Sandfeld-Jensen's classification of 'calques' into three divisions, viz. (1) increment of meaning in a case like *Ente*, with meaning enlarged under the influence of *canard* to include that of 'rumour,' (2) new words created by translation like *entdecken* < *découvrir*, (3) new locutions like *den Hof machen* < *faire la cour*. Wellander points out the unsuspected frequency of translation-loans, shows how purely phonetic associations may assist in their production ('*entre*prendre'—'*unter*nehmen') and how the observed uniformity of European languages in respect of many cultural words and idioms is often traceable to common borrowing from ancient sources, e.g. *tirer les marrons du feu*, etc. to Æsop. The common denominator of 'Unterschiebung,' 'Namengebung' and 'Bedeutungsentlehnung' is the fact that in all three the new application of the word is the result of a conscious, purposive act, and this is Wellander's touchstone for separating them from 'Bedeutungswandel' proper (p. 64), which comprises all semasiological processes which arise 'mechanically by the mere use of language in intercourse between man and man.' Thus we can see how *gelehrt* has gradually and automatically extended its sphere of applicability so that we can now say *gelehrte Tracht*, *gelehrter Hochmut*, quite independently of the development of 'doctus,' or we see how *Limburger* comes to mean the cheese made there. Sperber does not accept Wellander's criterion of 'unconsciousness' and criticizes his treatment of *Limburger* on the ground that *Limburger* = inhabitant and *Limburger* < *Limburgerkäse* are genetically distinct words. Further Sperber would distinguish between such loan-translations as *Buchmacher* an entirely new word based on an English model and the employment of the already existent *schneiden* under English influence in the sense of 'to ignore,' and would count the latter a true case of 'Bedeutungswandel' in so far as the originator and imitators of the new German usage realized they were using a familiar word in a different sense. Nor is Sperber satisfied that all cases of 'Bedeutungsunterschiebung,' which he prefers still to call 'Bedeutungswandel infolge von Sachwandel,' are marked by conscious deliberation, and he cites the history of the Viennese war-word *Wochenblock* which first meant 'a book of coupons for communal meals' and was still retained—simply through the speaker's conservatism and inertia—after detached unbound coupons had been substituted for the blocks. We can, on the whole, agree with Sperber's plea to 'reckon with real semantic change until there are serious reasons against it.'

In the second portion of his studies, published in 1923, Wellander having first shown that a so-called specialization of meaning such as *Schirm* (for 'umbrella' as well as any sort of 'screen') is due to an ellipsis of the first constituent of the semantically simple, but morphologically compound *Regenschirm*, proceeds to a clear and well-implemented discussion of the problem as to how and why 'ellipsis' takes place and what rôle it plays in the development of new meanings. The term 'ellipsis' is defined as 'das syntaktisch begründete Ersparen eines

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bedeutungstragenden Elementes in einem Satze,' and is used to designate both the process and the result of such economy; roughly it amounts to the omission to repeat a factor common to two or more corresponding syntactical groups, e.g. *Are you there? I am* (there). From true ellipsis he distinguishes suppression for stylistic or other reasons, as conditioned by euphemism (*behüte!*), aposiopesis where feelings stifle precise formulation (*you dare...!*), pregnant use or 'emphasis' (Willoughby Patterne's 'leg') or 'prosodic' shortening (*morning* for 'good morning'). Sometimes the reduction is due to writing or printing, e.g. (*a*) *Waacs, Copec, T.B.D.*, reinforced by practical reasons and (*b*) *T.B.* (tuberculosis) and *W.C.* for euphemistic reasons, (*c*) skeletal forms like *Antrag Rickert, Anfang Mai, Hotel Wagner*, partly under French influence. Besides these types there may be a brevity of utterance surviving as an heirloom from the distant past, e.g. in *No gains without pains*, etc. and finally there is a 'semasiologically conditioned reduction' where a lengthy title like *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* is subsequently referred to by the term *Ministry* alone. All these types are originally based on a deliberate act, though the usage may spread by (unconscious) analogy. True ellipsis or syntactical suppression is, however, adduced to explain the imperative force of the German past participle, e.g. *stillgestanden!* with omission of *es wird*, and of the infinitive, e.g. *weitergehen!* with omission of *ihr sollt*. Of great interest is the clear demonstration of the former existence of completely formulated sentences functioning as the titles of books, headings of chapters, addresses and endings of letters, etc. This second part constitutes a notable contribution to knowledge and Wellander's work as a whole deserves careful consideration.

If Wellander has cleared away the brushwood, Sperber has brought some of the seed for planting in so far as he advances several new and promising theories. As adumbrated in an article in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, vol. LIX, p. 63, he employs the factor of 'consociation,' i.e. ascertainment of the most prevalent and characteristic contexts of a given word at a given point of time, to try and discover its peculiar emotive tone and associative tendencies. To him the 'Nebensinn' and feeling-tone are all-important in determining semantic development on the ground that our dominant moods and interests colour our whole behaviour including our selection and use of words. A keen golfer, who cannot air his golfing views all the time, may obtain some partial emotional relief by interlarding his general conversation with golfing terms like *bunker, handicap*, etc. Similarly a great emotional crisis like the war may leave its trail on meanings in two ways: (1) by 'expansion,' that is the extension of technical or military expressions beyond their original sphere (*dud, wash-out, wangle, camouflage, click*) and (2) by 'attraction,' or the capacity of an emotively powerful idea to gather linguistic material from other spheres in a cluster of new synonyms (cf. the multitudinous terms in all the armies for wound, machine-gun, shell, etc.). Sperber endeavours to show how such different phenomena as the mediaeval interest in siege-warfare and the peculiar word-usage of the mystics impressed themselves on the meaning and force even of

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prepositions and affixes. He sums up his views on p. 67 where he attempts the formulation of a 'semantic law' which cannot be on all fours with a 'phonetic law.' Whereas the latter assumes the form: 'If at a certain time the sound *x* in one word is replaced by the sound *y*, we may expect that *x* will become *y* in all words in which it occupies an analogous position,' a semantic law would be expressed somewhat as follows: 'If at a certain time a complex of ideas is so strongly charged with feeling that it causes *one* word to extend its sphere and change its meaning, we may confidently expect that other words belonging to the same emotional complex will also shift their meaning.' In this there is much food for reflection and testing in practice.

The other two books are confessedly popular in their aim. Professor Falk's book contains most valuable material drawn from the rich stores of his knowledge of Old Norse and his comments are clear and concise. Dr Hatzfeld might with advantage have modified the treatment of some of his examples if he had studied Wellander (whose name is missing in his bibliography), but his book has the merit of presenting some curious developments in Spanish and Italian. Taken all in all these four volumes constitute a rich harvest.

W. E. COLLINSON.

LIVERPOOL.

MINOR NOTICES.

No words are necessary to recommend the *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature for 1923*, edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association by Miss A. C. Paues (Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes. 1924. iv + 235 pp. 6*s*.). Miss Paues has had many able helpers in this country and abroad. The present issue contains over 3000 entries. References are included to all important reviews of books wherever the reviews appear. Unfortunately the support given to this valuable venture is so far insufficient. Unless the *Bibliography* finds a much larger number of purchasers it must be abandoned, or, the finances of the M.H.R.A. being limited, it will act as a drag on any extension of the *Modern Language Review*, which at present nearly pays its way. If the *Bibliography* is still to appear it must be self-supporting.

G. C. M. S.

There are few more unsatisfactory tasks than that of writing a short and concise handbook on a subject which fills a whole library, and Professor R. M. Alden has undoubtedly done right in declaring in the preface to his *Shakespeare* (New York: Duffield and Company. 1922. xix + 377 pp. $2.50), that 'plagiarism of many kinds may be frankly admitted in a survey so condensed as this.' Even so the author shows originality by striking with such directness at the core of the many

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questions which he raises for discussion. The two chapters on Shakespeare's age and on his life are particularly helpful as introductions, and in the rest of the book the professor avoids the habit of excessive laudations which is apt to take the place of true appreciation in many books on Shakespeare. If the work is anywhere unsatisfactory, it is in the tendency to adhere somewhat too closely to academic points of view in dealing with a subject originally so unacademic as the popular stage of the early seventeenth century.

H. V. R.

The tendency to discuss Shakespeare from the point of view of the stage rather than of the library grows apace. Mr Richmond Noble's interesting essay, *Shakespeare's Use of Song, with the Text of the Principal Songs* (London: Oxford University Press. 1923. 160 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*), is one of the latest contributions to the subject. The writer, who began the work as far back as 1908, but was interrupted by the war, has set himself the task of demonstrating that the songs of Shakespeare are not only not without special relevance to their context, but are indispensable to the movement of the play and bear directly on the situation in which they occur. They serve to depict scenery, and to mark the season of the year; they serve to give a character an effective exit or entrance; they illustrate the characters or destiny of the personages to which they are addressed; they were improvised for the voice of the singer and only in the second place for the instrumental accompaniment, and should be rendered as folk-songs. To explain this point of view, Mr Noble discussed each song in connection with the play to which it belongs, and though a few of his assertions seem just a little over-subtilised, he has certainly succeeded in putting many of Shakespeare's lyrics in a new and most interesting light. It is particularly noticeable how the dramatist's skill in the use of song increases with the development of his other powers. Many examples might be quoted; we are shown, for instance, how the 'casket-song' affects Bassanio's choice; how the *Sigh no more, ladies* is sung *at* Benedick, but it would spoil the book to provide a short-cut to its contents. The reader will be more grateful for being introduced at first hand to the original work.

H. V. R.

Dr Richard Kühnemand, to judge by his work, *Die Rolle des Zufalls in Shakespeares Meistertragödien* (*Studien zur englischen Philologie*, lxvii. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1923. 1 M.), belongs to the school of Shakespearean critics who do not reduce the study of Shakespeare to the analysis of his characters, but fix attention on the construction and development of the plots. As Shakespeare gives a picture of life, in which chance daily plays its part, chance cannot be excluded from his dramas. The events do not invariably follow as the consequences of the hero's actions, or spring inevitably from his character itself, but often mere accident gives a new turn to the story. As examples of chance

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Dr Kühnemand mentions the detention of Friar John, by which Friar Lawrence's letter fails to reach Romeo, the interchange of rapiers in the duel between Hamlet and Laertes, and the loss of the handkerchief in *Othello*. It is surprising, however, that he can find no example of the working of chance in *King Lear*. The loss of the battle by Cordelia's army which leads to her own death and that of her father, is an accident which the author could have turned the other way by a stroke of the pen. It is merely *fortune de la guerre*.

J. S. S.

Mr F. G. Stokes gives us a useful book of reference in *A Dictionary of the Characters and Proper Names in the Works of Shakespeare* (London: G. G. Harrap. 1924. xvi + 360 pp. 21*s*.). Under the name of each character is found a sketch of the part he or she plays in the given drama. A good deal of miscellaneous information is provided so that the book will often be interesting to the scholar as well as to the general reader for whom it especially caters.

G. C. M. S.

In *Master Richard Quyny of Stratford-upon-Avon and Friend of William Shakespeare* (London: H. Milford. 1924. 216 pp. 10*s*.) Mr Edgar I. Fripp, already known as editor of the Minutes and Accounts of the Stratford Corporation, 1553–1620, shows us how far a skilful antiquary by help of such records and those provided by church-registers, can call up to life the personalities of a little country town in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The result is very surprising to us and would be very surprising to Richard Quyny and his acquaintance if they could have access to Mr Fripp's book. Most of the countless men and women mentioned remain shadows, it is true: and where Mr Fripp draws conclusions of his own, as with regard to Shakespeare's relations with his wife, to his life in London and to his religious opinions, one may doubt if these are not over-coloured by the author's hero-worship and ignore evidence which goes against his prepossessions. Still Richard Quyny himself is far more than a shadow, we see in him undoubtedly an able, public-spirited and energetic man. And the accumulation of family histories does bring us nearer to an understanding of the life and atmosphere of the town where Shakespeare passed his boyhood, and to which before the end he had returned. In particular, thanks to Mr Fripp's minute research, we shall be slower in future in accepting hasty statements either as to the illiteracy of the families with which the poet was most closely connected, or as to the depth of poverty into which his father sank, or as to the latter's supposed Roman Catholic leanings.

G. C. M. S.

Harrington's *Oceana* has been fortunate in its latest editor, who has produced the only scholarly and accurate edition of it that exists (*James Harrington's 'Oceana,'* edited with notes by S. B. Liljegren. Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1924. 11 M. 20). After its first publication in 1656

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it was reprinted in a careless way by Toland, an inaccurate editor and compiler, in 1700. Subsequent editors have followed Toland, and introduced inaccuracies of their own. Professor Liljegren has based his text on the original edition, and has minutely examined and amended it, for even the first edition itself was negligently seen through the press. His edition is as perfect as care and industry can make it. Harrington's quotations and borrowings are traced to their sources, in the notes, in a very exhaustive manner.

The *Oceana* is of political and historical interest, rather than literary, and is not itself a well-arranged or luminous work; but it is a monument of importance for the student of the times. Professor Liljegren has done for it what no English scholar has yet attempted.

J. S. S.

Mr A. W. Secord's essay, *Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature. Vol. IX, No. I, Feb. 1924. 248 pp. $1.50), is one of those which justify the academic practice of producing theses, especially theses dealing with sources and influences. For Mr Secord has undoubtedly succeeded in throwing light on Defoe. This erratic figure was once considered to be an historian and truthful recorder of minor careers. He is now believed by some to be a man who 'can lie like the truth.' Which does he really prove to be? Such is the 'Defoe problem,' and it is worth trying to solve, since Defoe is one of our Immortals. Mr Secord adopts the only method. He takes the narratives of Defoe which have not yet been fully investigated—*Robinson Crusoe, Captain Singleton, Memoirs of Captain Carleton*—and he inquires into their methods and sources of composition. Mr Secord casts his net wide and includes works which may have had no bearing on the episodes, but which may have appealed to Defoe by their tone and spirit. He concludes that his author wrote fiction, but preserved so deceptive an air of reality, because he reproduced the larger features of geography and history with fidelity and, avoiding the unity and concentration of literary plot, reproduced the shapelessness of life. Besides there was always an element of truth at the bottom of his narratives, and this leaven made the whole lump seem convincing. Nor was Defoe devoid of a literary art of a kind. He invariably let his hero reveal his own character in the process of telling his own story, and yet the author succeeded in mixing his own personality with all he wrote. In fact his ideas and interests are constantly creeping into the narrative; particularly 'his restraint of sentiment' and his taste for moral and religious edification. In fact the more we see of Defoe's sources, the more we admire his originality; what he loses in truthfulness he gains in artistic skill.

H. V. R.

Mr S. C. Roberts gives us a charming edition of a most interesting book, Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to Corsica* (Cambridge: University Press. 1923. xviii + 110 pp. 6*s*.). Besides the text, it contains the

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portrait of Boswell in the dress of a Corsican chief, and a short Introduction. This is the first time that the *Tour* has been published by itself. It deserved to be better known for its vivid picture of Paoli and of the means by which that truly great man tried to mould his fellow countrymen into a self-governing nation.

G. C. M. S.

Mr E. G. Sutcliffe has been impressed with the electric and epigrammatic brilliance and sustained intellectuality of Emerson's style, and with its power to lift, arouse and ennoble. 'Obviously,' he continues, 'such a style deserves study' and, as the materials are ready to hand in the *Journals*, he has produced a treatise, *Emerson's Theories of Literary Expressions* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature. Vol. VI, No. IV, Nov. 1923. 152 pp. $1.50). Emerson was absorbed by the study of the art and process of writing. Day by day he wrote summaries and quotations from his reading, comments, descriptions, reflections, records of conversation, metaphors, phrases, and paragraphs for essays and lectures. At other times he watched the workings of his own mind and the genesis of his ideas. All these efforts at self-study and self-training are recorded in his note-books and profoundly coloured by his transcendentalism and belief in the symbol. Mr Sutcliffe has set himself the task of classifying and piecing together these many and varied entries and constructing therefrom a connected theory or at any-rate ideal of literary expression. He certainly shows how unacademic and inspiring Emerson's ideas were, how exhaustively he examined the secrets of style and how wonderfully he succeeded in blending his conclusions on this art with his philosophical tenets, and yet produced a theory which will help any beginner in the business of writing.

H. V. R.

Miss May Yates' *George Gissing, an Appreciation* (Manchester: University Press. 1924. 6*s*.) is a thoughtful and sympathetic study of a novelist, the significance of whose work in later Victorian fiction was hardly recognised until within the last few years. Even now, it may possibly be somewhat exaggerated; for the personal element has had something to do with recent estimates of Gissing's novels, and the contemplation of a fastidious spirit at constant war with its surroundings has added the interest of paradox to his choice of the drab life of mean streets as the subject of his art. If Gissing hated the things of which he wrote, his command of irony was not perceptible enough, even in the later and happier period of his life, to make the fact clear to his readers. The true bent of his mind was disclosed only in the personal meditations published in his last years, and his posthumous novel, *Veranilda*, dealing with a period of history far remote from nineteenth-century life in London suburbs, proved how incompatible the writing of congenial fiction was with his scholarly tastes and ideals. At the same time, those tastes fostered in him that accuracy of observation which, exercised upon his environment, gives his novels their peculiar value as a faithful

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record of every-day life in some of its least attractive aspects. From the same source he acquired that studied plainness of style which is the best possible reflexion of the stern monotony of the types of existence which he drew. It is doubtful whether individual characters in his novels have the interest which Miss Yates, in common with the late W. T. Young, the writer of the account of Gissing in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, is inclined to ascribe to them; but it is certain that the long frustration of his cherished aims is responsible for the vivid sympathy with which he wrote of struggling ambition, and for the pathos that underlies his unadorned descriptions of disappointment and life without the relief of hope. It is probably on these general grounds rather than upon the power of creating character that his reputation will eventually rest. In the meantime, Miss Yates' essay, with its discriminating criticism and its proper emphasis upon the merits of Gissing's style, should be of some assistance to the appreciation of a writer who, unlike many so-called realists in fiction, excluded the allurements of romance from his pictures and presented facts as he saw them *sans phrase*.

A. H. T.

The Charles University, Prague, must be congratulated on being able to publish four *Studies in English* (Prague: F. Kivnáče. 12 kč.) by members of its English Seminar. They have been kindly sent to us by Professor Mathesius. Unfortunately, ignorance of the Czech language makes it impossible for us to criticise them, though an abstract in English is appended to each. The subjects at least are interesting: 'Studies in the history of the verb "Have" (on p. 13 Miss Yonge's name appears as Jounge, the bibliography makes no mention of Jespersen's *English Grammar*); 'The Comic and Pathetic in Shakespeare's Comedies,' 'Taine's Criticism of the English Romantic Movement' (here the author might have been glad to know Dr Herford's brilliant examination of 'Romanticism in the Modern World' in the English Association's *Essays and Studies*, Vol. VIII); 'Religious Experience in the Works of H. G. Wells' (the writer holds that with the outbreak of war in 1914 Mr Wells 'at last found God who till then had been hidden from him').

G. C. M. S.

Externally, in printing, paper, illustrations, and format generally, *De Wikingen in de Lage Landen bij de Zee* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink. 1923) is one of the pleasantest books that have been published recently, and the contents of the book are well worthy of the form given to them by Professor Jan de Vries. The story of the Vikings in the Netherlands was told fairly fully by Walther Vogel in 1906 in his work upon the Normans and the Frankish empire, but he confined himself almost entirely to the record of fighting and spoliation by the Vikings. The great virtue of the present book is that its author first places the story of the Vikings in its right historical setting by a vivid picture

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of the topographical, trade, and other conditions in the Netherlands at this time and then, in his account of the expeditions themselves, does not confine himself to the somewhat barren details that can be drawn from the monastic chroniclers, but draws also upon Norse poetry and prose, and at every turn illustrates his text by pictures and descriptions of the *realien* of the life of the Viking age. By doing so he does good service in making us realise all that the coming of the Vikings meant, not merely for destruction but for construction and development. It is a book which one would like to see made accessible in an English edition.

A. M.

The late Miss Eleanor F. Jourdain's volume on *The Drama in Europe in Theory and Practice* (London: Methuen and Co. 1924. xix + 179 pp. 5*s*.) is a little book on a very large subject, and, we fear, is even less satisfactory than little books on large subjects usually are. It is lacking in that first requisite of all rapid surveys, a fair distribution of the restricted space. The French drama has the lion's share, Racine coming off even better than Shakespeare in this respect, while the other literatures of Europe are dealt with in a manner which suggests little first-hand acquaintance with them. Italy and Germany suffer most. Alfieri has to be content with a few lines in a footnote that say nothing; and Hebbel is disposed of with the enigmatic remark that he 'worked out the idea of tragedy on simple lines, and thus instituted the modern social drama.' Of the dramatists of the north Holberg is not mentioned, and in the modern period, not even Strindberg. The good point about Miss Jourdain's book is her insistence that the study of the drama should not neglect the actual stage productions, and in accordance with this principle, considerable space is devoted to matters of the theatre.

J. G. R.

From the British Museum we have received a *Short-title Catalogue of Books printed in France and of French Books printed in other Countries from* 1470 *to* 1600 *now in the British Museum* (491 pp. 8vo.), compiled on the same plan as the Catalogue of Spanish books of the same period prepared by Dr Henry Thomas and issued in 1921. It is interesting to note that, as Mr Pollard tells us in his Prefatory Note, the British Museum collection 'represents probably not much more than a fifth of the editions known to have been printed at Paris, and less than a sixth of the output of the French provinces.' But the Museum possesses a good many editions not in the printed catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale. Dr Thomas is again mainly responsible for the present volume, the value of which to students—and of course not merely students of French literature—does not need emphasis.

J. G. R.

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September–November, 1924.

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BRODEUR, A. G., The Grateful Lion (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxix, 3, Sept.).

CROCE, B., European Literature in the Nineteenth Century. Transl. with an Introduction by D. Ainslie. London, Chapman and Hall. 16*s*.

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FUNKE, O., Innere Sprachform. Eine Einführung in A. Martys Sprachphilosophie (Prager deutsche Studien, xxxii). Reichenberg, F. Kraus. 4 M. 50.

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MESSAC, R., Caïn et le problème du mal dans Voltaire, Byron et Leconte de Lisle (*Rev. de litt. comp.*, iv, 4, Oct.).

Streitberg-Festgabe. Herausg. von der Direktion der vereinigten sprachwissenschaftlichen Institute an der Universität Leipzig. Leipzig, Markert und Petters. 27 M. 50.

Vom Geiste neuerer Literaturgeschichte. Festschrift für O. Walzel. Herausg. von J. Wahle und V. Klemperer. Wildpark-Potsdam, Athenaion. 18 M.

WEDEL, T. O., B. Croce's Theory of Aesthetic Criticism (*Stud. Phil.*, xxi, 3, July).

WHITMORE, C. S., The Validity of Literary Definitions (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxix, 3, Sept.).

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SKOK, P., Notes d'étymologie romane (*Romania*, l, 198).

STUDER, P., The Franco-Provençal Dialects of Upper Valais (Switzerland) With Texts. (Reprinted from *Philologica*, ii, 1.) London, Philological Soc.

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GERALDINI, A., Eclogues. Ed. by W. P. Mustard. Baltimore, Md., Johns Hopkins Press. $1.50.

GEROULD, G. H. A New Text of the 'Passio S. Margaritae' with some account of its Latin and English Relations (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxix, 3, Sept.).

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ELIZABETH ELSTOB, THE LEARNED SAXONIST

THE life of the first woman student of Anglo-Saxon has never been fully recorded and the reason for this is clear. Elizabeth Elstob produced no work of the first importance, collected around her no brilliant circle, and left no fragrance of personal charm, and one may well ask oneself whether her obscurity might not, with greater seemliness, be left undisturbed.

Yet the claim of the pioneer to the remembrance of those who come after is of a peculiar sanctity, and as the first woman to pursue 'the frightful study of Anglo-Saxon,' Elizabeth Elstob undoubtedly deserves the title of pioneer. And when, with this proof of initiative, one remembers her fearless, even aggressive, insistence upon the right of women to follow the path of scholarship, it is difficult to deny her at least some place in the history of the Woman's movement.

Either fact might serve as an excuse for the present study, yet, after all, the best reason for retelling the story of Elizabeth Elstob is simply this, that the record of her career, begun with something of high enthusiasm and 'straggling to an end in sandy deltas,' has in it enough of pity and of humanity to command a sympathetic hearing, and it is above all from this standpoint that the following account has been compiled.

The material is unfortunately slight, and is lacking altogether for certain periods. A basis exists in a short autobiography[1], to be found among the Ballard papers in the Bodleian Library, written with curious detachment, and in the third person, revealing little beyond the bare facts, and failing to account for a period of over ten years. That this reticence was deliberate is clear from Elizabeth's comment in a covering letter to George Ballard: 'I thought it unnecessary to stuff it with particular misfortunes and disappointments.' The story of the later period, however, can be expanded from the collection of letters from Elizabeth Elstob to Ballard, preserved in the Bodleian, while some light is thrown on the early middle period by references to Elizabeth and her brother, William, in contemporary memoirs and letters, and in notes and prefaces

[1] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 32. Elizabeth also wrote a memoir of her brother (*ibid.*, XLIII, 7). A reference in XLI, 20, seems to be to another account of William Elstob, and of his sister, but I can find no trace of this. (The references to the Ballard MSS. indicate the numbering of the items, not pages.)

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of the works of that 'Philo-Goth and Philo-Sax' circle of which, for a time, brother and sister formed a part.

The earliest account of the Elstobs is that of Samuel Pegge, printed in the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*[1], and upon this most of the subsequent accounts, notably that contained in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*[2], are founded. Some additional information, however, occurs in an account by G. B. R.[3], included in M. A. Richardson's *Reprints of Rare Tracts and Imprints of Antient Manuscripts*[4], published in 1847. The necessarily brief account of the Elstobs in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is by Sir Leslie Stephen.

The name of Elstob, in spite of its un-English sound, is probably of English origin. A village in the county of Durham still bears the name, which Professor Mawer, in his *Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*, derives either from *ellenstybb*, alder stump, or from Ælfwine or Ælfnoth's stump. Elizabeth Elstob herself suggested another derivation, namely, from 'Ellanstowe,' but this cannot be accepted.

Whatever the origin of the name, the family seems to have been of Northern extraction, and of some antiquity. Elizabeth Elstob, with her antiquarian tastes, was proud of her ancestry, and drew up the family pedigree 'very curiously on vellum.' On her mother's side, she professed to claim descent from Brockmail, king of Wales, and produced a genealogy of her mother's family in a curious design of a pillar with circles[5], but it is doubtful whether she treated this claim very seriously.

Without pursuing the ramifications of the Elstob family, we may turn at once to Ralph and Jane Elstob, parents of William and Elizabeth. Ralph Elstob was a merchant adventurer, a citizen of Newcastle, and Sheriff of the town in 1686. Nothing is known of his personality, and since his death in 1688 took place only five years after the birth of Elizabeth[6], his influence on his daughter's life was probably slight. Of her mother Elizabeth bears witness in her Autobiography that she was 'a great admirer of learning, especially in her own sex,' so that 'there was nothing wanting for her (daughter's) improvement so long as her Mother lived.' The death of her mother in 1691 was thus an especially severe loss to Elizabeth, since brother and sister now passed into the

[1] No. xxv, 1784. The paper was read to the Society of Antiquaries in 1767. Cf. *Archæologia*, 1770, I, p. xxvi.

[2] J. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, 1812–15, IV, etc. See also *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, 1817–58.

[3] This is clearly George Bouchier Richardson, son of Moses Aaron Richardson. For an account of both see R. Welford's *Men of Mark 'Twixt Tyne and Tweed*, 1895, III, pp. 294–8.

[4] Biographical, 1.

[5] Harleian MS. 1397.

[6] September 29th, 1683. See E. Elstob's autobiography.

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guardianship of their uncle, the Rev. Charles Elstob, Prebendary of Canterbury, who was 'no Friend to women's learning.'

Dr Elstob's connexion with Canterbury renders it probable that Elizabeth, as a member of her uncle's household, became familiar with that city, and it would be hard to find a more suitable home for the future antiquarian. It is, however, at Tillington in Sussex, where her uncle held the living in addition to his prebend at Canterbury, that Elizabeth must have passed the greater part of the years that followed. No details of her life in her uncle's family have been preserved. She later bore grateful witness to her aunt's 'equal tenderness and kindness,' which helped to compensate for her uncle's repressive treatment.

Under her mother's guidance she had 'gone through her Accidence and Grammar,' and now pleaded to be allowed to continue the study of Latin, but on this point her uncle was obdurate, putting her off 'with that common and vulgar saying that one Tongue is enough for a Woman.' It was, perhaps, through her aunt's good offices that she obtained leave, 'with much difficulty,' to learn French, and in the dedication to her aunt of her translation of Mlle de Scudéry's *Essay upon Glory* she reminds her that 'the Foundation of that little knowledge (of the French language) I have arriv'd to, was first laid in your House.' But French alone did not satisfy her, and in a second dedication of the same work to Mrs Mary Randolph, she writes of 'the many happy Hours I spent with you, in which we used to sigh out our wishes to each other for a Liberty of being admitted to partake of the Greek and Latin Stores.'

Meanwhile her brother William[1] had proceeded from the Grammar School at Newcastle to Eton and thence to Cambridge, whence he migrated to Oxford in 1691 and was elected Fellow of University College, Oxford, in 1696[2]. The character of William Elstob stands out clearly from his letters and contemporary references, which must be taken as supplementing rather than contradicting the eulogy of his sister's Memoir. He seems to have been a true lover of scholarship, and a student of great industry and enthusiasm, but not a scholar of the first rank. 'Ingenious,' 'worthy,' are the terms most commonly applied to him, and he was recognised as useful by the circle of 'Septentrional' scholars, of which Queen's College, Oxford, that 'nursing mother of Arctoans' was the centre. A strain of weakness is revealed by correspondence pre-

[1] Only one other member of the family survived childhood, viz. John Elstob, of whom William writes in 1698 that he has fallen into evil courses 'thro the means of ill company, w^ch^ has withdrawn him from his obedience to his captain.' Ballard MSS., XIII, 26.

[2] See *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, by J. A. Venn, 1922.

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served in the Ballard MSS., where William Elstob appears entangled in academic intrigues, from which he emerges with a reputation a little impaired.

Elstob's ideal was clearly some ecclesiastical appointment which would ensure him the leisure and freedom from care necessary for carrying out the learned works, notably an edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, upon which he had set his heart. But his repeated applications for such an appointment came to nothing, and William Elstob remained a disappointed and rather querulous man, conscious that he 'had not met with success in the world, answerable to his merits.'

Yet Elstob was undoubtedly 'amiable,' and his relations with his sister were beyond reproach, and happiness came to Elizabeth, as to Dorothy Wordsworth, when she threw in her lot with her brother's.

Whether this event took place during William Elstob's residence at Oxford or at a later period is not clear. Rowe Mores in his *Dissertation upon....Founders* describes her as a 'female student of the University,' and it is assumed by several subsequent writers that she joined her brother at Oxford. William Elstob's letters of this period, preserved in the Ballard collection, make no reference to his sister, and Elizabeth's autobiography gives no help on this point. That she is described by Rowe Mores as 'the favourite of Dr. Hudson and the Oxonians' and that she was certainly associated at a later period with the Oxford Saxonists does not prove residence at Oxford. However this may be, in the year 1702, when William Elstob was appointed to the combined living of St Swithin's and St Mary Bothaw's at London Stone, Elizabeth was certainly his companion at his house in Bush Lane, and it may have been in London rather than in Oxford that Elizabeth found the door of scholarship opened to her at last.

A word must now be said of Elizabeth Elstob's powers and attainments. She has been described as one 'whose understanding appears to have been of that slow but steadily progressive species, which often outstrips genius itself in the race of literature[1],' and the study of her correspondence and of her published works confirms this statement. It is to her 'incredible industry,' her thoroughness and unflagging enthusiasm that contemporary records bear witness, rather than to brilliance or wide grasp of intellect. Yet her achievement was remarkable enough, for while she is now remembered chiefly for her contribution to Anglo-Saxon studies, she is reported to have made herself mis-

[1] *History and Antiquity...of Evesham*, by W. Tindal, 1794, p. 276.

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tress of seven languages besides English and Latin, and 'was withal a good Antiquary and Divine[1].'

Elizabeth's introduction to the Anglo-Saxon tongue can be described in her own words. 'Having accidentally met with a Specimen of K. Alfred's Version of Orosius into Saxon,...I was very desirous to understand it, and having gain'd the Alphabet, I found it so easy, and in it so much of the grounds of our present Language...as drew me in to be more inquisitive after Books written in that Language. With this the kind Encourager of my Studies being very well pleased, recommended to me the Saxon Heptateuch.... The Matter of that Book being well known and familiar to me, made the reading of it very easy and agreeable: and led me on to the reading of several other Treatises, and to divert myself in taking Transcripts from such ancient Manuscripts as I could meet with[2].'

Apart from this reference, we can only speculate about her methods of study, but it is safe to assume that she would be able to consult Somner's Dictionary of 1659, Hickes' *Institutiones Grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ* of 1689, and by 1703, the great *Thesaurus*[3]. Of the extent of the help which she received from her brother, the 'kind Encourager' of her studies, it is impossible to judge.

It is clear that Elizabeth's special mission was recognised by herself and others to be the spread of Saxon learning among her own sex. She writes of Dr Hickes, 'This great Patron of the Septentrional Studies, hath ever since persevered to encourage my Proceeding in them, and to urge me that by publishing somewhat in Saxon, I wou'd invite the Ladies to be acquainted with the Language of their Predecessors, and the Original of their Mother Tongue[4].' It would seem that Dr Hickes (who was not, as a misinterpreted letter to Ballard[5] has suggested, her grandfather) took Elizabeth under his protection, and, until his death in 1715, generously encouraged and supported her efforts, as far as his own clouded fortunes would allow, while Elizabeth, for her part, valiantly defended the Doctor against ignorant and carping critics.

Before turning to Elizabeth's first venture into print, it is perhaps allowable to speculate a little upon the life of brother and sister at their house in Bush Lane. Did Elizabeth devote her days entirely to study, or was she also her brother's housekeeper? Would Dr Johnson have spoken as approvingly of this learned lady as of the excellent Mrs Carter?

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, IV, p. 129.
[2] Preface to *English-Saxon Homily*.
[3] *Linguarum vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus*, 1703–5.
[4] Preface to *English-Saxon Homily*.
[5] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 22.

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'A man is in general better pleased when he has a good dinner upon his table than when his wife talks Greek. My old friend, Mrs Carter, could make a pudding as well as translate Epictetus.' That Elizabeth was not unskilled in womanly accomplishments appears from a letter written many years later to George Ballard. 'Not that I w[d] be thought to be above doing any commendable Work proper for my sex; for I have continually in my thoughts the Glorious Character of a Virtuous Woman, Proverbs 31: 13... And as an instance of the truth of this, the Gown I had on when you gave me the Favour of a Visit was part of it my own spinning, and I wear no other Stockings but what I knitt myself[1],' and in one of her prefaces she contends that the studious woman neglects not domestic duties, but 'the Theatre, and long sittings at Plays, or tedious Dressings, and visiting Days and other Diversions, which steal away more time than are spent at study[2].' For her own part Elizabeth seems to have turned for relaxation to the copying of manuscripts, of which some beautiful specimens from her pen have been preserved[3], and also to painting. The Leeds topographer, Ralph Thoresby, who visited the Elstobs in 1709, records that Elizabeth 'draws and paints curiously[4],' while many years after we hear of Elizabeth's sending to Ballard portraits which she has executed, among them one of Dr Hickes, which called forth such high praise from Ballard that the artist is quite out of countenance[5]. Moreover, among the Ballard papers are to be found in Elizabeth's hand copies of recipes for the mixing of pigments, which testify to her interest in the art of illuminating[6].

Elizabeth's first published work, the translation of Mlle de Scudéry's *Essay upon Glory*[7], appeared in 1708. It does not bear her name, but the dedications, and references in Elizabeth's autobiography and elsewhere attest her authorship. Its interest to-day is slight, however, in comparison with that of the work which appeared with her name in the

[1] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 8. [2] Preface to *English-Saxon Homily*.

[3] An interesting paper exists in the Bodleian (MS. Eng. misc. c. 75, 17th and 18th cent. Letters and Papers, 56) headed 'Characteres Anglo-Saxonici per eruditam faeminam *Eliz. Elstob* ad fidem codd. mss. delineati. quorum tam instrumentis cusoriis quam matricibus donata est Univ. 1753,' and containing specimens of Anglo-Saxon script.

[4] *Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, II, pp. 27–8, ed. J. Hunter, 1830.

[5] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 22 and 23.

[6] Ballard MSS., LXVII. Among Elizabeth's relaxations may be reckoned, it seems, the writing of Anglo-Saxon verse. A curious specimen survives in the above MS., headed 'In Optatissimum Adventum Georgii Domini Regis Serenissimi.'

Nu is hit me to reccanne
Ymb þære tocyme
Georgiuses cyninges
Giu on Brunes wice
etc.

[7] *An Essay upon Glory*—by the celebrated Mademoiselle de Scudery. Done into English by a person of the same sex, 1708.

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following year, namely, *An English-Saxon Homily on the Birthday of St. Gregory*[1]. This work is described by more than one writer as a 'pompous' volume, clearly with no hint of disparagement, but the elaborate apparatus of Preface, Notes, English Translation, Latin Version, Appendices and Illustrations tempt the modern reader to apply the word 'pompous' in a less commendatory sense. Yet Hearne's scathing reference to this 'Farrago of Vanity' is surely too severe. 'This small Work' he writes, 'is design'd to promote and advance Saxon Knowledge; but I am much mistaken if it will not have a quite different effect, and make it look mean and little.' Of the Dedications and the rest he writes, 'they do and will make the Book ridiculous; and Expose both Brother and Sister to the Reflections of those who are always ready to run down and despise such vain, presumptuous performances'[2].

This is hardly fair, for while it may be admitted that a sense of humour might have saved Elizabeth from invoking such criticism, she may well have had her own reasons for making her little volume appear as imposing as possible, since she felt herself to be on the defensive both on account of her sex and of the remoteness of her subject. This double attitude is expressed in the Preface. 'First, I know it will be said, What has a Woman to do with Learning?...there are two things usually opposed against Women's Learning. That it makes them impertinent, and neglect their household Affairs. Where this happens it is a Fault. But it is not the Fault of Learning, which rather polishes and refines our Nature, and teaches us that Method and Regularity, which disposes us to greater Readiness and Dexterity in all kinds of Business.' And later, 'Admit a woman may have Learning, is there no other kind of Learning to employ her time? What is this Saxon? What has she to do with this barbarous antiquated Stuff? So useless, so altogether out of the way?' To which Elizabeth replies pertinently, 'But how came they to know that it is out of the way, and useless, who know nothing of it?'

The greater part of the Preface is occupied with a vindication of the character of St Gregory and of St Augustine, and an attempt to prove the uncorrupted state of the primitive English Church. At first sight this concern with theological matters appears curious in a linguistic

[1] Republished in 1839 'With a Preface containing some account of Mrs Elstob' by J. S. C. Certain sections relating to the Anglo-Saxon Church are omitted.

J. S. C. appears to be identical with the editor of the third edition of Jane Collier's *An Essay on the Art of Ingeniously Tormenting*, 1805, and with the author of *Lays of the Heart*, 1836. In the Preface to the *Essay on...Tormenting* occurs the phrase 'I wish... to preserve all monuments of female genius.'

[2] Hearne's *Collections*, ed. C. E. Doble, 1886, II, pp. 289–90.

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and antiquarian work, but it is to be remembered that the interest of 17th century scholars in Anglo-Saxon *was* largely theological, and one may probably see in Elizabeth's attitude to her subject the direct or indirect influence of Dr Hickes. The footnotes to the *Homily* are also more theological than linguistic, and some are attractively discursive, such as the following comment upon St Gregory's constant ill-health, which he counted no obstacle to fulfilling the duties of his office. 'Those were times, when a loud Voice, and airy Conversation, and that Easiness and Indifference which is equally concern'd for all things or for nothing, were not receiv'd and admitted amongst Men for the only Standard of Good Humour and Christian Charity.'

Of the translation itself, arranged in a parallel column with the original, it is unnecessary to say much. The translator's own words may be quoted, 'This (the translation) I confess, I have not done with any great Elegance, according to the Genius of our present Idiom; having chosen rather to use such English as wou'd be both intelligible and best express the Saxon; that, as near as possible, both the Saxon and the English might be discerned to be the same Kindred and Affinity.' This does not imply, however, any fanatical attempt to avoid words of romance origin.

It is impossible to leave the *Homily* without reference to the portrait of the translator herself, set into the initial G of the translation. It gives the impression of a genuine portrait, and shows a face of considerable spirit and intelligence. A tradition appears to have existed that Elizabeth Elstob was a beautiful woman, but this was later denied with rather brutal emphasis, on the authority of Elizabeth's patroness, the Duchess of Portland. 'Her misfortunes, ill-health, and age, might have altered her very much, before she came to live with the late Duchess of Portland. Be this as it may, I have to say, on the unquestionable authorities before-mentioned, that Mrs. Elstob was in the later part of her life, though very agreeable in her temper and conversation, a *remarkably plain woman*[1].'

The reception accorded by scholars to the single homily seems to have encouraged Elizabeth in her scheme for the publication of a 'Saxon Homilarium,' designed to include a great part of the homilies of Aelfric. In this she received the warm encouragement of Dr Hickes, who in 1712 wrote to Dr Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford, 'I suppose you may have seen Mrs. Elstob, sister to Mr. Elstob formerly fellow of your College, and the MSS. she hath brought to be printed at

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, IV, p. 714.

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your presse.....the publication of the MSS. she hath brought (the most correct I ever saw or read) will be of great advantage to the Church of England ag^{t} the papists;.....and the credit of our country, to w^{ch} Mrs. Elstob will be counted abroad, as great an ornament in her way as Madame Daciere is to France[1].' Another writer reports that 'Dr Hicks tells me Mrs. Elstob's book is don as well as if he had don' it, and orders me to tell all people so, and y^{t} it will be a very valuable Book[2].'

Proposals[3] were issued and every effort made to obtain subscribers. A letter among the Harleian MSS.[4] shows Elizabeth calling upon the Earl of Oxford, and waiting for an answer to her letter on the subject of the *Homilarium*, and it appears that through Harley's advocacy Royal support was at length obtained. In addition to the *Proposals* there was issued in 1713 a small pamphlet of *Testimonies of Learned Men, in Favour of the Intended Edition of the Saxon Homilies.* It is a curious document, in the form of a letter to Elizabeth's uncle and former guardian, Dr Charles Elstob, containing extracts from the works of scholars, designed to show the usefulness of Saxon studies. In view of Dr Elstob's former attitude towards his niece's love of learning, this looks like an act of bravado. Perhaps, however, time had modified Dr Elstob's prejudices, for he had appeared among the list of subscribers to the *English-Saxon Homily.*

In spite, however, of the efforts of Elizabeth and her friends, the scheme proved abortive. A copy of the proofs of part of the *Homilarium*, preserved in the British Museum, bears the MS. note, 'For reasons now unknown the Press was stopped[5].' The British Museum also possesses a beautiful transcript of the Homilies, with translation and notes added in the case of a few[6].

In the meantime Elizabeth must have been occupied with another work which appeared in the year 1715, namely *The Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue*[7]. The chief importance of this

[1] Ballard MSS., XII, 129. [2] *Ibid.*, XXXI, 71.

[3] *Proposals for Printing the Saxon Homilies in one Volume folio*, 1715. A copy is bound up in Lansdowne MS. 373.

[4] Harleian MS. 7524.

[5] Thirty-six folio pages are preserved, and the MS. note referred to above also states that 'these sheets, all that were printed of Mrs Elstob's Homilarium, were purchased at the sale of Herbert Crofts Library.'

[6] Lansdowne MSS. 370–3. A note states that the Homilies were transcribed by the 'Rev. Mr Elstob...and his sister.' Two hands are clearly traceable, but the greater number are in the smaller hand, almost certainly Elizabeth's, and the translations and almost all the notes are hers. Lansdowne MS. 374 contains further transcripts of Aelfric's Homilies, made during 1712, and also of Aelfric's version of Bede's *De Temporibus.*

[7] *The Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue, First given in English: with an Apology for the Study of Northern Antiquities....* By Elizabeth Elstob, 1715. The work is dedicated to the Princess of Wales, later Queen Caroline.

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work lies in the fact that it is the first grammar of Anglo-Saxon to appear in 'an English Dress.' Its aim is to present the subject intelligibly to 'those whose Education hath not allow'd them an Acquaintance with the Grammars of other Languages,' and although the work is avowedly based on the works of Hickes and Thwaites, a comparison with these authorities shows that the *Rudiments* is no slavish compilation. The author herself seems to have attached importance to her use of the 'Grammatical Terms in true old Saxon, from Aelfrick's Translation of Priscian,' which is intended to 'shew the polite Men of our Age that the Language of their Forefathers is neither so barren nor barbarous as they affirm, with equal Ignorance and Boldness.'

Moreover, if the work is mainly an adaptation it is redeemed from dulness by its amusingly personal and discursive style, unfamiliar to readers of the severer grammatical works of a later period, and one note at least seems to embody the author's own observation. Of the word 'soðlice' she writes, 'This word continues still in use in the word Forsooth, but the Sense is misunderstood: For whereas it is only a Note of Affirmation, it is used as a word of Compliment and Respect, which we find exacted with great Niceness from their Children, by the meaner sort in and about the City of London, where they are sure to be taught to say Forsooth Mother, and Forsooth Grandmother, etc.' This suggests personal observation in the neighbourhood of Bush Lane.

For modern readers the chief interest lies in the Preface, which takes the form of a letter to Dr Hickes. Here the writer tells how, on a visit to Canterbury, she met a 'young lady' who promised to learn the Saxon tongue, and 'to do me the Honour to be my Scholar.' Although Elizabeth and the unknown young lady were parted by circumstances, Elizabeth was led to compile a grammar 'in an English dress,' 'considering the Pleasure I myself had reaped from the Knowledge I have gained from this Original of our Mother Tongue, and that others of my own Sex might be capable of the same Satisfaction.'

Yet more important than these personal references is the fact that in this Preface Elizabeth has dared to break a lance with 'the terrible Dean[1].' In 1712 appeared Dean Swift's *Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue*, in which he inveighs against the tendency of English to become monosyllabic and compares it to its disadvantage with the politer tongues. He also refers to

[1] Ballard MSS., xxxi, 111. 'The famous Swift is one y^t^ is reflected on in the Preface. I can't learn the other. Dr Hickes had forgot his name.' A later hand has added 'Dr. Felton.' If the reference is to H. Felton's *Dissertation on Reading Classics*, 1711, the application is not very clear. See also Ballard MSS., xli, 20.

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languages such as German, Spanish and Italian, which 'have admitted few or no Changes for some Ages past,' and adds 'The other Languages of *Europe* I know nothing of, neither is there any occasion to consider them.' Here is a slight upon the Septentrional Languages, of which the great contemporary exponent was Dr Hickes, and Elizabeth retorts scathingly 'it must be very difficult to imagin how a Man can judge of a thing he knoweth nothing of.' She also replies with spirit to the criticism of the Northern languages on the ground of their harshness. 'I never perceiv'd in the Consonants any Hardness, but such as was necessary to afford Strength, like the Bones in a human Body, which yield it Firmness and Support. So that the worst that can be said on this occasion of our Forefathers is, that they spoke as they fought, like Men.' It would be interesting to know whether Swift read this Preface, and whether he was as completely crushed by Elizabeth's strictures as Ballard, in a letter written many years later, suggests[1].

Another object of Elizabeth's censure, not mentioned by name, was John Brightland, author of a *Grammar of the English Tongue*[2]. The work opens with lines by Nahum Tate, Poet Laureate:

> An *English Education!* Glorious Prize!
> *Fame* claps her Wings, and sounds it to the Skies,
> .....
> To *Grecian* Hills our Youth no more shall roam
> Supply'd with these *Castalian* Springs at home:
> Our Ladies, too, as in Eliza's Days,
> Be doubly Crown'd with Beauty and with Bays.

But after this unexceptionable beginning, Brightland professes to show that the English of his day is so remote from the Saxon of our forefathers that it is unnecessary for students of modern English to learn the Saxon tongue. 'The Saxons,' Brightland remarks, '(if we may credit Dr. Hicks) had various Terminations to their words,' and again, 'And tho' Dr. Hicks must be allow'd to have been a very curious Enquirer into these Obsolete Tongues, now out of use, and containing nothing valuable, yet it does by no means follow.....that we are not (*sic*) obliged to derive the Sense, Construction or Nature of our present Language from his Discoveries.' These patronising references to her great master, as was to be expected, fired Elizabeth to reply, and it is to convince such ignorant calumniators of the Saxon tongue of its politeness and adequacy that she uses throughout her *Rudiments* the Anglo-Saxon grammatical terms.

[1] Quoted in Nichols' *Illustrations*, IV, p. 212: 'Indeed I thought the bad success Dean Swift had met with in this affair from the incomparably learned and ingenious Mrs. Elstob, would have deterred all others from once opening their mouths in this affair' (i.e. on the subject of the value of Anglo-Saxon studies).

[2] Third edition, 1714.

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Towards the end of the Preface occurs a characteristic peroration. 'If any think fit to take up Arms against me, I have great Confidence in the Protection of the Learned, the Candid and the Noble; amongst which, from as many as bear the Ensigns of St. George, I cannot doubt that help, that true Chevalrie can afford, to any Damsel in Distress, by cutting off the Heads of all those Dragons, that dare but open their Mouths, or begin to hiss against her.'

The year 1715 marks a turning point in Elizabeth's life. In this year there died not only her staunch supporter and good friend, Dr Hickes, but also her brother William Elstob, 'after a long and lingering illness.' For about twenty years after this event records of the life of Elizabeth Elstob are almost entirely wanting. In Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes* it is stated that 'after the death of her brother, and the ill success of her studies, she was obliged to depend upon her friends for subsistence, but did not meet with that generosity she might reasonably expect; Bishop Smalridge being the only person from whom she received any relief[1].' It is clear that Elizabeth's prospects were very black indeed[2]. We read of debts incurred, apparently at about this time, and that three years later, in 1718, she had 'only paid a few small scores[3].' Elizabeth herself throws no light upon this period of her life. In her Memoir she merely refers to several designs which she was unable to carry out, being 'unhappily hinder'd, by a necessity for getting her Bread, which with much difficulty, labour and ill-health, she has endeavour'd to do for many years, with very indifferent success.' Other records are equally silent, but one of the letters in the Ballard collection suggests that about two years after her brother's death Elizabeth was still in London, seeking support for the *Homilarium*[4]. For the following period of more than ten years, no records at all remain.

The story re-opens at Evesham, when Elizabeth is found to have started or taken over a school. Tindal, the eighteenth-century historian of Evesham, states that the reason of her coming to Evesham was

[1] IV, p. 133.

[2] William Elstob died intestate. As the administration was committed to his sister Elizabeth, John Elstob (see p. 127, n. 1) was presumably dead at this date. The last reference to him which has come to my notice is in the pedigree drawn up by his sister in 1710 (see Harl. MS. 1397), at which date he was clearly still living. The amount of William Elstob's estate is not recorded, but it is unlikely that either brother or sister were ever well off. William Elstob evidently felt himself hampered through lack of means, and in Richardson's *Reprints* it is recorded that brother and sister 'were left orphans and very slenderly provided for.' It seems probable, therefore, that Rowe Mores' statement (*Dissertation upon Founders*, 1778, p. 29) that Elizabeth was at one time in possession of 'a genteel fortune' is inaccurate.

[3] Harl. MS. 3778 (quoted in *N. and Q.*, 1st Series, 1854, IX, p. 7).

[4] Ballard MSS., XXXII, 12.

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unknown, and the mystery is increased by a hint that at one period of her life she adopted another name[1]. Although this has been denied, it is noteworthy that William Brome in writing to his fellow-antiquarian, Thomas Rawlins, frequently refers to her as 'the Saxon Lady,' and adds 'I do not direct by name to her, because perhaps that address may not be proper[2].'

A letter of August 1735 contains the following sentence, 'at present after seven years patience and endeavours for a school I have obtain'd such a one as I desir'd[3].' This presumably means that Elizabeth did not take over the school at Evesham until about 1735. Another letter dated July 1748 suggests that she had come to Worcestershire some years before, since she refers to an event which occurred 'at my first going into Worcestershire,' and adds 'it is at least thirty years since this happen'd to me[4].' The establishment was certainly a day school but of what kind it is difficult to say. Tindal writes that it was kept 'with great *success* doubtless to her scholars, but little *emolument* to herself. Her weekly stipend with each pupil was, as I am credibly informed, at first only a groat[5].' Elizabeth herself writes of 'having met with a great deal of Friendship and Generosity from the Good Ladies in this Place. I shou'd think it the Greatest piece of ingratitude, to neglect the Dear little ones committed to my Care[6].' Tindal's statement suggests that the school was of a very humble kind, yet the contrast implied in the following passage, referring to an offer of employment in what appears to have been a Charity School, hardly bears this out: 'As to your objection on the Meanness of the Scholars I assure you Sr I shou'd think it as Glorious an Employment, to Instruct those Poor Children as to teach the Children of the Greatest Monarch[7].'

It is satisfactory to find that the work of schoolmistress was not altogether uncongenial to her. 'It is a way of Life I must confess I am fond of, if it were not precarious, and fatiguing, but with that I am content[8].' What was, perhaps, most irksome to her was the little time she was able to snatch for her antiquarian pursuits. 'I laid hold of this opportunity,' she writes, 'it being what they call the little Fair day, and the only Holiday which is allow'd to my children and self[9],' and again, 'when my School is done, my little ones leave me incapable of either reading, writing, or thinking, for their noise is not out of my head till I fall asleep, which is often too late[10].' Nichols states that 'she

[1] *N. and Q.*, 1st Series, IX, p. 200, etc.
[2] Ballard MSS., XIX, 42.
[3] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 1.
[4] *Ibid.*, 38.
[5] Tindal's *Evesham*, p. 276.
[6] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 1.
[7] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 8.
[8] *Ibid.*, 12
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*, 15.

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scarcely had time to eat, much less for study[1].' There is something distressing in her tone of regret for the scholarship which was slipping away from her, and in her pleasure when she was consulted on some small antiquarian matter. She complains of lack of the necessary books, which she cannot borrow, for 'Antiquaries in these parts are so scarce[2].' At another time she writes of an inscription which has been referred to her for elucidation, 'The Characters are undoubtedly Runick, but the little knowledge I once had in that Language, by a long disuse is almost lost, so that I dare not give any judgment upon it[3].'

It is easy, then, to believe that one of the greatest pleasures of her life during this period of seclusion and exacting labour at Evesham was the friendship of George Ballard of Camden. Particulars of this antiquarian are to be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It is enough for the present purpose to remember that in the year 1735, when his intercourse with Elizabeth Elstob began, he was about twenty-nine years of age, and about twenty-three years her junior. He must at this time have been following his trade of stay-maker or women's habit maker at Camden, since it was not till more than three years later that his antiquarian tastes and his collections of coins and other curiosities attracted the attention of Lord Chedworth and other patrons, and led them to offer him an annuity of £100 in order to free him for the pursuit of learning. It is due to Ballard to remember that he would accept no more than £60 of the £100 offered, and with this went up to Oxford at the age of forty-four, and became a Clerk at Magdalen.

The work by which he is remembered, by a few, is his *Memoirs of several Ladies of Great Britain who have been celebrated for their writings or skill in the learned languages, arts, and sciences*[4]. The fact that this volume appeared in 1752, four years before the death of Elizabeth Elstob, has deprived us of what could not fail to have been a valuable account of the 'Learned Saxonist.' There remains, however, his invaluable collection of letters and papers, from which many quotations have already been made. The following passages from the letters throw light upon Elizabeth's daily life during the latter part of her residence in Evesham and upon her friendship with Ballard. 'I cannot

[1] *Literary Anecdotes*, IV, p. 133.
[2] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 2. [3] *Ibid.*, 16.
[4] Vol. LXIV of the Ballard Papers consists of a book ruled and lettered, in which occur, in Elizabeth Elstob's hand, names of famous women of all ages, and in some cases a brief account in Latin or English. Ballard has occasionally added his own notes. The book seems to be the result of miscellaneous reading, and there is no evidence that Elizabeth proposed to publish it.

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Sr forbear expressing my Surprize and satisfaction, in meeting with so much Candour and Friendship from a Gentleman unknown[1].' A few days later she writes: 'When you mention'd your early affection for the Study of Antiquities, you put me in mind of my dearest Brother and Tutor, who was so delighted when a child, with that Study, that at Eleven years of age he was call'd the little Campden[2].' In the same letter Elizabeth invites Ballard to visit her if he should come to Evesham, and adds 'You will see a poor little contemptible old maid generally Vapour'd up to the ears, but very chearful, when she meets with an agreeable conversation.'

We hear more than once of Ballard's visits to Evesham, but for Elizabeth to visit Camden was something of an ordeal, in view of her constant ill-health and the diffidence engendered by her long years of obscurity. In June 1737, however, she achieved the visit: 'I have not this many years (if ever) spent my time more agreeably and more to my real satisfaction than at Campden[3].' It is amusing to find by a letter written more than a week later that Elizabeth has been troubled by doubts as to the propriety of her behaviour during the visit. Mr Ballard has been ill in the interval, and Elizabeth fears lest 'I might in great measure be the occasion of it by my great impertinence and too much Loquacity, I do assure you it is only among those I esteem as my best Friends that I now put on those Gaieties, being reserv'd enough and sometimes thought too much so among such as I have but little value for[4].' In the same letter she refers to 'Dr. Ballard' who has 'cured a Gentlewoman of Lethargy.'

But Mrs Elstob was indebted to Ballard not only for his own friendship and appreciation of her scholarship, but for the interest which he aroused on her behalf among his antiquarian friends, some of whom corresponded with her and occasionally visited her at Evesham. Among such visitors was Thomas Rawlins, who writes, 'I staid with her abt half an hour we discoursed upon various matters amongst the rest upon Mr. Wests irreparable Loss she remarked upon Dr. Tanners loss and also upon ye Cottonian Library. I lamented yt she was not able to prosecute yt pompous work she was abt wch was a Life of A Bp. Elfric vel Alfricus, she was in hopes yt one day or other she might accomplish it by ye kind assistance and encouragement of Fnds but acquiesced till that happy time came[5].'

It was to Ballard that Elizabeth owed her introduction to Mrs Cha-

[1] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, 21.
[4] *Ibid.*, 22.
[5] *Ibid.*, XLI, 71.

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pone[1], of Stanton, herself a schoolmistress and a friend of learning. In 1736 Elizabeth writes: 'I am not without hopes that Providence has given a turn to my advantage....For by the indefatigable endeavours of my Dearest Friend Mrs. Chapon, I have receiv'd several Instances of it, and some extraordinary ones[2].' No reference is made in the letters, however, to the particular act of kindness mentioned by Nichols, viz., to the writing by Mrs Chapone of a letter to her intimate friend Mrs Pendarves, setting forth Elizabeth's learning, character and misfortunes so movingly, that a subscription was raised among certain of Mrs Pendarves' friends, to whom the letter was shown. Some time after this the same letter came into the hands of the tutor of Prince William, who showed it to Queen Caroline[3], to whom *The Rudiments of the English Saxon Grammar* had been dedicated. One account represents the Queen as exclaiming that 'she never in her life read a better letter, that it had touched her heart' and as giving orders for a sum of a hundred pounds to be sent to Mrs Elstob with the promise that 'she need never fear a necessitous old age while she lived, and that when she wanted more to ask for it, and she should have it[4].' According to another account the Queen declared that as Elizabeth was so well 'fitted to be mistress of a school for young ladies of a higher rank' she would send her a gift of £100, presumably to help towards the starting of such an establishment, and that she would send another £100 at the end of five years[5]. Whatever form the promise of further help may have taken it was never in fact fulfilled, for in 1737 Queen Caroline died, and Elizabeth found herself but little advanced by her taste of royal patronage.

It must at this time have become increasingly clear to her friends that some effort ought to be made to find for Mrs Elstob some less exacting work. During the year 1738 her letters become more and more a record of depression and failing health. After a visit to the country, she writes: 'I am return'd something better, tho' still weak and afflicted with my old Nervous Fever, from which I despair of ever being free, it affects my Head, Eyes and Hands so much as to make me almost incapable of writing[6].'

In the autumn of 1738 new plans were evidently afoot. 'Being

[1] Wife of Rev. John Chapone (Chapon or Capon), whose son married Hester Mulso, the 'admirable Mrs Chapone,' author of *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind*, 1772. Delany, *Autobiography*, III, p. 626.

[2] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 15.

[3] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, IV, p. 714.

[4] Delany, *Autobiography*, I, pp. 260–4.

[5] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, IV, p. 134. But cf. p. 714, where the account is perhaps intended to replace the account on p. 134. Here the Queen is said to have promised to repeat yearly her gift of £100.

[6] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 28.

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assured by all my Friends that the Bath is the only place in the World to settle in; not only on account of my health; but on account of my affairs also....I design to set out for Bath on Thursday next, that I may be there before the roads are too bad[1].' Presumably the school at Evesham was given up and Elizabeth hoped to find employment at Bath. At first the prospect was discouraging enough. 'I am still E. E.,' she writes to Ballard, 'and am I believe to meet with nothing but discouragements and disappointments, having met with nothing else since I came, notwithstanding I have been most zealously recommended by Dear Mrs. Pendarves, Miss Granville and Mrs. Chapon to several Persons of Worth and Honour[2].'

Early in the next year, however, came the offer which was to prove a second turning-point in Mrs Elstob's career. On Jan. 8, 1739, she writes: 'I must acquaint you with the good Fortune which has befallen me, after the many disappointments I have met with here. It is an offer from the Duke and Dutchess of Portland to teach their children to Read, with the allowance of a Sallary of Thirty pounds a year,.....there are only two little Ladys to teach at present, the eldest not four years old, the little Marquiss not one.....neither my Best Friends nor myself could have wish'd for a more happy and Honourable Situation for me[3].' Further light is thrown upon this offer by a letter from Mrs Pendarves, friend of the Duchess, to her sister Anne Granville: 'No fatigue will be imposed upon her, but all imaginable care will be taken of her.....all she (the Duchess) requires and hopes of Mrs. Elstob is to instruct her children in the principles of religion and virtue, to teach them to speak, read, and understand English well, to cultivate their minds as far as their capacity will allow, and to keep them company in the house, and when her health and strength will permit to take the air with them[4].'

Elizabeth's letter suggests no hesitation in accepting the Duchess's offer. There exists, however, an amusing letter from Mr Brome, one of Ballard's correspondents who had shown much interest in the 'Saxon Lady,' expressing his anxiety as to her discretion. 'I am glad to hear the Saxon Lady is to.....leave Evesham for a better Place. I hope she has seen so much of the world, as since her Dedication of A. S. Grammar, she may have other thoughts; but if they should continue *the same*, *desire* her, *conjure* her to *secret* them, because to my certain knowledge they are different, and will be displeasing to the great Lady's Friends, with whom I have the honour to be intimately acquainted, and have

[1] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 30.
[2] *Ibid.*, 31.
[3] *Ibid.*, 33.
[4] Delany, *Autobiography*, II, p. 14.

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such an interest in, that I could render her stay precarious, which I am so far from doing, that I send this caution to make her Settlement the more firm[1].' It may be said in passing that Elizabeth's patroness was Margaret Cavendish Harley, daughter of the second Earl of Oxford (Pope's Harley), and the 'noble lovely little Peggy' of Prior's poem.

Although Elizabeth's appointment dated from Christmas Day, 1738, from which date her salary was to begin, 'a most extraordinary instance of Generosity[2],' it was not until November or December of the next year that she entered the Portland household. In the spring of 1739 a letter from Bath shows her confined to bed with 'a violent and dangerous illness which has.....brought me much weaker than ever you saw me. I have many times despair'd of ever seeing any of my Friends again.' She has, however, 'a most excellent Physician, who notwithstanding he is vastly hurry'd among the Noble and the Rich, yet visits me frequently, not only as a Physician but as a Friend[3].'

For the period which follows, a period of nearly twenty years ending with Elizabeth's death in 1756, we have to depend on her own letters to Ballard and to a few other correspondents, and to the letters of Mrs Pendarves. The information amounts to very little, and it is no doubt significant of Elizabeth's position in her new home that the correspondence between Elizabeth Montague and the Duchess of Portland during these years[4], through part of which, by the courtesy of Mr Reginald Blunt, I have been able to glance, although it presents a lively picture of life at Bulstrode, where most of Elizabeth's time was probably spent, contains only a few unenlightening references to Mrs Elstob. The following extracts from her correspondence, however, give some pictures of her life during this period.

Soon after entering upon her new duties she writes: 'my Charming little Ladies take up my time so entirely that I have not the least leisure to do anything, from the time they rise till they go to bed they are constantly with me, except when they are with her Grace, which is not long at a time.....Her Grace is a most surprising Lady considering her Age, she is vastly Ingenious, and is possess'd with an extraordinary good Judgment, so that you may be certain her Conversation is entertaining to the highest degree.' Of her pupils she writes: 'The eldest Lady not yet four years and a half old, and who did not know a letter

[1] Ballard MSS., XIX, 68. Rawlinson writes to Rawlins in 1737, 'Pray was there not something indiscreet in Mrs. Elstobbs character?' (*ibid.*, II, 15).

[2] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 33.

[3] *Ibid.*, 34.

[4] That part of the correspondence published in *Mrs Montagu; Queen of the Blues*, 1923, covers a later period.

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when I came, already not only knows them all, but can spell and read very prettily for so short a time, and can say some little Poems, and a great deal of the Catechism, which she knew not one word of before, the next Lady to her who has a wonderful lively wit, comes little behind her Sister, tho' not three years old till next Month and I don't doubt but that in a short time the little Marquis, not yet two years old, will come under my Care, for he already bids his Nurse bring him to me to read, so that you cannot but believe I am highly delighted with him[1].'

A little later she writes to Ballard: 'I have less time than I ever had in my life to command because it is not my own[2].' In the same year she writes to Miss Granville: 'my dear little charmers allow me but very little leisure[3].' Of Lady Betty she writes in the same letter: 'She learns exceedingly well, and loves her book and me entirely; nor is she ever more happy than when she is with me, and we study together, even by candle-light, like two old folks[4].' To judge by the letter quoted above, Lady Betty, presumably the 'eldest Lady' there referred to, would, at the date of the letter last quoted, be less than five years old.

In the next year occurs a further reference to Elizabeth's ill-health. 'Poor Dear Mrs. Elstob,' writes one of Ballard's correspondents, 'is in an ill state of health, so that I very seldom hear from her. She was so very ill in the winter, that the Dutchess was afraid she should lose her[5].' Letters from Elizabeth become less and less frequent, although she did not cease to correspond with Ballard until at least the year 1753, three years before her death. 'Pray let us continue to see one another if Possible,' she writes in 1740[6].

We may assume that her life was quiet and uneventful. Of this she writes a little regretfully: 'Alas! my acquaintance and interest is reduced to a very narrow compass[7].' Writing was a difficult matter, for not only was her sight failing, but she appears to have partly lost the use of her right hand. 'My chief complaint is weakness,' she writes, 'and the dread I am in of Losing the use of my right Hand by a contraction in the sinew which Disables me from writing and obliges me to give my sweet Ladys the trouble of writing for me[8].' Elizabeth's letters of this date are in several cases written in a childish hand, but her own writing is now so much changed that it is not always easy to identify it.

Although ill-health and lack of leisure no doubt prevented her from

[1] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 36.
[2] *Ibid.*, 37.
[3] Delany, *Autobiography*, II, p. 85.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 52.
[6] *Ibid.*, 37.
[7] *Ibid.*, 46.
[8] *Ibid.*, 46.

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carrying out any of the works of scholarship which she had planned in earlier days, her interest in letters remained. She was active in securing subscriptions for Ballard's *Memoirs of Learned Ladies*, but writes pessimistically: 'I am sorry to tell you the choice you have made for the Honour of the Females was the wrongest subject you cou'd pitch upon. For you can come into no company of Ladies or Gentlemen, where you shall not hear an open and Vehement exclamation against Learned Women, and by those women that read much themselves, to what purpose they know best.....The prospect I have of the next age is a melancholy one to me who wish Learning might flourish to the end of the world, both in men and women, but I shall not live to see it[1].'

A letter written from Bulstrode in 1748 suggests an additional reason for Elizabeth's failure to complete her projected schemes: 'At my first going into Worcestershire, I intrusted my Manuscripts and books with several other things in the hands of a Person, with whom I believ'd they would be very safe, but to my great surprize and griet I heard soon after she was gone to the West Indies to a Daughter that had settled there and cou'd never hear of her since, it is at least thirty years since this happen'd to me, and you may reasonably think it has made me very unhappy ever since[2].'

In 1750 Elizabeth records the visit to Bulstrode of Mr Mores, who makes the following comment upon his interview: 'In her latter years she was tutoress in the family of *The Duke of Portland*, where we have visited her in her sleeping-room at *Bulstrode*, surrounded with books and dirtiness the usual appendages of folk of learning[3].'

In 1753, when Elizabeth was in her seventy-first year, Mrs Pendarves writes: 'I am just come down from Mrs. Elstob. She is wrapt up in her young lords and ladies, and I believe has no thoughts of quitting them till they disperse into families of their own, and indeed she is too infirm to undertake any fresh charge now[4].' A letter of the same month gives a pleasing glimpse of Elizabeth, not yet quite indifferent to female vanities: 'She is very well and much concerned that she has not yet been able to get her dormouse,' of which the editor remarks: 'evidently an article of dress.....but the Editor has been unable to ascertain whether it was a nightcap or a hood[5].'

After this date one can trace a steady failure of strength and such records as remain are sad reading. One cannot help wondering whether

[1] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 47. [2] *Ibid.*, 38. [3] E. Rowe-Mores, *Dissertation*, pp. 29–30.
[4] Delany, *Autobiography*, III, pp. 52–3.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 260. The *N.E.D.* explains the word as a corruption of *dormeuse*.

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the vivacious Mrs Pendarves, on whom we depend for our knowledge of these last years, was not a little wanting in insight and patience. Elizabeth is now represented as querulous, absorbed in her own ailments, falling out with her best friends, and too readily influenced by persons whom her patroness and her circle considered undesirable. 'She never desires any clergyman to come to her, and her Cousin Mallet visits her very often, who is a Roman Catholic, and alarms the Duchess very much.....I wish if the poor woman has any little sum that she will bestow it on *the friend* [evidently Mrs Chapon] who was the *first* occasion of her being brought out of obscurity; but I fear *she* is not in favour[1].'

Although there is reason to believe that Elizabeth received from the Duchess up to the time of her death the kindest and most considerate treatment, her exclamation to Ballard six years before the end: 'I am extremely ill, and can only add that I hate this illnatured world and heartily rejoice that I cannot continue long in it[2],' may well express more than a passing disgust with life. One is reminded of a passage in an earlier letter to Ballard, where she compares herself with the unfortunate John Tucker (really Thomas Tusser), of whom she had read in Winstanley's *Lives of the Poets*, who is described as 'an honest, industrious, poor man, but notwithstanding his indefatigable industry .....'no butter would stick on his bread'[3],' and of the passage already quoted: 'I am still E.E. and am I believe to meet with nothing but discouragements and disappointments.'

Death came to her at the age of seventy-three on May 30th, 1756[4], probably at Whitehall, although Chambers' *Book of Days*[5], on what authority is not stated, places her death at Bulstrode. She was buried on June 3rd at St Margaret's Church, Westminster[6].

There is only this to add. Nearly forty years after Mrs Elstob's death, Tindal wrote as follows: 'Much merit is certainly to be ascribed

[1] Delaney, *Autobiography*, III, pp. 428–9.

[2] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 43.

[3] Ballard MSS., XLIII, 8. Winstanley's actual words are 'He spread his Bread with all sorts of Butter, yet none would stick thereon.' W. Winstanley, *The Lives of the most Famous English Poets*, 1686, p. 71.

[4] She died intestate. Mrs Pendarves, writing before her papers have been examined, mentions the finding of seventy guineas, and remarks, 'I suppose that she cannot have left much money.' The administration was committed to Chrysostom Hamilton, Lucy Mallet and Jane Elstob, 'the Cousins and only next of Kin.' Lucy Mallet was the second wife of David Mallet, the poet. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1742, p. 546; *N. and Q.*, 1854, 1st Series, x, pp. 17–18, and *D.N.B.*

[5] I, p. 701.

[6] The name in the register is written *Elstol*, a fact which may account for the statement (*N. and Q.*, 1st Series, IX, p. 200) that the name does not occur. Sir Leslie Stephen in the *D.N.B.* states that her death occurred on June 3rd, but this is evidently due to confusion between the date of her death and the date of her burial.

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to this lady, as the first (and probably the last) female, to whom the study of the Saxon language has afforded a curious and, in a native, very laudable pursuit[1].' 'Probably the last,' wrote Tindal, and in less than fifteen years was to appear another female 'Saxonist,' no less remarkable than Elizabeth Elstob, Anna Gurney, that indomitable invalid, translator of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, hailed by Ingram a few years later as 'the Elstob of her Age[2].'

MARGARET ASHDOWN.

LONDON

[1] Tindal's *Evesham*, p. 277.
[2] J. Ingram, *The Saxon Chronicle*, 1823. Preface, p. xvii.

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THE OLD DRAMA AND THE NEW.

Two of Mr Archer's main purposes in writing his recent valuable book, *The Old Drama and the New*, he has achieved. He has brought our contemporary English playwrights as men of letters more completely into their own; and (with one more blast before the Drama League the other night[1] to make an end of it) he has dispelled the Elizabethan superstition, which for a century, if not for centuries, has hung over our stage like a cloud, blighting original work and darkening the counsels of criticism. In the eighteenth century it was the classical superstition that stood in the dramatist's way if he would be literary; in the later eighteenth and the nineteenth, with the Romantic critics erecting it into a dogma, it was the Elizabethan almost alone. Vulgar and ephemeral writers, to be sure, cheerfully ignored it; but men of letters saw no way clear to write for the stage until they made out light ahead reflected from the French or from Ibsen, while the literary critics and historians have bowed under the shadow of the dogma to this day. According to it the little finger of a Jonson, a Beaumont, or a Webster, was as big as the thigh-bone of any of our puny tribe.

On Mr Archer's achievement in demonstrating the error in this way of thinking I need not dwell. A few scholars had recognised the error, but mere scholars get no hearing, and the actual slaying of the dragon had been left for the true-filed and well-directed shafts of Mr Archer. In all error, however, there is some truth; in things literary, at least, most error is overstatement, likely, therefore, when thrust out of the way, to be supplanted only by further over-statement, further error. (In the arguments of others we are able to see this, not in our own.) If the Elizabethans really are not so much bigger or better than our moderns, surely our moderns are not, as Mr Archer thinks, so much bigger or better than the Elizabethans. And as surely Shakespeare should not be spirited away out of the company of these and set up as an isolated exception. Though a world-poet, he was an Elizabethan, through and through and first of all.

I.

No one knows better than Mr Archer, I think, when not arguing or advocating, that such an exception Shakespeare simply could not be.

[1] November 5, at the Century Theatre, on *Elizabethan Worship*.

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All art is a function of society, a matter of communication on the part of the artist but of understanding on the part of the public, and by means of a language—that is, conventions, devices, various accepted simplifications—slowly developed and established but immediately intelligible when used. And dramatic art, above all popular dramatic art, dependent for effect as it is on the very moment of presentation, is a community affair in a special and particular sense. Sculptor or painter, poet or prosewriter, may be individual and aloof as a dramatist cannot be. He must write for the same audience as his fellows or rivals; he must use the same language or medium; and, as with them, his very thoughts must in a sense be the thoughts of the audience, his ways their ways. He cannot go 'voyaging through strange seas of thought'—or he will *be* alone, and that, of all things, is the last your dramatist desires. Failure has for him no consolations. As with a business man, a general, or the very actor in his play, nothing succeeds but success. To be *great* is to be misunderstood, say the philosophers and reformers, but never the dramatists or actors—save when in that plight. To those of the craft they would not say it at all.

Now it is to this language, these conventions or devices—disguise, soliloquy and aside, vagueness of time and place, superfluity of horror, blank verse, high-flying rhetoric on the one hand and grossness of speech on the other, the expression of passion rather than the sober and discreet imitation of reality, and romanticism rather than realism—that Mr Archer particularly objects. He admits that some of the Elizabethans besides Shakespeare were men of genius, not lacking in matter or in poetry; but he cannot abide or endure the form of art they cultivated or the medium in which they wrought. It was too soft and easy—was water-colour, so to speak, not oil; sandstone, not marble. But he seems to forget that it was exactly the same medium in which Shakespeare wrought, by the Elizabethans mixed or rough-hewn for him, as it were. And never since the days of Sophocles was there a great dramatic community—authors and audience together—so much at one, all employing or comprehending one medium or idiom, engrossed with the capabilities of it and with the import of what was communicated, untroubled by the thoughts or idiom of other authors, audiences, or times. Of Shakespeare himself this is truest, who apparently took no interest in dramatic theory or technique as such, and did not print his plays. And so well does Mr Archer know all this that at unguarded moments he himself shows how from his form and medium Shakespeare suffers, though ordinarily of that subject he keeps well clear. As a

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strategist, Mr Archer, one cannot help suspecting, attacks the weakest places, well aware that against the fortress of Shakespeare's reputation he should for long be tilting in vain.

By our standards, to be sure, most of the great Elizabethans are poets rather than dramatists. But Shakespeare, then, is too. By our standards many of the conventions and licenses in the Elizabethans are crude and objectionable. But they are too in Shakespeare. In three centuries, however, drama in general has become enormously more dramatic and less poetic; just as in the same period prose has become more like prose, and lyric verse, on the other hand, has become less like a song. Are we, then, to take no pleasure in any prose, lyric, or drama other than such as ours? If, as he reads or witnesses the greatest Elizabethans save Shakespeare, Mr Archer gets so little pleasure as he says he does, Shakespeare himself, one thinks, he must read or witness with only a much mingled and sadly qualified delight. And the same in a measure must be said of Mr Archer when confronted with the drama of other periods, as indeed he more than once betrays. Many of the above licenses and conventions are to be found in late seventeenth-century comedy, from Etherege to Farquhar, and of that comedy Mr Archer disapproves; and some of these and others besides, such as rime in the verse and elaborate etiquette or a high fantastical style in the dialogue, are to be found in seventeenth-century French and Spanish drama, and that drama Mr Archer but faintly praises. Some are to be found even in that comedy for which Mr Archer has a kindness, Goldsmith's and Sheridan's; and one wonders with what countenance and cheer Mr Archer contrives to swallow the choruses and the lyric measures, the disguises, mistaken identities, and recognitions, the indeterminateness of time and place, and all the hugely improbable assumptions of the plot, in ancient comedy and tragedy. 'Of his comfort we should despair,' did we not remember that sound sense or an exquisite taste cannot by argument be quite impaired or by a partisan spirit stifled.

II.

What apart from the above-mentioned licenses most offends Mr Archer is the careless, slipshod, unplausible methods of the Elizabethans in general; and yet of that Elizabethan who in his best work gives in all these respects least cause for offence, and is most exacting with both himself and his material, he will have none. Ben Jonson is the one man in the period—for that Shakespeare is not—blest (and curst too) with the artistic conscience; but Mr Archer, who reverences it only after the

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still small voice within, will do it no honour in Jonson. He recognises that Jonson is a poet and has a powerful mind, but does not allow him to be a very considerable dramatist, and ignores—indeed denies him—his particular faculty or quality. I do not wonder at Mr Archer when he complains of the shapelessness of Webster's *White Devil* and *Duchess of Malfy*, but wonder (without admiring) when he says of *Every Man in His Humour* that 'a worse-constructed play could not easily be discovered, outside of Jonson's works.' Bad plays are so numerous, even as are the sands on the sea-shore; and Jonson was acknowledged to be the great and cunning craftsman of the Elizabethan Age, both in his own time and after. His plays were *works*, as indeed he called them, but that according to Mr Archer's own principles should be far from a reproach. In respect of poetry, and the spiritual or imponderable qualities of drama, the verdict of time is not necessarily binding; but in respect of dramatic structure and workmanship it may be, and when in such a matter critics and dramatists so gifted and yet dissimilar as Dryden and Coleridge can agree, we may take it for granted that they are nearly or wholly right. Certainly Jonson knew and practised the art of plotting, of preparing and motiving, and of making the dramatic current ebb and flow, in a day when it was too little practised and less known; and of that art the plots of *Volpone*, *The Alchemist*, and *The Silent Woman*, and in less measure *Every Man in His Humour* too, are enduring monuments. Little of this cunning construction would it be possible in brief space adequately to lay bare. But to take one or two details out of many, what an effect of ebb and flow and truly dramatic rhythm, everything prepared for and yet everything a surprise, and all presented in the simple, sensuous, if not passionate, language of the stage—in that of sights and sounds and natural human intercourse and action—is to be found at the end of the fourth act of *The Alchemist*! The explosion, which is the impostors' triumph, is, once it has been dramatically emphasised and realised, followed by the arrival of Surly; that defeat, by the angry entrance of the gulls, one after the other, who fatuously, though naturally, side not with him but with the impostors, and blindly drive their deliverer away; and that triumph, in turn, by the still more disconcerting but wholly to have been expected arrival of the master! And what a series of comic changes and true stage sensations, where rogue meets rogue, not exactly as Greek meets Greek, but as two well-anointed wrestlers grapple and still continually elude each other's clutches, is to be found in the second trial scene in *Volpone*! And yet such cunning and careful work, the absence of which in Webster

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or Middleton Mr Archer deplores, he in Jonson fails to appreciate, says nothing of the construction at all save to pick flaws, but has a deal to say of Jonson's extravagance in conception, disregard of probability, and propensity to caricature. Must a dramatist, however, like no other artist, constantly exhibit every quality and virtue known to his art? Being a satirist, Jonson does, by that very fact, give an imperfect image of life. But he gives all that should be expected—a vivid and artistically consistent one. And for satire there is a place upon the stage—for Jonson's as, two generations later, for Molière's.

What are these flaws, viewed more narrowly? In all the close-wrought fabric of causality in *Volpone* Mr Archer can pick out one—in the motiving of Mosca's bringing Corbaccio's son to his master's house. Is there a play even among the greatest of Shakespeare's in which you cannot pick flaw after flaw as serious? Why does Hamlet feign madness? Why does he give himself away at the play within the play, the court taking no notice of that or of Claudius' self-betrayal? Why is Banquo, in regard to Duncan's death, so suspicious and yet so warily silent; and yet again, in regard to his own doings at the end, so confidential and incautious? And why does the shrewd but loyal Emilia never once speak up amid all the great to-do about the handkerchief? Though in far nobler plays, these improbabilities are more vital and also more noticeable than that found in *Volpone*.

As for the 'presuppositions' and implications of Jonson's fable, they too are paralleled in Shakespeare at his best or in Molière. Unplausible imposture on the part of the rogue, preternatural credulity on the part of his victims—surely one cannot complain of that in Jonson when we have it in the warp and woof of Shakespearean comedy and tragedy alike, in *Much Ado*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Merry Wives*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *Cymbeline*. And in comedy, particularly in satiric comedy, where the characters are dominated each by his 'humour,' and where in the good cause of laughter they have always been allowed a larger license, it is justifiable as in sober tragedy it cannot be. The Moor is a noble and balanced character, with no right reason to be gullible; but these legacy-hunters in *Volpone* are gullible from the outset, in virtue of their greed. Jonson's comedy is in this respect to be judged by the standards of comedy and satire, by those to be applied to *Le Tartuffe* and *L'Avare*. And the same is to be said to Mr Archer's complaint against Corbaccio's and the others' incredible readiness not only to believe the flattering and enticing things they are told but to risk so much in gifts. Cupidity, he says rightly, goes with parsimony; but that is neither here nor there.

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Mr Archer will remember Sir Walter Raleigh's answer to the complaints against Lear's and Cordelia's conduct (and the critics' ingenious explanations of it) at the beginning of Shakespeare's play—that this unplausible conduct is the 'postulate' upon which the play depends. 'The falsity of the initial assumptions,' growls Mr Archer, as he weighs the probabilities of Volpone's getting rich in such a fashion; but the author of *Play-making* need not be reminded that the beginning is the place for false or improbable assumptions, as it is not only in *King Lear* but (witness the casket story and the pound-of-flesh story) in the *Merchant of Venice* and in *Le Tartuffe*, and that there they do not much matter if what follows them be logical and consequent. And (here again) in comedy and satire there is, and should be, more latitude; for Lear and Cordelia are not warped and unbalanced, but those who, like the legacy-hunters, are obsessed by a passion, will, with not a mathematical but a human logic, be even spendthrifts and squanderers that they may give it scope. Did Mr Archer never look on (at least) at a gaming-table? Did he never read of the stock-market, where the most avaricious men on earth will eagerly, frantically fling away their all? Or of those who buy far-away gold-mines, oil-wells, or orange-groves, or millions and then milliards of German marks, thereby merely giving the sellers gifts? It costs them a wrench, no doubt, not to say a paroxysm, nor of that does Jonson fail to make comic capital when the legacy-hunters actually hand their presents over—but to hand them over is human. 'Nothing venture'—the proverb is world-wide.

Moreover, being not a tragedy but a comedy, and a satire besides, *Volpone* is mainly the materialisation of one passion, which must be cut and shaped, as it were, in planes or with facets, and quickly turned about in the light. Swift-succeeding aspects—flashes, contrasts and surprises—comic effects in short, must be had, even at some considerable cost to truth and soberness. One might as well complain that a monster of a miser like Harpagon keeps a coach and horses, a cook and a troop of servants, and say, no way is this to paint a miser, as living on such a scale. Cupidity goes with parsimony without a doubt; but in the comedy, as Sarcey observed, he keeps the servants to stint them, and the horses to get up at night and steal away their oats. And so it is that old Corbaccio gives Volpone his bag of bright chequins, though with a pang. He is but lending them, he trusts, for a little space; is but adding unto his heritage. 'Who ever heard,' says Mr Archer, 'of avarice staking large sums on a problematical post-obit?' But Volpone is passing away, he is made to think, and Volpone cannot take them with

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him. Nor can he, to be sure, and he is on his last legs himself—another improbability, from a point of view more logical than human or comic. 'Sure, I shall outlast him,' he croaks and chuckles, noting the symptoms one by one. *Memento mori*:—every man knows of his end but no man remembers it, and Avarice, like Ambition, would stake her all to hold the prize in hand for one moment.

III.

What in view of Mr Archer's formula of realism and 'imitation' is most remarkable is his blindness to Jonson's regard for time, place, and 'decorum,' and approximation to the

> deeds and language such as men do use,
> And persons such as comedy would choose
> When she would show an image of the times.

Now and then, no doubt, Jonson's learning and his bent for caricature run away with him—or weigh him down, had we not better say?—but in *Every Man in His Humour*, *The Silent Woman*, and *The Alchemist*, is scene after scene in which he fully lives up to the program unfolded in these verses. Rightly his comedy is called the comedy of manners; and, with due allowances for satiric distortion, we get from him a more real and vivid picture of London life than from anyone in his time. He imitated reality, studiously and rigorously, as Shakespeare did not nor needed to do. There is in him no high-flying rhetoric except by way of burlesque or satire; and the incidents, though often farcical, are within the bounds of the comic—not romantic, fantastic, or tragic, as in Elizabethan comedy they often are. There is a perfect, if somewhat external, unity of tone, as well as of form, to *The Alchemist*, *Volpone*, and *The Silent Woman*, hardly to be paralleled in Shakespeare. Bitter as they are, his comedies are comic through and through.

And almost alone among Englishmen Jonson has an excellent gift to which a critic like Mr Archer should not be indifferent, the faculty (in which he anticipates Molière) for working out a single comic theme fully and delightfully, with variations, as in music. There are no scenes in Shakespeare such as that where the jealous Kitely desires to leave the house, but fears to do so, undertakes to confide his secret to Cash, his man, but fears even to do that, and yet in a panic or paroxysm confides it to him after all, anxiously pretending and protesting the while that this is not the secret he had meant; or such as that in *Volpone* where Mosca, absorbed and abstracted, makes up, item by item, with malicious delight, the inventory of his supposedly defunct master's valuables, whilst in swoop the legacy-hunters one after the other, each in turn gloating over

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the precious items, as mentioned, in the thought that they are already, not the others', but his own. In such scenes, and in many in *The Silent Woman*, you have repetition and variation of *motif*, inversion and transposition, and the comic art approaching that state considered by Pater to be the perfection of art—that of music—as elsewhere you shall find it only in the supreme *maestro* of comedy himself. Such fine economy of means and nice calculation of effects is not after the Elizabethan style, which Mr Archer despises, but after the classical and Gallic, which both he and we admire.

IV.

On his own showing, then, Mr Archer should take some pleasure in Jonson; and the same is to be said of Beaumont and Fletcher. The scenes just considered are examples, though Mr Archer does not say so, of what he declares is rarely to be found in Elizabethan art—a nice gradation in the unfolding of a story, a 'good, competent theatrical workmanship,' and evidence that the artist is making the best use of his medium, to the limit of its possibilities, such as Mr Archer finds in scenes in Houghton's *Hindle Wakes* and Pinero's *Letty*, though the scenes are of a sort not quite the same. But of the same sort as those last named, in which by gradual approaches and proper preparations a surprise is sprung, as Neville, for instance, discovering that his rival knows (what we ourselves had not known) that he is married—are several artful scenes to be found in the great twin poets. Again Shakespeare is not the exception that Mr Archer would make of him, and the like of this in him is hardly to be found save in the first act of *Hamlet* and the *finale* of *Othello*. But there is the scene in *Philaster* (a play which Mr Archer considers) where, despite his own misgivings and the warnings of friends, the hero, in response to her invitation, appears in the boudoir of Arethusa, his enemy's daughter, and learns that she will not yield to him her claim to the kingdoms, but will make good the claim—by marrying him. And there is another scene, in *The Maid's Tragedy*, also a play which Mr Archer considers, in which disclosure follows upon disclosure, and thrill upon thrill, in a fashion that Ibsen, however he might have shaken his head at the 'presuppositions' and 'assumptions,' might well have envied—the scene between Amintor and Evadne, their wedding night. One here detects something even of Ibsen's retrospective-prospective method as, save in Continental drama, one shall not again down to Ibsen's own day. The psychology of Evadne is indeed obscure, as Mr Archer notices, and as others had noticed before

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him; but there can be no question of the stage-effectiveness, for all the staginess, of the scene. And whatever else may be said of such scenes, and of Jonson's mentioned above, it cannot be said justifiably that in them the authors are, as Mr Archer says the Elizabethans continually are, 'blurting things out just as they came.' Here there is art enough, certainly, if not of art too much.

In one complaint of Mr Archer's, however, I more nearly acquiesce, that (in which he is anticipated by Hazlitt) against Lamb's undiscerning praise of the *finale* of Ford's *Broken Heart*. Calantha, the Spartan princess, dances on after each bit of dreadful news as it comes—

> When one news straight came huddling on another
> Of death! and death! and death! still I danced forward.

Lamb is led to think of the cross and Calvary; but rightly Mr Archer observes that for her dancing on there is no shadow of reason, and 'the whole thing is a piece of funereal affectation.' What Ford is striving for is evident (though Mr Archer seems not to recognise it) a presentation of the Spartan character, rising above a private and particular woe. But while elsewhere he has put some telling touches to the portrait of Calantha, he here overdoes, and makes of her conduct a spiritual exhibit and an heroic parade.

Yet this self-consciousness, apparent, not real, is not peculiar to Ford, but characteristic of the Elizabethan drama as a whole. It is but one aspect of that self-descriptive method, to be found in Marlowe as in Massinger, in Shakespeare as in Middleton or Webster, which is owing to the failure of the dramatist at times, at this comparatively early stage of the evolution of the drama, to take the character's point of view. In the soliloquies and asides this is obvious, but it is perceptible in the dialogue as well. The good in some way or other call themselves good, the false and wicked, false and wicked, the innocent and pure, innocent and pure, while the wicked magnanimously appreciate the goodness of others, and the innocent are strangely familiar with the ways of wickedness; but all this with no intention on the part of the dramatist to convey the effect of self-consciousness or pretence. So too the grief-stricken dwell upon their griefs often more than on the cause of them, declare them greater than those of all others, and cling to them and will not hear of comfort. The question of self-consciousness seems not to concern dramatist or audience, not even to arise. This is a trait of primitive technique—indeed of the dramatist's somewhat primitive and loose conception—to be found not only in the ancients, in seventeenth-century French and Spanish drama, but even in Ibsen's early plays.

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But the curious thing is that this same variety of it, objected to in Ford's Calantha, is employed shortly before him, by Shakespeare, in the depicting of Brutus. He is a Stoic, to be sure, not a Spartan, but it comes to the same thing; and when the patriot philosopher hears of Portia's death he too is put upon parade. He had heard of her death before, and had just told Cassius, when, Messala having entered with news from Rome, he, in answer to a question, denies having had news of her, draws Messala out, bids him tell him true, and, on hearing the news again, says, as if he hadn't heard it already,

> Why farewell, Portia. We must die, Messala.

And thereby he elicits for his self-control the admiration not only of Messala but also of Cassius, who might well have been not so impressed, might even have given his little game away. In both cases alike, then, the character is held up to admiration; not only is the technique primitive, but even for that the theatrical workmanship is in neither case very good or competent. Some clear-sighted critics of late, like Professor Brander Matthews (who of the technique have taken no account, yet, uninfected by the traditional criticism, have kept intact their common sense), have complained of Brutus' complacence and self-consciousness both here and in the quarrel scene preceding. Mr Frank Harris finds in Henry V's great speech before Harfleur, where the same technique is employed, further evidence that when it came to sheer courage Shakespeare simply hadn't it in him. And another brilliant contemporary critic, Mr Firkins, has found in Macbeth, when he bids the earth hear not his steps for fear the very stones prate of his whereabouts and take the present horror from the time which now suits with it, 'the mark of what we might almost call the epicure of crime.' But the like, then, he should find in King John, when, giving bloody instructions to Hubert, he 'expresses a wish for the fitting stage-effects—darkness, the churchyard, and the passing-bell'; or in *Othello* when, after killing Desdemona, he thinks there should be now a huge eclipse of sun and moon, and that the affrighted globe should yawn at alteration. And then what a morbid *fin de siècle* set they one and all would be! But Shakespeare that suggestion would surely have surprised and pained, just as it would have done to hear Imogen called self-conscious when, about to fall in a faint on the body of him she takes for Posthumus, she bethinks her of her own pale cheek; or Miranda, Arcadian child of nature, to whom sin or temptation is unknown, when she calls to witness her own 'modesty' and 'innocence.' Here once again Shakespeare is no

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isolated exception—when Mr Archer attacks Ford as when he attacks Jonson and the Castor and Pollux of the Jacobean stage. Not without violence can the 'Soul of the Age' be thus separated from the body of it.

V.

Much else might be said, which, however, must be left unsaid, concerning Mr Archer's book. It is a question, for instance, if the modern medium, in which, with its difficulties and restrictions, he glories, as if it were marble and the Elizabethan were sandstone, be not really flint or granite. It is too difficult, too refractory, to be worked. Soliloquy, aside, disguise, and mistaken identity are indeed licenses; but the imitation of reality, which Mr Archer prizes, is painfully and anxiously pursued at the expense of the painting of the passions, which he deplores. Expressionism is a revolt against it. Only passions on the stage—not virtue's own feature or scorn's own image—may arouse passions, which nevertheless must be aroused, in the audience. Four boards and two actors were all that he needed, said Dumas the Elder—these, and a passion. Here, as in the matters already considered, the defect of Mr Archer's book lies in his spirit of partisanship and antagonism—not in his praise and appreciation, which are just and right, but in his censure, which often in part is wrong. He slays the dragon—but another springs up behind him, out of its blood. He knocks the Elizabethan superstition soundly on the head; but in lifting up his hand also against Elizabethan art as distinguished from the art of its greatest master, he is, like most other iconoclasts past or present, bowing to a superstition or idolatry even whilst he breaks one, *la superstition Shakespearienne*[1].

ELMER EDGAR STOLL.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA.

[1] I should like to add that this article (like my reply to Mr Clutton Brock in the *Contemporary Review*, March, 1924) was in the hands of the publisher some time before the death of the eminent critic attacked. In neither article, I trust, is there anything that would have needed, because of this unhappy occurrence, to be withdrawn or modified; yet no one engages in controversy with the departed quite as with those still within earshot, or would be thought to have done so.

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'HUON DE BORDEAUX' AND 'FERGUS.'

THE chanson *Huon de Bordeaux* is composed of a national and a romantic portion. The latter, in which the dwarf Auberon plays the principal part, is usually deemed to be of Arthurian origin or at least influenced by the *romans bretons*, an important character of which, Morgue the fairy, is stated to be Auberon's mother. G. Paris, who held this view in an essay written in 1861, revoked it in 1900, when he inserted the essay in his *Poèmes et légendes du Moyen Age* (p. 31, n. 2): 'En fait, la part de l'influence des romans bretons sur Huon de Bordeaux doit être considérée comme assez faible et restreinte à certaines tendances générales.' In the same year Professor C. Voretzsch devoted a long chapter of his *Epische Studien*, I, to *Das Huonepos und die höfische Epik* (pp. 122 ff.), and in 1910 Dr Gustav Engel in his dissertation *Die Einflüsse der Arthurromane auf die Chansons de geste* (pp. 28 ff.) agrees with him, sometimes even outbids him, in enumerating Arthurian parallels. Among the incidents said to be of Arthurian origin the adventure of Dunostre (pp. 136–158) holds an important place. Professor Voretzsch sees in it an imitation of Chrétien's *Yvain*, while Dr Engel adds as another parallel an adventure of the *Lanzelet*. On the other hand, Professor F. Settegast (*Das Polyphemmärchen in altfranzösischen Gedichten*, Leipzig, 1917, pp. 50 ff.) sees an 'engen Zusammenhang' between Huon's adventure at Dunostre and the 'Polyphemmärchen.' I am not going to discuss the arguments of these scholars, for I can prove with certainty what was the real source of the adventure. Neither Professor Voretzsch nor Dr Engel nor Professor Settegast has noticed that an adventure of Dunostre also occurs in the Arthurian romance *Fergus* (pp. 101–118). Dr Engel and Professor Settegast might have found this parallel mentioned in Miss Lucy Allen Paton's *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (Boston, 1903) (pp. 131–132). It is true, this is a book in which one would not expect to find Huon's adventure of Dunostre discussed. It certainly was a part of the American scholar's task to deal with Morgain and her son Auberon, and she has given very valuable new information on this subject. The adventure of Dunostre, however, is without fairy mythology, and is only connected with Auberon, Morgue's son, inasmuch as the castle of Dunostre had been built by Auberon's father, Julius Caesar,

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and was taken, together with the white halbert guarded in it, from Auberon by the then owner. These are features which evidently serve to connect the adventure with its context, the story of Auberon, and are consequently lacking in the parallel adventure of Fergus; the latter is entirely free from fairy mythology and has not even an indirect connection with Morgain. In fact, we owe Miss Paton's mention of the important parallel merely to her certainly erroneous view that the castle of Dunostre, both in the chanson and the romance, was connected with Morgain by parallelism, and that Morgain's castle '*seems* to have been named Dunostre' (p. 135). Dunostre in the chanson is said to resemble the 'Chastel Arès' enchanted by Morgain (Löseth's *Le roman en prose de Tristan*, § 296 a), because its entrance is barred by a copper knight 'fait par grant soutiliece'; and Dunostre in the romance is said to resemble an interpolated passage of the *Roman de Thèbes* in which a tower, formerly built by 'Morgan la fee,' was guarded by a devil who had assumed the shape of an ugly old crone. But surely both human automata and loathly ladies are so much commonplaces in mediaeval literature that they can never prove relationship of narratives that have nothing else in common. As Miss Paton herself admits these motifs to be commonplace and says (p. 132): 'It is always a hazardous matter to base a theory of the relation between sources on descriptions of objects that are commonplace in romance,' I do not see why she thought it worth while to mention the parallels[1].

Miss Paton has not made the most of her important discovery. Since it was unessential for her main task—in fact, was beside the question—she has not given enough attention to it; she has thus not seen the parallelism of the chanson and the romance in its full extent, nor drawn those conclusions that are virtually implied in the evidence. The subject is therefore open to fresh consideration.

Miss Paton says: 'We cannot be sure whether this description of Dunostre antedates that in the *Huon* or not, and there is not sufficient resemblance in the versions to denote interdependence.' 'Dunostre has been identified with Dunottar, a castle near Stoneham (ought to be Stonehaven), by Martin, *Fergus*, p. xx.' She mentions this merely in a note (p. 135), as if it were a thing of interest only to curiosity-mongers. In fact, it is of first importance and allows us definitely to decide those questions which Miss Paton thought must be held in suspense.

[1] Her fancy is altogether unrestrained when she even ventures 'to build up a story in which Morgain in the guise of a hag tested a hero at the entrance to her castle which was ...named eventually Dunostre' (pp. 134 f.).

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Dunnottar is in mediaeval Irish documents called 'Dun Fother' or 'oppidum Fother'[1]; and afterwards the name was written 'Dunotter' (cf. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* and *Celtic Scotland*, Indices). The regular French equivalent was 'Dunotre.' Ever since the twelfth century, when s before t became mute and was often omitted, s used to be wrongly introduced especially before t. The spelling 'Dunostre' (also in an inaccurate rhyme with 'enporte,' *Fergus*, 118, 3) was all the more natural as the pronoun 'nostre' was pronounced 'notre.'

Now *Fergus* is a romance of a particular kind. Its author grafted on to Arthurian traditions names of Scottish personages who had died only about half a century previous to the date of composition of the romance, and he introduced a number of Scottish names of places that are quite unknown to Arthurian tradition, but can easily be identified[2]. Thus we can trace all the journeys of the hero, adventurous though they are, on the map. That the author, though a continental Frenchman, was personally well acquainted with Scotland, is beyond doubt. Let us follow Fergus's journey to Dunostre. On leaving 'le Castiel as Puceles' (a well known name of Edinburgh) in 'Lodien' (Lothian) (p. 106, 29–31), he comes to 'le Port la Roïne' (Queensferry) (p. 107, 2):

Illueques Lodien define,
Et Escoche est de l'autre part.
La mers ces deus terres depart (p. 107, 2–4).

'Escoche' (Scotia) is in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the name of the Pictish country north of the Firth of Forth (here called 'la mer'). Fergus crosses over to 'Escoche' and reaches first 'Dunfremelin' (Dunfermline), 'un castel Sarrasin' (p. 110, 5–6), i.e., a Pictish castle (the Picts were known as heathens in the Middle Ages). Then he rides (north) 'par Escoche' at haphazard for two months and a week, and arrives at the 'tor[3] de Dunostre' (p. 110). Dunnottar (south of Aberdeen) lies indeed very far north of Dunfermline. It has been described in an earlier passage:

Cele tors siet sor un rocier;
Se li bat la mers environ.
Par une porte i entre l'on;
Car il n'i a nule autre entree (p. 104, 34 ff.).

In a topographical dictionary (by Nicholas Carlisle, Lond. 1813, quoted by Martin, p. xx) we read: 'Dunottar Castle is situate on a high rock projecting into the German ocean, accessible from the land on the west-side and that only by a narrow, steep and winding path ("la chaucie

[1] 'Dun,' so frequent in local names of Scotland, means 'fortified hill.'
[2] The editor, E. Martin, has succeeded in doing so.
[3] *Le Castiel*, p. 118, 3.

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par u on a la tor aloit": p. 111, 11 ff.) over a deep gully' (Baedeker: 'perched upon a rock overhanging the sea, are the picturesque ruins of Dunottar Castle, built in the thirteenth century'). It was a Pictish stronghold at least since the seventh century (cf. Skene, *loc. cit.*). Now so much is evident that Dunostre was introduced into the romance by the author of *Fergus* himself, as were also almost all the other place-names of this romance.

In *Huon* Dunostre is described as follows: 'C'est une tors qui siet devers la mer' (p. 136). It is situated in the East; the sea here mentioned is the Red Sea (p. 153). Thus it follows of necessity that, as regards Dunostre, the Arthurian romance is more primitive than the *chanson de geste*, and that *Huon* cannot be the source of *Fergus*. Now, if Dunostre belonged to old Arthurian tradition, the possibility would have to be admitted that both tales descended from the same source; but we have seen that the Scottish names of places in *Fergus* were introduced by the author himself from his personal geographical knowledge. Therefore that possibility must be excluded, and we cannot escape from the conclusion that *Fergus* was itself the source of *Huon*.

A comparison of the details of the two tales confirms this conclusion. The introductions are similar. In both tales the hero gets his information about Dunostre from a 'nain faé.' Fergus comes to a magic fountain near a chapel inhabited by a dwarf who seems to be 'cose faee' (p. 102, 16), since he possesses supernatural knowledge and foresight[1]. When he sees the hero for the first time, he knows his name, parentage and intentions. He predicts that, in order to recover his love Galiene, he will have to endure many sufferings and hardships; but he can tell him 'la maniere, par coi l'aras' (102, 4): his success would depend on his going first to Dunostre and conquering the 'blanc escu.' The dwarf informs the hero of the qualities of this shield, and gives him a description of the castle of Dunostre and its dangers. Fergus promises: 'je serrai vos hom tenans Trestos les jors qu'ere vivans' (p. 103, 12 f.). In the chanson Auberon is, of course, charged with the dwarf's part. Since already at a previous meeting Auberon had shown that he knew the hero, his past and his intentions:

> He, Hues sire, je te sai bien nommer,
> Et si sai bien la ou tu dois aler,
> Et sai moult bien comment tu as ouvré (p. 103),

this could not be repeated when he gave Huon information about Dunostre and the 'blanc haubert.' The magic fountain, too, was super-

[1] It may be that this dwarf was the *tertium comparationis* that induced the author of *Huon* to interpolate the adventure of Dunostre.

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fluous, since Auberon and Huon were already acquainted with each other[1]. Auberon gives the information about Dunostre after having been summoned to succour Huon with his magic horn. Whilst the dwarf in *Fergus* insists on the necessity of achieving the adventure of Dunostre, Auberon mentions the latter merely in order to dissuade the hero from undertaking it; yet in both tales the dwarf is kindly disposed to the hero. In the romance the dwarf's attitude is more reasonable than in the chanson. Since he sees that Fergus is bent on recovering his lady-love, he tells him what is necessary if he is to attain this goal. Huon's purpose was somewhat different; nevertheless, one of his tasks was to kiss the admiral's daughter; and this princess of Babylon actually became afterwards his love. Auberon had not dissuaded him from his undertaking: on the contrary he had promised him his aid (p. 103) and had given him valuable presents ('hanap,' 'cor'), that were to be of great help to him (pp. 109 ff.). Thus to dissuade him from going to Dunostre would be natural only on condition that this adventure was unnecessary for the main purpose. Indeed, Auberon never insists upon its necessity (that would have been too flagrant a contradiction to his dissuasion); but, in reality, both the 'blanc haubert' and the ring that Huon wins at Dunostre prove to be of very great use, nay, to be indispensable to Huon's achieving his task. The halbert which, though lighter than a loaf of bread, could not be damaged by any weapon and protected the wearer from being overcome, sunk or burned (pp. 137, 151 f.), was, of course, valuable for a dangerous adventure and was used in the fight against the giant Agrapart (pp. 192 ff., cf. also p. 166), whilst the ring opened to him all the gates in the admiral's palace, permitted him to do there with impunity whatever he pleased, and saved his life. If not Auberon, the giant of Dunostre tells Huon that the possession of the ring was necessary if he would achieve the adventure of Babylon ('Mestier t'ara au mesaige conter': p. 153), whilst Huon himself says to Auberon of the halbert:

> S'il est si fais con vous le me loés,
> Mestier m'ara, jel sai de verité (p. 137)[2].

[1] Perhaps it was transferred to the Babylon adventure and then adapted to a paradisiacal fountain (cf. Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni*, I, pp. 34 f.; for other magic fountains of youth, cf. H. Schneider, *Die Gedichte und die Sage von Wolfdietrich*, p. 300), which adaptation may have been suggested by the following verses of *Fergus* (p. 100, 5 ff.): 'Qui sordoit devers oriant N'a plus bele mien ensiant De ci que la u Dius fu nes.' The water of the fountain, if drunk, heals bodily and mental disease, that in *Huon* restores youth and virginity to those who have lost them.

[2] The adaptation of the Babylon adventure to the Dunostre adventure is also proved by the following traits: The giant Agrapart, with whom Huon has to fight at Babylon, is a brother of the giant of Dunostre. Sebile, the lady of Dunostre, plays also a part in the Babylon adventure; cf. also what has been said above about the magic fountain.

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Thus we see that Auberon as Huon's patron ought to have advised him to go to Dunostre and to have promised him his help in case of need. Why did the author unnecessarily deviate from his model to the detriment of his own story? I think it was merely under the influence of the adventure of Tormont, which immediately precedes that of Dunostre[1]. Apart from the advice, Auberon's speech has *mutatis mutandis* the same contents as that of the dwarf in *Fergus*: namely a description of Dunostre and its dangers and information about the 'blanc haubert' which was guarded there.

In *Fergus* the entrance to the castle of Dunostre is guarded by a huge old woman (called Pantasale in the Dutch version, 3368, 3500), of extraordinary ugliness (bristles, long plaited moustaches, eyes two feet apart; sharp, broad, yellow teeth; other traits in the Dutch version), armed with a broad scythe ('fauc d'acier') (pp. 102, 105, 111). He who will win the white shield must have a fierce and very dangerous fight with this 'giantess' (p. 114, 3). The author of *Huon* has changed this; in his chanson the entrance is guarded by two automata: men of copper (or iron), each armed with a flail and continually threshing, so that not even a little bird could fly between them without being killed (pp. 136, 141). I agree with Miss Paton, when she says (p. 132): 'The contest with the old crone has a wilder (therefore more primitive) character than the figures of the knights (*sic*! they are not called "chevaliers," but "homes") of copper'[2]. The replacing of the old crone by human

[1] There Auberon warns Huon:

En vostre voie u vous devés aler,
Si trouverés Tormont, une cité.
La est Macaires, uns traïtres prouvés...
...Il te fera honnir et vergonder
Iou te deffenc, sor les membres coper
Que cele part ne soies ja tornés (p. 116).

The adventure of Tormont was absolutely unnecessary for Huon's achieving his task; therefore it was Auberon's duty to warn him, and all the more so, since Tormont was on Huon's route. But we are never told that Dunostre was on Huon's route. It appears that Huon would never have heard of Dunostre, if Auberon had not told him about it. Auberon, knowing Huon's character (especially his 'foleté'), might easily have foreseen that his description of Dunostre, and especially of the valuable halbert, would have on Huon an effect contrary to the one intended. Nevertheless he begins his speech thus:

Je te deffenc, sour les iex a crever,
Que vers Dunostre ne soies ja tornés (p. 136),

and ends it:

Iou te deffenc, sour les membres coper, etc. (p. 137).

The agreement with the last verses quoted above is almost verbal.

[2] The 'loathly lady' is a very common figure in Celtic tales, in Arthurian romances, etc. (cf. e.g. Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, London, 1901); but the fighting ugly crone is a special type. Miss Paton (pp. 132, 216) refers to Celtic stories in which the hero is enticed into a magic cave and has a struggle with a hag. But Fergus is not enticed, while in two of her three stories, which are not peculiarly Celtic, but representative of an international type (Aarne, No. 303), there is no struggle. Even in the passage she quotes

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automata or by machinery, shows both rationalising and modernising tendencies on the part of the author. Human automata were distinctly commonplace[1]; but the 'flaiel de fer,' which are uncommon (cf. Sternberg, *Die Angriffswaffen im afz. Epos*, 1885, p. 44; A. Schultz, *Höfisches Leben*, II, pp. 213 f.), seem to me to have been suggested by the 'fauc d'acier,' the agricultural instrument of a somewhat similar shape which the old crone in *Fergus* uses as a weapon.

Fergus, in order to fight the old woman on the narrow bridge of the castle, had to dismount; 'il li estuet a la vielle conbatre a pié' (pp. 111 f.). Of Huon we are told: 'Trestout a pié li enfes s'en ala' (p. 141). After a long fight Fergus managed to cut off the hands of

from the third story, the *Enchanted Cave of Keshcorran* (*Silva Gadelica*, II, pp. 343 ff.), the heroes are bound by the hags only after having lost their strength by magic. Miss Paton ought to have referred to the rest of the story, where the three 'hideous hags,' now called 'huge daring warrior-women,' armed with swords, undertook a fight with Goll mac Morna, in which two of them were killed; afterwards another uncanny woman fought against him with sword and shield, and was killed. In part of the versions of a Gaelic hero-tale, summarised by Prof. R. H. Griffith in his *Sir Perceval*, ch. iii, the hero has a combat with an ugly old hag, mother of giants (pp. 59, 60, 61, 64, 72). This tale is partly based on an international type, analysed by Prof. Panzer in his *Beowulf* and named 'Bärensohn-type,' where the hag also occurs as the mother (pp. 79, 86, 137 ff., 277, 283, 286 f.), in one version the husband, of a demon. In the German epic *Wolfdietrich* we find no less than three incidents with loathly ladies of extraordinary strength. Frou Runze comes to succour her husband, the giant Helle; she fights Ortnit with a pole of steel and a young tree, but is killed (B 474 ff., 504 ff.). After having killed the old Tresian (Drasian), a giant, Wolfdietrich has to deal with the giant's sister Berille, a loathly 'valentin,' armed with a spear of steel. She is killed, but only after having first succeeded in conquering and binding the hero (ed. Holtzmann, pp. 722 ff.). 'Rome diu milte' is also 'ein wip von wilder arte' and no less ugly than Runze and Berille, but she is friendly to the hero Wolfdietrich, though she can boast: 'Würmen, risen, tieren han ich gesiget an.' She carries the hero and his horse twenty-two miles across the mountains (D VII, 116 ff.). These instances do not prove a Germanic origin of the motif; for the epic of *Wolfdietrich* seems to have been influenced by Arthurian literature to a considerable extent. One of the Arthurian sources may have been Wirnt's *Wigalois*. Here a loathly woman, 'diu starche Ruel,' Feroz's widow, comes out of a cave to attack the hero, seizes him, carries him off, binds him and is about to cut off his head with his own sword, when his horse saves him (p. 161, 26 ff.). The parallel French romance, the *Roman du Papegau*, contains this incident too, but abridged; here the woman is called 'une femme saulvage' (p. 72, 6). Old material is contained in Heinrich von Türlin's *Crone*. Here Gawein encounters 'ein wildez wip' of huge size and great ugliness, is seized and carried off by her, but succeeds in getting hold of his sword again and freeing himself (9340 ff.). (Cf. concerning these instances H. Schneider, *Wolfdietrich*, pp. 255 ff., 265 ff.; Saran, *Über Wirnt von Grafenberg und den Wigalois* in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, XXI, pp. 400 ff.) In *Aliscans* Rainouart has a fight against a giantess who comes to help her brother, a heathen king, and wields a 'fauc.' In *La Bataille Loquifer* (cf. Runeberg, *Études sur la Bataille Loquifer*, 1905, p. 40) we read of Malargu, the sister of the heathen giant Loquifer: 'Une toise a bien le poil mousu,' which reminds one that the crone is called in *Fergus* 'la vieille mossue.' The author of *Fergus* may have known these French texts.

[1] Cf. J. D. Bruce, 'Human Automata in Classical Tradition and Medieval Romance' (*Modern Philology*, X, 1913); similar cases are *Caradoc* (Wauchier's *Grail*), 13353 ff., *Perlesvaus*, pp. 63 f., 201 f., *Prose Lancelot* (least primitive version) (ed. Sommer, I, p. 191), *Prose Tristan* (cf. supra), *Arabian Nights* (Bruce, p. 525). The closest parallel is *Bastard de Bouillon*, 3607 ff., where the metal men strike with flails; but this seems to be an imitation of *Huon* (cf. 'Artus roi de feerie' and his sister Morgue, the Red Sea, 3370, 'le cor d'yvoire,' 3433 ff.). Similar to an automaton is the 'vilain d'arain' in *Fergus*, p. 58, 26 ff.

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the crone, whereby she 'a perdue sa vigor' and was 'desfaee' (p. 113, 32, 34). She was thus easily killed, and the entrance to the castle free. Naturally Huon could not have a fight with the threshers. Another expedient was found. He sees 'un bacin d'or' hanging on a pillar (p. 141). With his sword he strikes three blows on it, so that the palace resounds. A 'pucele' hears the noise, sees Huon, takes pity on him, opens a postern, out of which a wind issues 'qui l'engien jus jeta': the metal men stop threshing and let Huon pass between them. It is a common motif in chansons and romances that young ladies in castles are helpful to the hero, when his life is threatened by a cruel 'costume.' But, as we shall see, the 'pucele' was not introduced into the story for this purpose. She is there primarily for another reason[1].

In both tales there is a second 'garde' of the valuable object preserved in the castle. In *Fergus* it is a huge 'guivre' (p. 114, 16), a 'serpent' (p. 115, 15). It lies under a tree in a 'praiel' within the castle. Near it is the 'piler de marbre' on which the precious shield is hanging. The hero can seize the shield, because the serpent happens to be sleeping; but as he does so, it awakes and attacks the hero, emitting fire from its jaws. After a long fight it is killed by the hero, who is protected by the magic qualities of the white shield ('se ne fust li bel escu, Trestot l'ëust ars et brüi,' p. 116, 6 f.). The serpent or dragon is well known as the guardian of treasures in romantic literature and especially in local folk-tales (Volkssagen). Fights with dragons are also commonplace. The author of *Fergus* was thinking particularly of 'cist que Tristans li nies Marc ocist' (p. 114, 21 f.)[2].

In *Huon* the second 'garde' of the white halbert is not a serpent, but a giant. However, I do not think that the serpent was entirely lost. I have pointed out some connections between the Dunostre incident and the Babylon adventure, and suggested that also the magic fountain of the introduction to the Dunostre incident in *Fergus* was transferred to the Babylon adventure in *Huon*. 'Sele fontaine,' we read here, 'un serpent le gardoit' (p. 166); it is in a 'vergié' (cf. 'praiel' in *Fergus*). This serpent which, then, is also a 'garde,' is no less dangerous than the one in *Fergus*. However, it kills only him 'qui soit

[1] The 'bacin (d'or)' used as a gong is not a literary motif, but no doubt corresponds to a custom actually in use in mediaeval castles. Strangers might knock with a ring, or strike a table or cymbal, or blow a horn, to attract the attention of the occupants of a castle. It was customary to perform this action three times. Cf. the instances quoted by A. Schultz, *Das höfische Leben*, I, pp. 33 f., and add to them *Yvain*, 214 ff., Wauchier's *Grail*, 26517 ff. (here, too, a 'pucele' goes to the window to see what the matter is), 21968 ff., Ulrich's *Lanzelet*, 3899 ff.

[2] Concerning dragons guarding a treasure and fights with dragons compare e.g. F. Panzer, *Beowulf*, pp. 291 ff.; *Sigfrid*, pp. 88 ff.

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traïtres ne qui fause sa loit,' while it bows to Huon who is not of this kind. This test-motif the serpent has in common with the magical objects belonging to Auberon, and it is, no doubt, due to imitation. It excludes a fight. Let us notice that 'li serpens l'enclinoit Par le vertu del *haubert* qu'il portoit' (p. 166). This halbert again connects the incident with Dunostre and it protects the hero from the serpent, as the corresponding object in *Fergus*, the shield, protects the hero from the 'guivre' (cf. the quotation above).

But why, in the Dunostre episode of *Huon*, is the serpent replaced by a giant? This change is not a mere invention of the author's; it was also suggested by *Fergus*. We have seen that the first 'garde' in *Fergus* is a 'gaiante' (p. 114, 3). In the episode immediately following that of Dunostre the hero has to fight her husband, who is a 'gaians fel et cruel' (p. 121, 32), and dwells in the castle 'au Mont Dolerous' (p. 121, 8)[1]. As soon as the giant sees Fergus coming with the 'blanc escu,' he recognises it (pp. 121, 37 ff., 122, 10). There is thus a close connection between the two episodes, which easily suggested fusion by the transference of the lord of Mont Dolerous to the castle of Dunostre, of which he was lord too, as husband of the giantess of Dunostre.

In *Fergus* the hero sees the giant standing on the bridge of the castle, and there the combat takes place. In *Huon* the giant is asleep in his bedroom when the hero enters the castle; and the white halbert, the acquisition of which was Huon's aim, seems to have been in the same room (p. 151). No doubt here the giant corresponds to the serpent, which in *Fergus* is asleep near the white shield it has to guard. It is true, Huon does not, as Fergus does, seize the precious piece of armour before the 'garde' awakes, but—and this is the essential point—he, too, takes possession of it before the fight begins, and thus enjoys the advantage of its magic properties during the fight: to these, in fact, Huon, as well as Fergus, owes his victory. Huon might have killed the sleeping giant; but, fearing that he would be reproached for this as an act of cowardice (pp. 146, 148), he aroused and defied him and allowed him to put on his armour. A dialogue precedes the combat as in the 'Mont Dolerous' episode of *Fergus*. The giant, whose name is Orgileus[2],

[1] To get there, the hero had to go on board a ship back to Queensferry ('Port la Roïne,' p. 119, 14) in 'Lodien' (=Lothian) (p. 119, 35), thence in the direction of 'Roceborc' (Roxburgh) (p. 120, 5); the 'Mont Dolerous' must be identical with the 'montaigne de Maros' (p. 121, 8; 'Malreus,' p. 188, 23) (Melrose) in Lothian (cf. *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XLIV, 2, pp. 96–98, 175–176).

[2] A name that occurs in several *romans bretons*, always given to a more or less wicked knight, adversary of the hero, but nowhere else to a giant. Nevertheless Prof. Settegast's explanation (*loc. cit.*, p. 51) is not convincing.

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uses an altogether uncommon weapon, 'une grant fauc' (pp. 149, 154, 155), as does the giantess in *Fergus*[1], whilst the giant in *Fergus* wields the weapon usual with a giant, the club ('tinel,' 'massue')[2]. The details of the fight vary in the two texts. Somewhat similar is only the feature that Huon cuts off both the arms of the giant with his 'branc d'achier' (p. 155), 'Que li doi puing sont a le fauc remés,' whilst Fergus with his 'branc d'acer' cuts off the giant's 'destre poing' (p. 123, 35 f.) and chops off the old crone's 'ansdeus les mains dont ele tient le fauc' (p. 113, 29 f.). The crone, after having lost her hands, 'Ariere s'enfuit vers le tor Por garantir encor sa vie' (p. 113, 35 f.). In *Huon* the giant, after having lost his arms, 's'enfuioit por sa vie sauver' (p. 155). In both cases the flight is in vain.

Fergus, after killing the giant, finds no other human occupant of the castle but the giant's son and two 'puceles' occupied with 'tastonner' this 'fil al sathanas pullent' (p. 126, 16). Without giving him time to arm himself, Fergus seizes him by his hair, knocks out his eyes and casts him into a ditch. The author of *Huon* did not admit into his tale this incident, which, in *Fergus*, is related in a few verses. No doubt he would not have allowed his hero to treat the young giant in this manner without giving him a chance of defending himself on equal terms[3]; but another fight of the hero with a giant would have appeared as a tedious repetition. He thus did well to omit the giant's son altogether.

But he did not omit the 'puceles.' To them corresponds the 'pucele' Sebile in *Huon*. When Huon enters the castle of Dunostre, 's'ot la dame (i.e., the *pucele* who had stopped the dangerous machinery on seeing him) *plorer*.' 'Cele part vint u il l'ot *dementer*' (p. 144); he finds her and is told that she weeps because she pities him who is doomed to die. She makes him acquainted with her fate. She is the

[1] The author of *Huon* has transferred the 'fauc' to the giant Agrapart, with whom the hero fights at Babylon and who is a brother of Orgileus; the outward appearance of the brothers is alike (verbal agreement). Sternberg, *Angriffswaffen*, p. 40, has found the 'fauc' as weapon in no other chanson but *Huon* and *Aliscans*; in the latter a giantess uses it. V. Bach, *Angriffswaffen*, p. 46, has found it in no other romance but *Fergus*.

[2] Observe in the description of Orgileus: 'Demi piet ot entre l'uel et le nes' (p. 147), the same verse on p. 188 in the description of Agrapart, and in that of the giantess in *Fergus*: 'Entre deus eols ot bien deus piés' (p. 111, 17) (Dutch version, in the description of the giant, 3517 f.: 'Hi hadde wel tusschen den ogen Enen halven voet'; lacking in the French text). Orgileus is a cannibal (p. 146); this feature may be derived from the 'Polyphemmärchen' (cf. Settegast, *loc. cit.*, p. 51).

[3] It is curious that the author of the *chanson de geste*, who appealed to an audience of vulgar tastes, seems to have had more chivalric feeling than the author of the courteous romance. Yet I think that the latter knew better what was fitting. As an adversary a 'sathanas pullent' was not to be treated like a knight, but rather like a dragon or monstrous beast. In *Huon* the giant is the son of 'Beugibus li maufés' (p. 152).

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niece of Sewin de Bordiax, and therefore Huon's cousin. She had accompanied her father on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. A tempest had driven their ship to Dunostre. The giant had seen them, killed her father and his people and taken her into his castle, where she had then been living for seven years as his only companion. In *Fergus* the hero finds the two 'puceles' in the castle of Mont Dolerous, after he has slain the giant on the bridge, 'qui *grant dol* aloient *faissant* Por deus chevaliers lor amis, Que li jaians avoit ocis Le soir devant a l'avesprer' (p. 126, 12 ff.). They throw themselves at his feet, 'tot en *plorant*,' entreating him to free them 'del hontage.' The author of *Huon* has replaced the 'ami' by the father, whom he made a relation of the hero, and he substituted for the slavery of one day one of seven years, which change necessitated a new justification of her grief[1]. He could easily replace the two 'puceles' by one, since both had exactly the same rôle[2].

The object of Fergus, in attempting the adventure of Dunostre, was to get possession of the magic shield that was guarded in this castle. It is called 'le bel escu' (pp. 104, 115, 190 etc.), or 'le blanc escu' (p. 102, variant 'bel'),[3] and has two magic qualities:

(1) Que ja la nuis n'iert si oscure
Qu'il n'ait clarté entor la tor,
Autant par nuit comme par jor,
U li esus est en repos (p. 104, 22 ff.).

Though this would make us think that the light emitted by the shield was visible only by night, the story gives it no opportunity to show this effect in night-time; whenever the shield is mentioned afterwards, it unnaturally produces the same effect by day (pp. 115, 13; 119, 5; 134, 17; 156, 22). 'Le biel escu qui reflanboie' (p. 115, 20) or the bearer of it is thought to be 'cose faee' (p. 134, 22) ('faés' p. 118, 34). It appears ridiculous that its light should exceed that of the sun: 'ele voit la clarté, Dont le jor soit enluminé' (p. 134, 17).

Et vit aussi enluminee
La forest, con fust enbrasee (p. 156, 22).

That the author explains this as the effect of the morning dew:

...quant on le moilloit,
Asés plus cler reflanboioit (p. 157, 5)[4],

looks as though it were an attempt to get out of a dilemma.

[1] In the Dutch *Fergus* (3633 f.) the maidens had been prisoners for two years; they do not grieve.

[2] Sebile was afterwards married at Babylon to 'un haut home dou païs' (converted). 'Toute la tere lor dona' (scil. Huon) 'a garder Que tint Gaudise' (p. 201).

[3] In the Dutch version 'den witten scilt' 3105, 3119.

[4] I should think that the magic shield was borrowed from a source in which it was given an opportunity to shine by night, and that the author of *Fergus*, not being able to

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(2) Que cil qui l'avra en baillie
Ja par armes ne perdra vie
Ne n'iert abatus de ceval
Por nul home vivant carnal (p. 104, 17 ff.)
...que n'en istra de vainne
Sanc por plaie que recevés (p. 103, 31 f.).

The protection[1] accorded by the shield is of use to the hero in his fight make use of such an opportunity, transferred the luminous effect to the day-time. The French text does not explain what produced this effect, whether it came from the whole shield or only some portion of it. But the Dutch version, which often seems to be more primitive, says: 'Die scilt es van witten yvore...Van dieren stenen volgeset' (3107 ff.). Now we know that the umbo was often ornamented with precious stones, which reflected the light of the sun (cf. V. Schirling, *Die Verteidigungswaffen im afz. Epos*, Marburg, 1887, pp. 13 f.), e.g.:

Desor la boucle qui fut gemmee a flor,
Pierres i a de diverse coulor
Et escharboucle de diverse luor;
Contre soleil ont moult grant resplendor

(quoted by Schirling).

But frequently luminous effects were attributed to carbuncles; cf. *Floire et Blanchefleur*, p. 24:

Desor le chief Floire l'enfant
Ot une escarboucle luisant:
Par nuit oscure en veoit on
Une liue tout environ.

Cf. similar instances in M. Hallauer, *Das wunderbare Element in den Chansons de Geste*, Diss. Basel, 1918, pp. 7–8; R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, pp. 546–551; E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, I, p. 47; Bolte and Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu Grimm*, III, pp. 33–37. In Gaelic folk- and hero-tales, there frequently occurs a 'sword of light,' a talisman that often is the subject of a quest, as is the shield in *Fergus* (cf. Kittredge, *Arthur and Gorlagon*, p. 214). It generally belongs to a giant (cf. also Curtin, *Myths and Folklore of Ireland*, pp. 161, 182). While it usually has a magic quality that is appropriate to a sword—that 'it never fails to kill at a blow,' or 'never missed a blow' (cf. Curtin, *loc. cit.*), which may be equivalent to a protection (cf. Curtin, p. 66: 'the sword of sharpness': 'no man can kill you while that sword is in your hand')—it is used merely as a lantern in the Scottish hero-tale *Conall Gulban*: 'When the night grew dark, there came a great Turkish carlin (a personage like the giantess in *Fergus*), and she had a white glaive of light with which she could see seven miles behind her and seven miles before her' (J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, III, p. 289; the group of tales which are similar to *Conall Gulban*, discussed by R. H. Griffith, *Sir Perceval of Gales*, ch. iii, does not present this feature). In old Irish literature we find weapons that may correspond to the sword of light: a lance that flamed on its shaft (cf. A. C. L. Brown, *The Bleeding Lance* in *Publ. of Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, XXV, pp. 18 f.), weapons from which arose fiery flashes of lightning (*ibid.*, p. 23). In the Welsh Mabinogi *Kulhwch* Arthur's sword 'seemed as if two flames of fire burst from the mouths of the serpents [graven on it], and then so wonderful was the sword that it was hard for any one to look upon it' (*ibid.*, pp. 27 f.). In another Welsh text occurs a sword which, if drawn, 'burst into a flame from the handle to the point' (*ibid.*, p. 27). Such a burning sword is also found in the *Perlesvaus* and a blazing spear in the prose *Lancelot* (*ibid.*, pp. 24 f.). In the Breton tale of *Perronik* which is related to the Grail romances, occurs 'la lance de diamant,' one of the objects of the hero's quest, 'qui brillait comme une flamme, tue et brise tout ce qu'elle touche' (Souvestre). It is possible that the properties of such weapons of offence were sometimes transferred to a weapon of defence such as a shield. In an Irish tale (*Cath Finntraga*) occurs, besides flaming weapons of offence, 'a venomous shield with red flames, which the smith of hell had wrought for him' (cf. Brown, *loc. cit.*, p. 23). Miss Paton (*loc. cit.*, pp. 133 f.) compares the castle of Dunostre illuminated (at night) by the shield to 'Dun-an-Oir' (i.e., Fort of Gold) in *Amadan Mor* and the 'Ile d'Or' in *Le Bel Desconëu*. I fail to see any resemblance.

[1] If the luminous attribute had been transferred to the shield from a sword or lance of light that killed at every blow, this offensive quality would naturally become an analogous defensive quality, such as protection from wounds or death.

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against the serpent and the giant and in his subsequent combats, while the luminous effect, to which the shield owes its attribute 'bel' or 'blanc,' is of no use[1].

The object of Huon's undertaking the adventure of Dunostre was to win the magic halbert guarded in this castle (p. 137). This halbert provided the same magic protection as the shield in *Fergus*:

Qui l'averoit dedens son dos jeté,
Jamais par home ne seroit entamés (p. 137).
Que *ja par armes* pëust estre matés (p. 151).

In *Huon* the protection has been somewhat extended:

S'il ciet en eve, il ne puet affondrer,
Et si n'est fus qui le puist enbraser (p. 137).

Perhaps the author thought that Huon was destined to be shipwrecked subsequently, and needed protection from drowning[2]. Water, in its turn, suggested fire[3]. It is natural that a magic halbert should protect from wounds or defeat in battle[4], but unnatural that it should protect against water or fire. The extension of the protection in *Huon* is an unconsidered addition.

The luminous effect of the weapon of defence, so prominent in *Fergus*, is restricted to the attribute 'blanc' given to the halbert ('Qui est plus blans que ne soit flors de pré' (pp. 136–137). The attribute 'blanc,' being extremely often applied to ordinary halberts (cf. Schirling, pp. 33 f.), would not be remarkable, if it were not here a remnant of a magic quality. Probably the author omitted the latter because he was not able to make any practical use of it.

On the other hand the author of *Huon* has added a marvellous feature. The halbert is a test of purity and of valour:

Mais il n'est mie a tous abandonnés.
Ce dist la letre qui ens est el coler
Que nus ne puet le hauberc endosser,

[1] In the Dutch *Fergus* the shield has other qualities (3115 ff.), which are, however, not found in *Huon*.

[2] But we are not told that Huon's rescue was due to the halbert: he was saved 'par le voloir de Dieu,' together with Esclarmonde whom he held in his arms (p. 203).

[3] Protection from death in battle and from drowning are afforded by a ring in *La Prise de Cordres* (v. 15; cf. M. Hallauer, p. 15).

[4] Miss Hallauer (*loc. cit.*, pp. 9 f.) quotes an example from *La Mort Aymeri* (v. 3299 ff.):

Qui l' [le haubert] a vestu, il n'a dote de mort,
Ne ne craint lance, espiet ne javelot,
Qu'on li atraie gote de sanc del cors;
Si a dure la maille.

I have found another instance in *La Bataille Loquifer* (cf. Runeberg, *Études sur la Bataille Loquifer*, 1905, pp. 39, 41): The giant Loquifer wears 'un saffre fée [i.e. enchanted] qu'aucune arme ne peut briser.' In the Greek legend of the Argonauts Jason's armour resisted not only steel, but also fire (owing to Medea's ointment); but this is a special case: Jason had to fight fire-breathing oxen.

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S'il n'est preudons et sans pecié mortel
Et nes et purs con s'il fust noviax nés (p. 151).

Of course, the giant Orgileus, who guards it, does not possess these qualities, so that the halbert is of no use to him. Huon is believed to possess them; he can put it on, so that 'il ne li fu ne trop lons ne trop lés' (p. 152).

This reminds us of the Arthurian mantle-test, a parallel to the horn-test, which is also imitated in *Huon*. Apparently valour and purity are the requisites of him who may use Auberon's magic horn. At least Auberon makes a present of it to Huon merely because 'preudomme t'ai trové Et net et pur et sans pecié mortel' (p. 111); of the magic 'hanap,' another present of Auberon's, which resembles the Arthurian horn still more than does Auberon's horn (cf. p. 304 f.), it is expressly stated that:

Nus n'i puet boire s'il n'est preudom par Dé,
Et nes et purs et sans pecié mortel (p. 110).

Thus we see that the magic halbert is treated as a parallel to the magic horn and the magic hanap, both presents made by Auberon to Huon, and we are not surprised to hear that the magic halbert had once belonged to Auberon[1], though it is most unnatural that the giant, who is afterwards overcome by Huon, was able to conquer both the castle of Dunostre and the halbert from Auberon, Huon's protector, who had always a hundred thousand armed men at his command and seems to have been next to God in power[2]. This unnatural statement is no doubt a change necessary to explain how Auberon's magic halbert was in the possession of the giant of Dunostre. But if we consider that the three 'joiax' (p. 109), 'cor,' 'hanap' and 'haubert,' are all tests of valour and purity, had all belonged to Auberon and were afterwards possessed by Huon, and are always mentioned together[3], and that three, not two, is a folk-tale formula number[4], we can hardly go wrong in concluding that,

[1] Auberon's magic halbert somewhat resembles the magic shield of Wauchier's 'Petit Chevalier del Castel de la Forest Grande' (31674 ff.), to whom Auberon is strikingly similar in other respects, as was shown by Miss Paton (pp. 127 ff.).

[2] 'Et s'encaçai Auberon le faé...Je li toli...cest ostel Et aveuc çou un bon hauberc safré' (p. 151, cf. p. 136). I suppose, to make it more plausible that Auberon is deprived of his halbert, it is stated that Auberon also lost the castle in which it was kept.

[3] Cf. p. 173: when they are forcibly taken from him by the heathens at Babylon; p. 192: when they are returned to him; pp. 210–212: when Auberon sends Malabron to take them away from Huon; pp. 301–303: when Auberon appears with them before Charlemagne. It is especially remarkable that Auberon orders the halbert to be taken away from Huon as though he had also lent it to him in the same way as horn and hanap, whilst in reality, but for Huon, the halbert would still have been in the possession of the giant. Surely it is a contradiction that this paragon of justice, Auberon, deprived Huon of the halbert that the latter had won without Auberon's help.

[4] Cf. the fairy-tale type, Aarne, No. 563 ('the three magic gifts'), and the discussions of it by Aarne, *Die Zaubergaben* (*Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, XXVII), and Bolte and Polivka's notes to Grimm, No. 36.

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in the source of the Auberon story, the hero had received the three talismans as presents from the dwarf, and that the author of *Huon*, when he found in the Dunostre adventure of *Fergus*, which he introduced into his composition, a shield that possessed the same magic quality as the dwarf's halbert (protection from danger), substituted this magic halbert for the magic shield of Dunostre and invented the unnatural feature that the giant Orgileus had won it from the dwarf.

Besides the magic halbert the giant of Dunostre possesses in *Huon* a magic ring. The latter has no equivalent in *Fergus*. Already the fact that Auberon, in the information which he gives the hero about Dunostre, does not mention it—it could not thus be an object of Huon's enterprise—makes it probable that the ring was added by the author as an afterthought. Only when Orgileus boasts of his deeds, does he tell Huon that he has made the admiral of Babylon his liegeman, and

> Si me donna un bon anel d'or cler
> En droit servaige, de son cief acaté (p. 151).

It is in Huon's Babylon adventure that this ring has an important function; and we may be practically sure that the ring was introduced from this adventure into the Dunostre episode, or that it was invented to connect the two episodes.

Our comparison of *Huon* with *Fergus* has clearly shown how much the chanson was dependent on the romance, and how the author of the former handled the material afforded by the latter. It was rather a free handling, probably not so much because the author wanted to conceal his source[1] as because he wanted to follow his own way of telling the story. The author undertook to renew the old-fashioned *chanson de geste* by making its hero an adventurer[2] and by incorporating into it material of Arthurian romances, adapted to the taste of a vulgar audience by the elimination of all the characteristic courtly features. It may now be taken as established that *Huon* was directly influenced by at least one Arthurian romance, the *Fergus*.

The dating of the two texts proposed by their editors, *Huon* being attributed to the end of the twelfth century, *Fergus* to the beginning of the thirteenth, is without cogent reasons, and needs revising. Whatever

[1] If this had been his purpose, he certainly would not have left the name Dunostre unchanged; but he had not to fear that the public whom he addressed would know *Fergus*, his source.

[2] Cf. pp. 137, 140:

> Car por çou vin ge de France le rené,
> Por aventures et enquerre et trover.

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the absolute dates may be[1], the order must be reversed: the romance is older than the chanson[2].

E. BRUGGER.

DAVOS.

[1] If the period when the castle of Dunnottar was built could be ascertained more or less exactly (Baedeker says thirteenth century), a *terminus a quo* would be gained for *Fergus* and indirectly for *Huon*; but I am not in a position to undertake researches of this kind.

[2] The source of the adventures of Dunostre and Mont Dolerous in *Fergus* I hold to be the fairy-tale mentioned above (note 2, p. 163) and discussed in Professor Panzer's excellent book on *Beowulf*: the old hag, her husband and son (giants) and the dragon, the two maidens occupied with 'tastonner' (in fairy-tale language 'lousing'), the treasure (magic shield), even the wild horse (mentioned pp. 127 f.; cf. Panzer, p. 187): all have their equivalents in that fairy-tale. Wendelin Förster (*Kristian von Troyes, Wörterbuch*, pp. 109* ff.; also *Kleiner Yvain*, 2nd ed.) compares the adventure of Dunostre in *Huon*, without knowing its parallel in *Fergus*, to *Yvain*, *Lanzelet*, *Erec*, *Mule*. He admits as a common source 'das bekannte Märchenmotiv der Befreiung einer in einem Wundergarten eingeschlossenen Jungfrau aus der Gefangenschaft eines Riesen'; but he could not, or at least did not, refer to any particular folk-tale type. The central incident of the tale, which I consider as the ultimate source of the *Fergus* episode, is certainly the deliverance of (originally three, cf. Panzer, p. 122) princesses who are the prisoners of demons.

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FENIMORE COOPER'S INFLUENCE ON THE FRENCH ROMANTICS.

FENIMORE COOPER is a significant figure in the annals of French Romanticism. It must, however, be borne in mind that the path had been made easy for him by Scott, who had an established reputation in France some seven years before the American novelist became—and he very quickly became—popular there.

One of the earliest references to his work is this, made in 1823:

> Le libraire Charles Gosselin...publiera...un nouveau roman de Cooper, Américain, auquel nous devons déjà l'intéressante production de 'l'Espion.'...Si 'les Pionniers' nous intéresse autant que l'ont fait les héros de son premier ouvrage, et si 'le Pilote,' roman inédit du même auteur, répond à ses aînés, M. Cooper méritera bientôt d'être surnommé le 'Barde du Nouveau-Monde[1].'

The Pilot was duly published, and it was said to confirm the hopes arising from the success of the two earlier novels: 'cette composition remarquable offre des tableaux de mœurs d'une vérité frappante, et un épisode historique rempli d'intérêt[2].' In 1825 *Le Globe* contained a noteworthy article by 'E. T.'[3]; and a year later, *The Mohicans* was very favourably reviewed[4]. David d'Angers, who knew most of the literary men of the day, wrote thus to Victor Pavie: 'La semaine prochaine on doit me faire dîner avec Cooper; je ferai son buste. Si vous n'avez pas encore lu ses ouvrages, lisez-les, vous y trouverez des caractères vigoureusement tracés[5].' Victor Pavie in his turn related how he saw Cooper posing for the sculptor and how, realising who this 'homme extraordinaire' was, he became confused with glowing admiration[6]. In 1827 the American novelist was designated 'le Walter Scott des sauvages'[7]; he became much more commonly known as 'le Walter Scott américain,' and, in the press of 1826–42, comparisons between the two writers abounded *ad nauseam*. In 1828 it could, with a semblance of truth, be stated that in France he rivalled Scott in celebrity; much of the credit was due to his indefatigable translator, Defauconpret—famous for his renderings of Scott—and to his enthusiastic publisher[8]. Three years

[1] *La Pandore*, August 3, 1823.
[2] *La Quotidienne*, April 12, 1824.
[3] March 12.
[4] e.g. in *La Pandore*, May 9, 1826.
[5] H. Jouin, *David d'Angers et ses relations littéraires*, 1890, letter of November, 1826.
[6] A. Pavie, *Médaillons romantiques*, 1909, p. 229, letter of July 13, 1827.
[7] In *Le Globe*, May 24, 1827.
[8] *La Quotidienne*, December 15, 1828, notice by J. B. A. S. (Soulié the librarian, 'le Saule pleureur').

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later, Pierre Leroux, whose ability as a critic has been too often forgotten, considered Cooper 'un grand artiste qui symbolise admirablement la nature[1],' while, soon after, A. Saint-Chéron wrote:

Je n'ai encore trouvé que dans Cooper [cette poésie de la nature qui identifie l'homme avec les lieux qu'il habite], et c'est pourquoi je l'aime mieux que Walter Scott. Cooper seul jusqu'à ce jour a su révéler cette association intime et pénétrante de l'homme avec le globe[2].

In 1832 we come on one of the earliest French statements that Cooper made a bad mistake in leaving American themes: an anonymous critic declared that in *Heidenmauer* the author is 'dépaysé, désorienté, ...son originalité disparaît[3].'' But his native stories continued to sell in thousands.

M. Cooper n'a pas plutôt mis sous presse un roman, que les traducteurs, postés d'avance à l'affût pour s'emparer feuille par feuille du texte original, se hâtent d'en confectionner une version, attendue avidement par tous les cabinets de lecture de Paris et de la province[4].

At the Academy of Dijon in 1834 was read a paper on the American novelist by Nault, who thought that the right way to judge him was to compare him unceasingly with Scott[5]. But he interested general readers more than academies; boys especially.

Je revenais tout seul à douze ans [writes Edmond de Goncourt] de mes premières vacances passées à Bar-sur-Seine, et j'avais acheté des livraisons à quatre sous du roman...'Le Dernier des Mohicains.' Postillon, conducteur, voisins de rotonde, endroits..., auberges..., je ne vis rien des choses de la route. Non, jamais je ne fus aussi absent de la vie réelle, pour appartenir si complètement à la fiction—sauf cependant une autre fois, la fois, où plus petit encore, j'avais lu...'Robinson Crusoe[6].'

As an exception to the usual fate of Cooper's non-American tales, *The Monikins* obtained two translations in the one year, 1835[7]. About this time, Maxime du Camp as a boy read *The Last of the Mohicans*, which made him long to go and live with the Red-Skins in the American forests[8].

Just about this time, too, Cooper's vogue began to wane considerably. In 1840, it is true, Balzac eulogised the novelist in the *Revue Parisienne*[9], but three years later a critic wrote—quite correctly—in a passage that may be extended to apply to the period 1826–43:

Il y a dix ans, l'annonce d'un roman de M. Fenimore Cooper causait une certaine sensation dans le monde littéraire. En France comme en Angleterre, comme aux

[1] *Revue encyclopédique*, November 1831, in article 'La Poésie de notre époque.'
[2] *Ibid.*, April 1832.
[3] In the *Revue européenne*, December, 1832, review of one of Cooper's books.
[4] *La Quotidienne*, October 4, 1833, article by Th. Muret, the novelist, dramatist and critic.
[5] *La France littéraire*, October 1834, in Pellet's account of academic proceedings.
[6] *Journal des Goncourt*, entry of August 19, 1889.
[7] *La France littéraire*, October 1835.
[8] See his *Souvenirs littéraires*, 1882–83, early in vol. I.
[9] i.e. Balzac's 'R. P.' First 'lettre.'

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États-Unis, on attendait avec impatience l'œuvre nouvelle, on la lisait avec avidité ; la critique s'empressait de lui consacrer de longs articles. Dès que les premières feuilles étaient imprimées à Londres, on les traduisait à Paris. L'auteur de la *Prairie* et du *Corsaire Rouge* devint, sinon aussi estimé, du moins presque aussi célèbre que l'illustre auteur de *Waverley*.

Aujourd'hui, le romancier américain est bien déchu de son ancienne popularité : le nombre de ses lecteurs diminue d'année en année ; bientôt même les libraires français ne feront plus les frais d'une traduction. Ce n'est pas que M. Fenimore Cooper ait perdu le talent qu'il possédait autrefois, mais le public se lasse de lire perpétuellement la même histoire. M. Cooper n'a jamais su faire qu'un roman : que la scène se passe dans les prairies et dans les forêts de l'Amérique ou sur l'Océan ; que son héros s'appelle Bas-de-Cuir ou le Corsaire Rouge, il développe toujours le même sujet :—une fuite,—une poursuite,—une surprise[1].

He was, however, still advertised occasionally, and, it may be presumed, read during the last five years[2] of the Romantic period.

Throughout this period Fenimore Cooper reacted almost solely on two genres, the drama and the novel. To the dramatists he appealed in much the same way and with somewhat the same result as Scott, but he tempted far fewer writers to adapt him, probably because the Waverley novelist had already a well-established position on the French stage when the playwrights turned to the author of the backwood tales. It was only natural that the dramatists should hasten to draw on Cooper's novels, as a contemporary critic acknowledged[3]. At the end of 1828 appeared two pieces entitled *L'Espion*, based, of course, on *The Spy*, 'cette hardie et originelle conception, si pleine de scènes vives et pathétiques qui semblent n'avoir besoin que d'être détachées du livre pour être applaudies au théâtre.' Léon Halévy and Fontan's version[4] was played at the Odéon, Mazères and Ancelot's[5] at the Comédie Française, 'luttant l'un contre l'autre, comme s'il se fût agi d'un prix à la course[6].' One notes that all four authors were well-known and successful, and that the leading theatres staged the pieces. Balzac planned to write a drama on the same subject and to adapt the titular character to suit Frédéric Lemaître ; but he abandoned the project when he heard that the other two plays were in hand[7]. In 1830 *Lionel Lincoln* supplied the matter of *Arwed, ou les Représailles*[8] ; four years later, Anicet Bourgeois derived his five-act drama *La Vénitienne* from *The Bravo*[9] ; in 1837 appeared *Les Mohicans*, a ballet[10] ; Romand owed something to *The Spy* in *Le Bourgeois de Gand*, a notable piece, well received by both critics

[1] *L'Illustration*, April 1, 1843, in the 'Bulletin bibliographique.'
[2] 1844–48.
[3] J. B. A. Soulié in *La Quotidienne*, December 15, 1828.
[4] *Le Globe*, December 10, 1828.
[5] *Ibid.*, December 17, 1828.
[6] *Annales de la littérature*, XXXIII, p. 381.
[7] Balzac, *Lettres à l'Étrangère*, 1899–1906, letter of November 16, 1843.
[8] *Mercure de France au XIXe siècle*, early in 1830, in the 'Chronique théâtrale.'
[9] *La Quotidienne*, March 24, 1834.
[10] *Le National*, July 10, 1837.

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and public[1]. After 1838 Cooper found little favour on the stage, though we may mention that in 1847 Corali used *Mercedes of Castille* for *Ozaï*, a ballet[2]. The American novelist, in short, was popular in the theatres for about twelve years, but the sameness of his stories caused him soon to be exhausted as a 'mine à exploiter.'

Less episodic, though even less durable, was his influence on the novel. In the early thirties, there arose, thanks to Fenimore Cooper, the maritime novel: the success of his stories reminded several writers that they, too, had lived on familiar terms with the ocean, and that they possessed a store of reminiscences and impressions apt for use. Thus were born the clever, witty tales of Eugène Sue and Jal's *Scènes de la vie maritime*[3]. Scott and Cooper had produced *The Pirate* and *The Corsair* before Sue and Corbière brought out *La Salamandre* and *Le Négrier*[4]. In January 1833 Joël Cherbuliez wrote:

> Il y a quatre ou cinq mois, on ne voyait que scènes maritimes, romans maritimes, esquisses maritimes; l'eau salée était l'encre où nos auteurs trempaient leur plume, et plus d'une fois son amère saveur leur tint lieu d'esprit pour jeter quelque piquant sur leurs ouvrages[5].

Fifteen months later a critic declared[6]:

> C'est de l'autre monde que nous est venu le goût de la littérature maritime. C'est la lecture des romans de l'américain Cooper et le prodigieux succès du *Corsaire rouge*, de la *Sorcière des eaux* et du *Pilote* qui révélèrent à des jeunes écrivains fort empêchés de trouver un débouché à leur imagination et à leur talent, cette mine... qu'ils jugèrent inépuisable. Ils saluèrent avec transport la carrière nouvelle...L'entraînement fut grand...; mais il subit bientôt la loi commune à tous les genres d'enthousiasmes. Il se calma peu à peu.

But the genre continued a few years longer, and in 1835 Léon Gozlan affirmed that sea-stories, which originated in England and America, would receive development and sociability from French authors; in 1838, however, an unfavourable comparison was drawn between the maritime novels of Sue, Corbière, Jal and others and those of Cooper, the delightful source[7].

Of the novelists that copied the American, Sue was the most prominent. Concerning *Plik et Plok*, Armand de Pontmartin remarked that, on the word of Sue's friends and on the evidence of the preface, the author obviously aspired to become the French Fenimore Cooper, and that this pretention and this part were maintained in the works

[1] *Le Constitutionnel*, May 26, 1838.
[2] *L'Union*, May 10, 1847.
[3] *Revue européenne*, October 1832, notice of Jal's book.
[4] *Le Constitutionnel*, December 4, 1834.
[5] *Le Bulletin littéraire et scientifique*, March 1833.
[6] *La Quotidienne*, April 17, 1834.
[7] *Revue critique des livres nouveaux*, April 1838.

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that followed: *Atar-Gull, La Salamandre, La Vigie de Koat-Ven*[1]. We are told[2] that in 1830 an old comrade suggested to Sue that, as Cooper had made the ocean fashionable, he, in turn, should create the French maritime novel: 'the idea pleased our author'; and that's how it happened! Joncières, who had a tendency to vigorous contradiction, repudiated the opinion that Sue was a follower of Cooper[3]; but that opinion had ample justification. In 1832 *Plik et Plok*, *Atar-Gull* and *La Salamandre* were described as reflections of the American's sea-tales; reflections which, though diminished, yet preserved colour and brilliancy[4].

In conclusion we may note a few scattered indications as to Cooper's popularity among the French Romantics. In 1828 Sainte-Beuve, whom many years later Longfellow visited in Paris[5], wrote an excellent review of one of the maritime novels[6]; Théophile Gautier once observed that 'Le *Pilote* et le *Corsaire rouge* sont et demeureront, je pense, les chefs-d'œuvre du genre [de roman maritime]'[7]; Dumas delighted in Cooper's 'descriptive masterpieces'[8]; Balzac's opinion was this:

> Cooper est dans cette époque le seul auteur digne d'être mis à côté de Walter Scott, il ne l'égalera point, mais il a de son génie, et il doit la haute place qu'il occupe dans la littérature moderne à deux facultés, celle de peindre la mer, celle d'idéaliser les magnifiques paysages de l'Amérique[9].

Dumas capped his delight by imitating in *Paul Jones* the mysterious sailor that had already stirred the curiosity of readers in *The Pilot*, and was gently told that 'it seems rather rash thus to take for hero a character created by another writer'[10]; George Sand found Cooper's stories moving but inartistic[11]; even Maurice de Guérin read them[12], while J. J. Ampère took keen pleasure therein[13].

ERIC PARTRIDGE.

OXFORD.

[1] *Souvenirs d'un vieux critique*, I.
[2] In *Le Constitutionnel*, November 23, 1844.
[3] *Le Temps*, February 11, 1838. [4] *Journal des Débats*, March 16, 1832.
[5] See the *Souvenirs et indiscrétions de Sainte-Beuve*, ed. by J. Troubat, 1872.
[6] In *Le Globe*, April 16, 1828.
[7] *Chronique de Paris*, February 28, 1836, reprinted in *Souvenirs de théâtre, d'art et de critique*, 1883.
[8] A. Dumas, *Mes Mémoires*, IX, p. 186.
[9] *Revue parisienne*, 1840, first 'lettre' *re Lake Ontario.*
[10] *Bulletin littéraire et scientifique*, August 1838.
[11] Her *Correspondance*, letter of November 29, 1857.
[12] As we know by his *Journal, lettres et poèmes*, ed. by Trébutien, 1865; *Journal*, March 6, 1833.
[13] A. M. et J. J. Ampère, *Correspondance*, 1875, October 20, 1829.

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CETINA'S MADRIGAL.

THE tragic details of the death of Gutierre de Cetina may have attracted a few more readers to his poems, as published at Seville in two volumes in 1895. At ten o'clock of a pitchdark night at Los Angeles (April 1, 1554) Cetina and a friend, Francisco de Peralta, went for a short stroll before turning in. They went without armour, singing in a low voice, Cetina a few steps ahead, Peralta following, strumming on a guitar. At the end of the street they were set upon by Hernando de Nava and a friend, and Cetina received a mortal thrust between the left eye and ear. (See Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos Datos para las biografías de cien escritores de los siglos XVI y XVII*, Madrid, 1923, pp. 118–180.) It is not known how long Cetina survived, but he was certainly dead in 1557. It is curious that he should have been killed thus in a love affair concerning others. He had ever been the poet of love. He had written of himself:

Murió entregado a amor, con pensamientos
Tan altos que aun muriendo amor espera.

A friend after his death wrote:

Amando más que cuantos han amado,
Cómo podías morir sino de amores!

Belonging to a distinguished Seville family, Cetina was a man of many friends, won by his poetical talent and by his career in the Army; for sword and pen alternated in his hands. He was an intimate friend of the Andalusian poet, Baltasar del Alcázar, who calls him 'el gran Cetina'; of the famous Portuguese Montemayor; of Hurtado de Mendoza, from whom he requests no less a gift than a picture by Titian; of the Aragonese poet, Jerónimo de Urrea. He was also intimate with the Prince of Ascoli, the Princess of Molfeta, the Duke of Sessa, friend and patron of poets; and he addressed poems to many other distinguished persons, including the great Duke of Alba. If love drove him from the Betis (Seville), 'Betis, río famoso, amado padre,' to the Tagus and the Pisuerga (Valladolid) (he exchanges sonnets with Montemayor, who was going to Valladolid and leaving his heart at Seville, whereas Cetina was obliged to remain at Seville with his heart at Valladolid), he, also often abroad, in the Pyrenees ('Al pie de un monte que divide a España de Francia'), on the banks of the Po, on the Rhine:

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Sobre las ondas del furioso Reno,
Lleno de nieves, turbio, helado y frío,

and elsewhere, turned his eyes longingly towards his native land:

Entre altos montes de soberbia gente
Que al Helvecio feroz el paso cierra,
Me hallo en otro clima, en otra tierra,
De la mi cara patria diferente.

He writes of 'el Alpe de terror y fieras lleno' without any feeling for the beauty of what he calls the 'ásperas montañas.' His poetical name was Vandalio (the Andalusian).

Would he have increased his literary fame but for his early death, at the age of little over thirty? One may be inclined to doubt it, although he would probably have written many more of his satirical poems in very skilful *tercetos* (*terza rima*), for he had a pleasant wit. As a lyric poet, his theme was limited to that of love. He was one of the earliest and best of Spanish Petrarcan poets, writing in all the metres recently introduced from Italy and himself studying the Italian poets during his sojourn in Italy. In one of his sonnets he has the lines:

Que si algun tiempo con más docta mano
Las acierto a tejer como maestro;

but probably he would have continued to write love poems in what he calls 'la usada vena':

No contaré hazañas fabulosas
De escritores antiguos fabricadas,
Ni ficciones poéticas hermosas
Con mil colores falsos matizadas,
Ni las guerras inútiles, dañosas,
Que por ambición fueron comenzadas:
Sola vuestra beldad, Señora, canto.

(*Octavas* beginning 'Levanta, O Musa.')

Some of his sonnets are delightful and deserve to rank just after the best sonnets in Spanish or any other language. Many of them would figure honourably in that second anthology which should always follow as an aftermath on the first anthology of a nation's poetry. Yet it cannot be said that the publication of his poems in two volumes thirty years ago reversed the general verdict that his chief claim to immortality lies in his madrigal 'Ojos claros, serenos.' One must therefore carefully consider any attack on this madrigal as vitally affecting Cetina's literary fame. An elaborate attack was made by the well-known Spanish critic, Don Julio Cejador, in a recent number of the *Revue Hispanique* (tom. LVII, pp. 108–114): 'El Madrigal de Cetina.' Señor Cejador accepts as authentic the variant:

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Ojos claros, serenos,
si de dulce mirar sois alabados,
¿porqué, si me mirais, mirais airados?
Si cuanto más piadosos,
más bellos pareceis a quien os mira,
¿porqué a mí solo me mirais con ira?
Ojos claros, serenos,
ya que así me mirais, miradme al menos.

He prefers this, on several grounds, to the better known form:

Ojos claros, serenos,
si de un dulce mirar sois alabados,
¿porqué, si me mirais, mirais airados?
Si cuando más piadosos,
más bellos pareceis a aquel que os mira,
no me mireis con ira,
porque no parezcais menos hermosos.
Ay tormentos rabiosos!
Ojos claros, serenos,
ya que así me mirais, miradme al menos.

And he comes to the conclusion that both forms are excelled in worth by the popular quatrain:

Aunque con semblante airado
me mirais, ojos serenos,
no me negareis al menos,
ojos, que me habeis mirado.

A conclusion so extraordinary deserves to be studied in detail. The lines 6–8 of the longer form Señor Cejador dismisses as evidently not authentic. Setting aside the fact that in the shorter variant the word *piadosos* is left hanging in the air without a rhyme, the line 'Ay tormentos rabiosos' surely bears the stamp of authenticity. *Rabiosos* is a favourite adjective with Cetina. He uses it twice in one poem. He has the phrases 'Ay rabioso pesar'; 'Ay rabiosos cuidados'; 'Ay desden rabioso' (*Obras*, vol. I, pp. 119, 141, 246). Señor Cejador prefers lines 2 and 5 in the shorter variant as running more smoothly. It is true that the poet Fernando de Herrera was of opinion that Cetina 'decía muchas cosas dulcemente pero sin fuerza,' but one could adduce passages to show that Cetina can be vigorous and is capable of preferring the more expressive form of a line to smooth insipidity. As for lines 6 and 7, Señor Cejador dismisses them as 'contrary to the general idea of the madrigal,' and for the same reason he will have none of line 8 ('Ay tormentos rabiosos'): 'La serenidad de ese mirar despierta serenidad en la contemplación, no tormentos rabiosos.' Yet Cetina says in one of his *canzoni*:

¿Quién pensará de vos, hermosos ojos,
que cause tal beldad tales enojos?
Ojos, en vos se encierra
Muerte, vida, pesar, placer, paz, guerra.

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To other critics these three lines will appear vital to the sense of the poem. After chiding the eyes for looking upon him in anger, the poet proceeds rashly to beg them not to look. And the eyes take him at his word and turn away. Cf. his sonnet, beginning:

> Si vos pensais que por un ceño airado,
> por abajar los ojos y enojaros,
> o por huir de mí: por alejaros,
> torcer el rostro con mirar turbado;

and the lines:

> Volveis los bellos ojos a otra parte
> con cierto modo blandamente esquivo.
>
> (*Obras*, I, pp. 193, 285.)

Then in despair ('Ay tormentos rabiosos') he implores them not to keep their light from him, but to look upon him, even if it be in anger:

> Ojos, no os pido que el ceño airado
> lo levanteis de mí. (*Obras*, I, p. 142.)

But, even without this explanation of the eyes turning from him, the line 'Ay tormentos rabiosos' could stand, and we may compare the lines of his sonnet (*Obras*, I, p. 171):

> En la gloria mayor de mi tormento
> voy por tranquilo mar ledo cantando
> mientra alegres se muestran vuestros ojos.

The sense of the madrigal in its longer form is much the same as that of Gabriello Chiabrera's, imitated perhaps from that of Cetina or from Canini's Italian version:

> Se per vostro diletto, occhi, mi ardete
> con sì leggiadri giri,
> e se voi, belle mani, or mi stringete,
> vaghe de' miei martiri,
> O occhi ardetemi
> fin che mi si distrugga il cor nel seno;
> mani, stringetemi
> fin che ogni spirto mio si venga meno.

The dramatic force and significance of Cetina's madrigal is wholly lost in the briefer, paler variant, which Señor Cejador prefers and indeed considers the only authentic form. An almost more fearful thrust is his attempt to weaken the line 'Ojos claros, serenos' itself. He declares that the adjective *claros* 'sabe a ripio' and adds nothing to the meaning of the adjective *serenos*. The criticism would have more force had the poet written 'Ojos serenos claros'; but it is surely permissible and excellent to reinforce an epithet (*claros*) with one which embraces its meaning but extends it (*serenos*). Or the criticism might be applied justifiably to the line quoted above, where the reader could have inferred without being told ('helado y frío') that snow and ice are cold.

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The case of 'Ojos claros, serenos' is very different, and assuredly it is a phrase more expressive, original and splendid than the 'occhi sereni e belli' in Michael Angelo's madrigal, beginning 'Perchè pur d' ora in ora mi lusinga.' In one of his sonnets, Cetina omits the *claros*:

Vuestro dulce mirar, ojos serenos;

in another he has the same phrase as in the madrigal, but more weakly expressed:

Que el aire os ocupó claro y sereno.

(*Obras*, I, pp. 132, 182.)

In prose Fray Luis de Granada has 'la noche clara y serena.' But let us turn to that most fastidious critic, Giacomo Leopardi. In one of his most exquisite poems, 'Il Sabato del Villaggio,' he has the line:

Giorno chiaro, sereno.

One may perhaps be permitted to think that Señor Cejador's sincere and interesting strictures will not be successful in ousting the famous madrigal from the anthologies.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL,
PORTUGAL.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

A Rare Use of the Preposition 'To.'

A peculiar use of the preposition *to* appears in the following passages of Anglo-Saxon prose:

Hie...þone æðeling on þære byrig gemetton...& þa gatu *him to* belocen hæfdon. *Ags. Chron.* (Parker MS.), an. 755.

He sylf into þære inran eode, and ða duru *him to* beclysde. *Ags. Homilien* (Assmann) 196/31.

In two other passages the more definite *in to* (or *into*) is employed in place of the simple *to*, viz.

Æðelwald sæt binnan þæm ham mid þæm monnum þe him to gebugon, & hæfde ealle þa gatu forworht *in to him*. *Ags. Chron.* (Parker MS.), an. 901.

Sume urnon into cyrcean, & belucan þa duran *in to heom*. *Ibid.* (Laud MS.), an. 1083.

The usage has not remained unnoticed, and these passages (except the first) are duly recorded and correctly explained by Professor Toller in the articles on *to* and *into* (*Ags. Dict.* and Suppl.). The pronoun in each instance is reflexive, and the expressions *him to*, *in to him* are the equivalents of the later *on* or *upon themselves* (or *himself*). The use of *to* and *in to* is evidently due to the latent idea that the gate or door gives access *to*, or leads *in to*, the persons within.

I have not found any instance of this use of *to* in Middle English, but it must have survived in speech, as it appears again in the sixteenth century. It is employed by Coverdale (1535) in one passage, while in another he has the equivalent *unto*:

(1) So go now my people in to thy chambre, and shut the doore *to* the. *Isaiah* xxvi. 20. (The Wycliffite versions have *vpon* and *on*.)

(2) She wente, and shut the dore *vnto* her with hir sonnes. 2 *Kings* iv. 5. (Wycliffite *vpon* and *on*.)

In Matthew's Bible (1537) *to* occurs in both of these passages, as well as in *Judges* ix. 51:

(1) So go now my people into thy chambre, & shut the dore *to* the. (1539 *aboute* the; 1560 *after* thee; 1611 *aboute* thee.)

(2) She went from hym, & shutt the dore *to* her & *to* her sonnes. (1539 *after* her; 1560, 1611 *vpon* her.)

(3) There was a strong towre in the myddes of the citye, & thither ranne all the men & wemen,...& shut it *to* them. *Judges* ix. 51. (Coverdale, *after* them.)

The last passage is the only one in which the idiom is allowed to

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remain in later versions, being retained even in that of 1611; the nineteenth century revisers have altered it to 'shut themselves in.'

W. A. CRAIGIE.

OXFORD.

'SOTTEZ FOR MADDE.'

In the *Modern Language Review* for April 1924 (xix, 223) I criticized the E.E.T.S. facsimile of MS. Cotton Nero A.x, and incidentally remarked that 'In the illustration facing the beginning of *Patience* it is possible that the grotesque figure on the right may stand for the "sottez for madde" of l. 509, but the fact can hardly be indicated by there being "a characteristic fool's jagged collar round his neck", for the garment he wears is the same as the dreamer's hood in the first picture to *Pearl*!' Sir Israel Gollancz has just issued a second and revised edition of his text of *Patience* in the prefatory note to which he makes a more than polite reference to the review in question, while, however, dissenting from the above remark. 'I re-assert my view that, whether the fool wears a jagged collar or a jagged hood, the garment is utterly different from the head-dress depicted by the illustrator as fallen from the head of the dreaming poet.' I quite agree with Sir Israel that the question is one to be determined by any one interested in the point by a comparison of the illustrations themselves, but since he has thought it worth while to enter into some argument thereon, I may perhaps be allowed a word in reply.

There is no doubt, I am afraid, that my remark was a hasty one, but on more careful consideration I am inclined to think it may be nevertheless correct. It all depends upon how you interpret the badly drawn object lying by the poet's head. I assumed that the jagged scallops were the neck of the hood and the round opening that for the face: if so, its essential similarity with the garment worn by the 'sot' is certain. Sir Israel, on the other hand, takes the round opening to be for the head, and the jagged part loose drapery to hang over the ear, and his view is certainly borne out by the reference to Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 530, in so far as the illustration there given shows that this is a perfectly possible kind of cap. At the same time, I should myself hardly have dared to put on the poet's head the fantastic headgear of the young spark of the day!

Sir Israel originally stated and now re-asserts, as I gather, that the 'jagged collar' was distinctive of a fool or 'village idiot'. This may be true for anything I know, though such scalloping was certainly not con-

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fined to fools' hoods, as may be seen from another of Fairholt's illustrations (p. 121); but he does not seem to have supported the assertion by any evidence, unless one is so to interpret a rather obscure remark in his 'prefatory note'. This runs: 'The fool, however, wears a hood; and as regards the jagging round his neck, it is noteworthy that under "liripipe" in *N. E. D.* the following quotation is given from *Eulogium Hist.* 1350–70, "Habent etiam...liripipia usque talum longa modo fatuorum dilacerata".' I cannot see the relevance of this unless it is suggested that a liripipe can be a jagged collar. But there seems no doubt that the liripipe was the long tail that hung down from the back of the hood: this could, if long enough, be wound round the neck like a scarf, but was certainly not a collar. Moreover, 'modo fatuorum' refers, I should imagine, to jesters, not 'village idiots', so that the 'liripipia dilacerata' may have been of the nature of a cockscomb.

LONDON. W. W. GREG.

'PYTHAGORAS CONCERNING WILDE-FOWLE.'

(*Twelfth Night*, IV, ii, 52–8.)

Clo. What is the opinion of *Pythagoras* concerning Wilde-fowle?
Mal. That the soule of our grandam, might happily inhabite a bird.
Clo. What thinkst thou of his opinion?
Mal. I thinke nobly of the soule, and no way aproue his opinion.

Mr Morton Luce suggests in his Arden edition of the play that Shakespeare may have derived his allusion to the doctrines of Pythagoras from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; e.g. XV, 457–8:

> Verum etiam volucres animae sumus, inque ferinas
> Possumus ire domos, pecudumque in pectora condi.

Moreover Shakespeare's debt to *The XV Bookes of P. Ouidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis, translated...by Arthur Golding...* (London, 1567) has often been discussed. I do not think it has been noted however that the immediate source of the passage from *Twelfth Night* is to be found in *The Epistle* of dedication to Robert, Earl of Leicester, prefixed to Golding's translation, v. 26 ff.:

> But as for that opinion which Pythagoras there brings
> Of soules remouing out of beasts too men, and out of men
> Too birdes and beasts both wyld and tame, both too and fro agen:
> It is not too be understand.....

and v. 48 ff.:

> But for too deeme or say
> Our noble soule (which is diuine and permanent for ay)
> Is common too vs with the beasts, I think it nothing lesse
> Than for too bee a poynt of him that wisdome dooth professe.

EDINBURGH. BRUCE DICKINS.

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The Sources of Giles Fletcher's 'Licia.'

The sources of Fletcher's sonnet-sequence *Licia* (1593) have been shortly dealt with by Sir Sidney Lee[1] and Professor Kastner[2]. Hieronymus Angerianus is cited as the source of sonnet XXVIII, and Joannes Bonnefonius of XLV, while sonnets LI and LII have been found to be imitations of two of Ronsard's *Amours de Cassandre*.

Fletcher's debt to the neo-Latinists, however, is much greater than has hitherto been stated. Twenty-four of the sonnets are inspired by Angerianus, four by Marullus, six by Gruterus, two by Muretus, and one perhaps by Secundus. The Latin epigrams *Ad Amorem* and *Ad Lectorem* are copied from the works of Marullus and de Bèze.

Here is a list of all the sources I have been able to discover so far:

Fletcher's *Licia*.		Source.
Latin epigram *Ad Amorem*		Marullus, *Epigrammata* Lib. III, p. 38. (Paris 1562.)
„ „	*Ad Lectorem*	Theod. Beza, *Poemata* Epig. II, p. 58. (Paris 1548.)
Introductory Sonnet		inspired by Gruterus, *Harmosyne*, p. 191. (Heidelberg 1587.)
Sonnet	I.	Angerianus, *Erotopaegnion* (Paris 1582), f. 2 v. (De seipso.) 'Aonium, ut fierem vates, haurire liquorem.'
„	II.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 2 v. (De Cælia et Amore.) 'Lassatus cursu.'
„	III.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 4. (Ad Cæliam.) 'Cernentes Superi.'
„	IV.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 5 v. (De Cælia et Amore.) 'Ibat venatum in sylvas.'
„	V.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 6 v. (Ad Cæliam.) 'In crine accendens Amor.'
„	VI.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 7 v. (De Cæliæ pictura.) 'Aspiciens pictam in tabula.'
„	VII.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 8. (De Cælia.) 'In me quum rueret facibus præcinctus.'
„	VIII.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 9. (De Cæliæ duritie.) 'Sunt duri scopuli.'
„	IX.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 9 v. (De Cæliæ furto.) 'Quum dormiret Amor.'
„	X.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 10. (De seipso et pictore dialogus.) 'Quid pingis pictor?'
„	XI.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 11 v. (De Cæliæ dotibus.) 'Tres quondam nudas.'
„	XII.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 13 v. (Ad Cæliam.) 'Optarem fieri dives.'
„	XIII.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 16 v. (De Iove et Cupidine.) 'Iuppiter humanæ captus fulgore puellæ.'
„	XIV.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 27 v. (De Cælia et Cupidine.) 'Cælia sub querna captabat fronde quietem.'
„	XV.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 28 v. (De Cælia et pictore dialogus.) 'Dic cujus facies.'
„	XVI.	(?) Secundus *Basia* II and III (Paris 1582), ff. 92 v. and 93 v. 'Da mihi suauiolum.'

[1] In Introduction to *Elizabethan Sonnets* (1904), p. lxxxiii.
[2] *Modern Language Review*, vol. III, p. 277.

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Sonnet	XVII.[1]	Marullus, *Epigrammata* (Paris 1582), f. 14. (Ad Neæram.) 'Non tot Attica mella.'
„	XVIII.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 15 v. (Ad Neæram.) 'Iuraui fore me tuum perennè.'
„	XIX.	do., *op. cit.* f. 18 v. (Ad Neæram.) 'Suauiolum invitæ rapio.'
„	XXI.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 10 v. (De Amore et Mercurio.) 'Forte Iovi dum iactat Amor.'
„	XXIV.	Angerianus, *op. cit.*, f. 32 v. (De Cælia convalescente.) 'Quum mea ferventi langueret febre puella.'
„	XXV.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 24 v. (Cœlo comparat amicam.) 'Septem errant ignes per cœli mobilis axes.'
„	XXVI.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 25 v. (De absentia amicæ.) 'Hic ubi sum, mites auræ.'
„	XXVII.[2]	do., *op. cit.*, f. 19. (De Cæliæ balneo.) 'Inclyta laudatas peteret quum Cælia Baias.'
„	XXVIII.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 28. (De suo amore æterno.) 'Tempore tecta ruunt Prætoria.' (Noted by Lee.)
„	XXIX.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 30. (De Cælia navigante.) 'Navigat aurata dum solers Cælia navi.'
„	XXX.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 35 v. (Ad Cæliam.) 'Quum sumis citharam.'
„	XXXII.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 34. (De Cælia et libello.) 'Quum legeret scriptas in parvo codice.'
„	XXXIII.	do., *op. cit.*, f. 35. (De seipso dialogus.) 'Dic cur in vultu sic palles?'
„	XXXIV.	Muretus[3]: Epigram VIII (Paris 1552). 'Dum te, Margari, basiare conor.'
„	XXXVI.	do., Epigram VI. 'Dicere dum conor nostros tibi, vita, dolores.'
„	XLI. }	Gruterus, *op. cit.*, p. 169. 'Si cariose Charon, ubi pausam fecero
„	XLII. }	vitæ.'
„	XLIII.	do., *op. cit.*, p. 170. 'Stellane sic igitur male me gemina illa reliquit.'
„	XLV.	Bonnefonius, *Pancharis*. 'Qualiter exoriens ferali crine cometes.' (Noted by Lee.)
„	XLVI.	Gruterus, *op. cit.*, p. 178. 'Mortuus a cunctis si vere is creditur.'
„	XLVII.	do., *op. cit.*, p. 168. 'Memnonis ut cautes orienti Solis ab igne.'
„	XLVIII.	do., *op. cit.*, p. 184. 'Incassum properas ter turpis Aranea.'
„	LI. }	Ronsard, *Amours* I, 32. 'Quand au premier la dame.'
„	LII. }	do., „ I, 54. 'O doux parler.'

(Noted by Lee and Kastner.)

JANET G. SCOTT.

GLASGOW.

[1] Professor Kastner in *M.L.R.*, vol. III, p. 277, suggested Du Bellay, *Olive* 32, as source of this sonnet, but a comparison of the English and Latin leaves no doubt as to Fletcher's source. One of the originals of this common type of sonnet is Petrarch's Sestine VII: 'Non ha tanti animali il mar fra l' onde.' Enumerations of the same kind are found in classical Latin.

[2] Sir Sidney Lee (*op. cit.*) wishes to give Fletcher the credit of adapting an epigram of the Greek Anthology (IX, 627). Now Fletcher was very intimately acquainted with the work of Angerianus, and the latter has several poems expressing the idea that everything Cælia touched 'burnt with love.' We have therefore no hesitation in giving him as Fletcher's source. Angerianus' source may of course be the Greek epigram.

[3] Noted by Ellinger, Introduction to *Basia* of Secundus, Berlin 1899.

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Dryden and the English Academy.

Mr Edmund L. Freeman's article in the July number of the *Modern Language Review*, and his discovery of another proposal of an English Academy in the seventeenth century, cannot but interest all who have given any attention to the subject. Yet Mr Freeman mistakes, it seems to me, the relation of the matter to my article in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* (Jan. 1921) and to the poet Dryden. That article did not suggest that Dryden was the first, or the only man, who had advocated an English Academy in his lifetime. My attempt was to show that Dryden's advocacy antedated the appointment of the Royal Society's committee, to which has usually been assigned the credit of 'the first proposal...in the second half of the seventeenth century,' as he later anticipated the Earl of Roscommon, to whom so much credit in the matter has often been given. Mr Freeman's discovery cannot take away from Dryden the honour of being made a member of the Royal Society's committee on the very subject of his earlier proposal, as Mr Freeman's 'R. H.' was not, or of having continued his advocacy of an English Academy to the end of his life, as 'R. H.' did not, so far as any evidence that Mr Freeman brings forward goes to show.

If 'R. H.' was Robert Hooke who was made the Royal Society's Curator of Physical Experiments in 1662, and Fellow of the Society the next year, there is as yet no evidence that his suggestion had any influence or was again repeated in Hooke's long life. Hooke's main interests were in physical science—the real reason for his edition and continuation of Bacon's *New Atlantis*. Nor was he one to have great influence in this or any other particular. 'The registers of the Royal Society,' as the *Dict. of Nat. Biography* puts it, 'testify to the eagerness with which Hooke hurried from one inquiry to another with brilliant but inconclusive results.' The same idea was expressed more tersely by the *Encyc. Brit.* in the estimate: 'He originated much, but perfected little.' Hooke's was an unusually fertile and original mind, but his irascible temper, his jealousy of others, and his offensive manner in supporting his own claims in scientific investigations would have made impossible any wide acceptance of his suggestion of an English Academy for the field of letters.

But this note is not intended to detract from the interest all will feel in Mr Freeman's discovery, or in any other proposal of an English Academy, however obscure and apparently fruitless it may have been. We may be glad to give all due credit to 'R. H.,' without robbing

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Dryden of any that belongs to him, and must continue to belong to him until much more evidence for another view is produced.

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, U.S.A.

ANN RADCLIFFE'S KNOWLEDGE OF GERMAN.

G. Buyers, cited by Miss C. F. McIntyre (*Ann Radcliffe in Relation to her Time* (*Yale Studies in English*), 1920) suggests in an article in *Englische Studien*, xlviii, pp. 350 ff., that the influence of Schiller's *Geisterseher* may be traced on Montoni in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), and Miss McIntyre is inclined to the opinion that the description of a trip on the Brenta in that work may have been inspired by the same source. Both critics agree that one of the most important characters in *The Italian* (1796) has traits in common with Schiller's Armenian. But the first English translation of *Der Geisterseher* only appeared in 1795; thus its influence on *The Mysteries of Udolpho* is excluded, unless the author was able to read it in the original.

Miss McIntyre is uncertain whether Ann Radcliffe had a knowledge of any language but her own; but a perusal of her *Journal through Holland and Germany*, undertaken in 1794 in the company of her husband, points to her being able to obtain an adequate knowledge of a German book before the publication of *Udolpho*. It may, of course, be that the knowledge of the language was limited to her husband, who was a graduate of Oxford, a journalist, and had translated a French book of travels; but in her introduction Mrs Radcliffe seems to imply that his share in their joint book was the parts dealing with the economical and political conditions of the countries they visited. The following passages show, I think, that either directly or through her husband, she could have known *Der Geisterseher*, previous to the publication of *The Mysteries of Udolpho*.

Vol. I (edition of 1796), p. 327: 'We had a German pamphlet recommended containing the history of the place [Mainz]...and it is partly from this...that the following short narrative has been abstracted.' P. 454: 'an edifice in the style of a Turkish mosque...inscribed with Arabic mottos which by the German translation appear to express the pleasure of friendly conversation and of indolence in summer.' Vol. II, p. 35: 'In a printed narrative of the siege of Mentz there is this passage: "Funfzehn hundert menschen meistens weiber und kinder...wanderteten mit dem Bundel under dem arm uber die brucke." Fifteen hundred

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persons mostly wives and children wandered with their bundles under their arms upon the bridge.' P. 61: 'visited by a Hessian serjeant who demanded that our names and conditions should be written in his book. These being given not in the Saxon but in the Roman character, he returned to require another edition of them in German....This being complied with....' P. 120: 'Duisbourg having been rendered a University in 1635 is thus panegyrized by a German poet:

Dis ist die Deutsche Burg, von längst gar hochgeehrt;
Von vielen König und auch Kaiserlichen Kronen:
Des Schöne Musenthron, wo kluge Leute wohnen;
Und wo die Kaufmannschaft so manche Bürger nährt.

This is the German town that fam'd so long
By throned Kings and gentle Muses' song;
Where learned folks live well on princely pay
And commerce makes so many Burghers gay.'

Mrs Radcliffe did not enjoy, and clearly did not deserve, a high reputation as a poetess.

L. F. Thompson.

Heidelberg.

Note on Bandello, Parte i, Novella xli.

In his important and valuable study on the sources of Bandello[1] Prof. L. di Francia, speaking of novella xli of the first part[2], makes the following statement:

> Quantunque nella dedicatoria siano ricordati i *Trionfi* del Petrarca (*Trionfo d'Amore*, cap. ii, vv. 1–84), come elemento ispiratore della novella, il fatto sta che di essi non si avverte alcuna traccia nella narrazione, la quale invece è una libera versione delle *Deche* di Tito Livio, lib. xxx, cap. xii sgg., amplificata e diluita, specialmente nei discorsi dei personaggi, troppo prolissi e retorici, a confronto della maschia e severa drammaticità dello storico padovano. Del resto, di molta borra è imbottita, come tutti sanno, anche la *Sofonisba* del Trissino, con la quale però la novella non rivela alcun segno di stretta consanguineità; del pari che è assolutamente indipendente dall' analogo racconto del Foresti (in *De claris mulieribus*, cap. liii, f° 40 *b* sg.).

Signor di Francia accuses then Bandello of having deliberately referred to Petrarch, while really making use of the narrative of Livy, doubtless in order to lead the reader astray. It would be difficult, in view of the facts accumulated in Signor di Francia's study, to declare that the short-story writer was incapable of such a thing. But in this particular case Bandello appears to be innocent of wilful deception, as I shall show in this note.

[1] L. di Francia, 'Alla scoperta del vero Bandello,' *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, lxxviii (1921), pp. 290–324; lxxx (1922), pp. 1–94; lxxxi (1923), 1–75.
[2] Vol. lxxx, p. 67.

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Signor di Francia takes for granted that the words of Bandello in the dedication and at the end of the story[1] refer only to the *Trionfi* of Petrarch, and leaves out of account that the Sophonisba story also forms a very important episode of the *Africa*[2]. A comparison of the two texts fully confirms the view that it was to this work and not to the *Trionfi* that Bandello had recourse. As a matter of fact, he closely follows the fifth book of the *Africa*, beginning with the arrival of Masinissa at the palace of Syphax and narrating at length the king's first interview with Sophonisba, his growing love for the Carthaginian princess, his solemn promise never to surrender her to the Romans, his marriage, Scipio's discontent and the reproaches he addresses to the unhappy Masinissa, the terrible conflict in the heart of the youth, and the death of the queen. He omits the interview of Scipio with Syphax and Sophonisba's prophecy before her death, foreboding the misfortunes of Scipio and Masinissa, doubtless because he realized that these episodes are justified in an epic but of doubtful value in a short-story.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE.

FLAT RIVER, MO., U.S.A.

[1] 'Cotal fine adunque ebbe l' infelice amore del re Masinissa cotanto dal nostro divinissimo Petrarca lodato.'

[2] *Africa Francisci Petrarchae* nunc primum emendata, curante Francisco Corradini, Padova, 1874. A. F. von Schack, *Die Sophonisbeepisode aus Petrarcas Africa* (*Mosaik, Vermischte Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1891, pp. 234–266). W. P. Mustard, *American Journal of Philology*, XLII (1921), pp. 105 ff.

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REVIEWS.

Antike, Renaissance, und Puritanismus. Von WALTER F. SCHIRMER. München: Max Hueber. 1924. ix + 223 pp. 7 M. 50.

No one who has delved a little below the surface of the intellectual soil in the England of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will suppose that Dr Schirmer has attacked a simple problem, or wonder that a substantial volume, packed with thought and erudition, has been required for the exposition of its results. Some aspects of it, of course, are elementary and familiar enough. Puritanism and art, said Swinburne, have nothing to do with one another, and art was the most glorious product of both antiquity and the Renascence. Milton's intellectual history may be summarised, with rough accuracy, as a conflict between the antique and Puritanism, gradually resolved, with ever increasing decision, in favour of the latter. But even with Milton their relation is not merely conflict. His nature was too powerful and too massive to be always at war with itself. What we find—in *Comus*, *Lycidas*, *Paradise Lost*, *Samson*—is rather a succession of syntheses; compromises, if we will, but compromises which completely satisfy at the time both the Puritan and the artist. And with a man of Milton's clear judgment, that would not have been possible, had the two modes of thought been in reality without points of contact, without some, however exiguous, common ground. The case of Spenser is more elusive but quite as important. Spenser was not a Puritan, but the passion for beauty and the passion for righteousness found a synthesis in the *Faerie Queene* and the *Shepherdes Calendar* even more intimate and spontaneous than in Milton, who recognised the kinship of Spenser's 'wisdom' with his own. The whole English Renascence, compared with the Italian, is permeated by an ethical and religious seriousness which prepared the way for the more fanatical intensity of the Puritans. It is to the clear presentation of the subtle and fruitful interrelations of these two primarily antagonistic 'cultures' that Dr Schirmer has devoted his book. It is in this kind of procedure, as he justly says, that the value of such studies lies. 'A theme like the present remains barren so long as we confine ourselves to the antithetical poles: it yields abundant conclusions when we examine the crossing influences.' In Puritanism we have to do with a specifically English development of the Reformation, one which gave expression to many latent energies and aspirations of the national mind and character, and has never since ceased to run in our blood. It added nothing to the theology of Calvin, rather accepted it root and branch with uncompromising fervour; but it accentuated every point of dogma which sanctioned or consecrated the English instinct of independence, of republican freedom, of practical energy, of industry; somewhat as,

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two centuries later, Fichte's utterly different system of ideas, when steeped in the Calvinistic medium of Carlyle's mind, reappeared as his gospel of 'work.' E. Troeltsch, Max Weber, and others have discovered a still more intimate relation between Puritanism and British Capitalism. In his opening chapter Dr Schirmer analyses, with admirable precision, wealth of reading, and an objectivity only possible perhaps to a foreign student, this English phenomenon; tracing its affinities with mysticism as well as with 'business,' with the early Christians as well as with Calvin.

The ground being thus laid, Dr Schirmer proceeds to study the various aspects of the 'dilemma Antiquity, and Puritanism, and the various solutions, syntheses and ways out.' The treatment of classical mythology was a crucial case. Elizabethan Protestantism adopted the pagan gods as matter for literary allusion or ornament, with perfect unconcern. Shakespeare and Lyly are here typical. Even a devout Christian like Spenser could call Christ 'Pan,' as Dante had done before him. But Puritan preachers rose up in wrath to ask: 'Tell me, is Christ or Cupid lord? Doth God or Venus reign?' Milton's use of classical mythology is subjected to close and illuminating scrutiny, from the free use of the pagan pantheon in his Latin epistles to the distant and allusive treatment of pagan myths like those of Tantalus or the Phoenix which he wished, as a poet, to use, but was unwilling, as a Puritan, to recognise. The third chapter approaches the matter from the opposite side, giving a survey of the history of English humanism, in literature, education and criticism, its development into Puritanism at Cambridge, its conceptions of literature and poetry, and the remarkable double path by which these led on the one hand to the sustained attack upon the drama, and on the other to the neo-classicism of the following century.

The third chapter turns from the Renascence to Antiquity. Here, obviously, there is still less question of a simple antithesis. For we are confronted at once with two potent antique allies of Puritanism: the Stoic with his ascetic repudiations of 'pleasure,' and Plato, a more equivocal and compromising ally, with his idealist dismissal of the sense-world, his rejection of 'poets' from the ideal State, and, on the other hand, his transcendent homage to the anti-puritan idols of Beauty and Love. Harrison and others have traced the history of Platonism in English poetry, and Dr Schirmer naturally uses their material, but he sets it in the light of his special problem, showing, for instance, the different fortunes of the idea of Beauty in the Catholic mystics, in Spenser, Milton, and the Cambridge Platonists. Later chapters handle at large the relation of the stricter Puritans, from Calvin onwards, with classical literature, and with the contemporary drama, and the various attempts, sometimes pathetically ineffectual, to overcome the dilemma which poetry presented to Puritanism.

It will be seen that we consider Dr Schirmer's monograph a contribution of capital importance to the clear understanding of highly intricate currents in the history of the English mind. Dowden's *Anglican and Puritan* sketched the problem in outline in a very charming and

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brilliant way. But his biographical method did not permit the systematic survey under all its aspects, which Dr Schirmer has carried out. And since he wrote, the social doctrines, in particular, of Puritanism have been studied with extraordinary penetration in Troeltsch's great book, the results of which were available for his successor. And every one who remembers the difficulties and hardships under which scientific research is at present carried on in Germany (a volume required for the present study was to be found in one German university library only—Strassburg!), will not admire the less the qualities involved in the making of this massive and illuminating book.

C. H. Herford.
Manchester.

Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama. By H. Dugdale Sykes. London: H. Milford. 1924. 8vo. 231 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Six years ago the appearance of a small volume entitled *Sidelights on Shakespeare* (Shakespeare Head Press, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1919) established Mr Dugdale Sykes's reputation as a critic of Elizabethan authorship of what may be nicknamed the parallelographic school. The game of parallel drawing, which has an obvious and natural fascination for students of quick perception and retentive memory, has of course been played by many in the past—sometimes with disastrous results. It may be said at once that it has never been played with greater fineness of intuition or sobriety of judgment than by Mr Sykes, while few players have even approached him in these respects. Others may have been more widely read in the literature of the age, some have performed more astonishing feats of memory—one naturally thinks of the work of Mr Charles Crawford in this connexion—but the shrewdness with which Mr Sykes handles his evidence and the modesty with which he presents his case, give to his conclusions an appearance at least of cogency such as is rare in this class of work. Of course, half the battle lies in the selection and proper discrimination of the various parallels. These are of many different kinds. There is the use of unusual words or forms, or the use of common words or phrases in unusual senses or connexions, or merely with peculiar frequency; there are close verbal repetitions or parallels; there are the more subtle similarities of thought or turns of expression, the wider individualities of outlook; there are idiosyncrasies of construction, and even personalities of cadence. And these different varieties of parallels may point to quite different relations between the works in which they occur, or according to the particular author who may be supposed in question. It is a great part of Mr Sykes's merit that he realises this, and relies rather on the delicate moulds of expression than on more mechanical repetitions and similarities for the establishment of common authorship.

Mr Sykes's attributions are not always, or indeed generally, revolutionary. In his essays ascribing *Alphonsus Emperor of Germany* to Peele and identifying *Lust's Dominion* with *The Spanish Moors Tragedy*,

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he does no more than supply detailed and specific reasons in support of views that have been pretty generally accepted; in that on *The Queen* he marshals the textual evidence in favour of Ford's authorship, and this on general grounds it is extremely difficult to doubt. His results in these instances tend, therefore, to inspire confidence in his methods, and for my own part I have sufficient faith in his critical discernment to suppose that he is probably right in more debateable cases. At any rate there can be no question that Mr Sykes's work is of real value in its own particular field, and no one interested in the problems of Elizabethan dramatic authorship can afford to pass it by.

At the same time, without wishing to impugn the probable correctness of many of the results obtained by this method, I cannot help feeling in all work of this school that we are in general presented with a superstructure of which the foundation is absent. Parallels between different works are quoted to establish the relationship between them—usually that of common authorship. It is assumed that the presence of parallels is relevant to the particular relation postulated—usually that the other works of the author in question do, as a matter of fact, exhibit parallels of the same nature: and incidentally some evidence is sometimes given in support of this assumption. But it is incidental and often difficult to appraise. I do not say that the critic may not possess the necessary evidence, but he is apt to keep it up his sleeve. For instance Mr Sykes tells us that 'Day rarely repeats a phrase or allusion' and that 'although Middleton...is no more addicted to the repetition of sentiments and phrases of a striking kind than Day, when his plays are examined closely it will be found that he has a very distinct tendency to repeat turns of expression.' But all this needs making explicit. I should like to see a book in which a number of authors were individually subjected to a critical examination. Of each all the works best authenticated by external evidence should be taken and the parallels closely investigated. It should be shown exactly what sort of parallels are to be found, and how far they are to be found throughout. Also, to be satisfactory, such a work should attempt the much harder task of showing how far parallels are *not* found between the works of different authors. If that could be achieved on anything like a comprehensive scale we should begin to know with some sort of objective confidence what significance was to be allowed to the different sorts of parallel. At present our knowledge in this respect, though it may be valuable, is purely subjective. As it is, reading the work even of so sober a critic as Mr Sykes seems to me like gazing on a mountain landscape on a stormy day: here and there you can discern what is undoubtedly crag of rock or pinnacle of ice, but except for such rare glimpses there is no distinguishing snowy slope or darkling cliff from the fantastic masses of surging vapour.

And were such a foundation-work once seriously undertaken, I fancy the first thing to become apparent would be how very restricted is the basis of our knowledge of the work of some at least of the dramatists concerning whom the parallelographers speak with considerable confi-

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dence. Take for instance Kyd, whose hand has been traced in so many plays including *Hamlet*. His only acknowledged work is *Cornelia*, a translation. I should certainly not dispute his authorship of *The Spanish Tragedy*, which rests on Heywood's authority, but for no other ascription is there a vestige of external evidence. Of Marlowe, *Edward II* is the only play of which it can be said that external evidence gives him unequivocally the sole authorship. In other cases evidence is more ample but at the same time various questions arise which detract from its value as a basis of criticism. Peele is a case in point. Of this playwright we have *The Arraignment of Paris*, his on the excellent testimony of Nashe, *Edward I* and *David and Bethsabe* printed with his name, and *The Old Wives Tale* with his initials. Of these *The Arraignment*, much the earliest and much the best, differs widely from the others and is not much quarried by the parallel-hunters. The form in which *The Old Wives Tale* is preserved is so suspicious as to make it doubtful whether it can profitably be used as a witness to his style at all. *David and Bethsabe* is a carefully written and fairly well preserved play, but as shown by Mr Sykes (whose candour is one of his most engaging characteristics), its value as evidence is somewhat seriously impaired by dependence on Du Bartas. Or take another case. There is probably no play whose authorship is better attested than *Orlando Furioso*, ascribed in print to Greene probably within a few months of its composition. But what about the text that has come down to us? We know with an approach to certainty which only a rare accident affords, that considerable portions of the printed version have nothing whatever to do with Greene, and that of what remains a large part is so corrupted as to be useless as evidence of his manner. Of some 1500 lines of text perhaps not more than a third affords valid ground of comparison and the determination of the authenticity of any given passage is a matter of delicate critical inquiry. Truly the laying of the foundations for the parallelographer's edifice is likely to be no easy task.

Nor can the difficulties be evaded by the application of a progressive method. I can imagine a critic saying: True, Kyd is to me merely a label for the author of *The Spanish Tragedy*; but I then proceed to show that *Solyman and Perseda* is the work of the same hand, and from this wider basis of comparison I prove Kyd's authorship of *Arden of Feversham*, *King Leir*, the *Ur-Hamlet*, and what not. But granted that he can prove the presence of Kyd's hand in *Solyman*, how is he to prove Kyd's *sole* authorship? and, failing that, further extension becomes obviously illegitimate. That I am inventing no fanciful difficulty appears from the fact that Mr Sykes himself admits that he was prepared to assign the un-Shakespearian portions of *Timon* to Day until the appearance of an article by Mr W. Wells convinced him that a large part was Middleton's.

I do not propose to go in detail through Mr Sykes's collection of essays, which are generally excellent, but there are just a few remarks that I should like to make. The first study is of 'The Problem of *Timon of Athens*.' He finds the solution in a revision by Shakespeare of

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a play by Day and Middleton. In general the argument appears convincing, especially as to the part played by Shakespeare, though the solution is not quite complete, for Mr Sykes tells us nothing as to the relation of the work of Day and Middleton in the original piece, and this relation appears to be rather complicated. But the discussion is introduced by what seems to me a wholly erroneous argument. If, says Mr Sykes, we are to suppose that Shakespeare's was the prior hand and not that of a reviser, 'The portions of the text assigned to Shakespeare must constitute a play complete in itself, or at least the nucleus of a complete play.' This astonishing position has actually been maintained by some previous writers, as by Mr E. H. Wright, who supposed Shakespeare to have produced a play of inadequate length (some 1700 lines) which an inferior poet was then called upon to expand—a sufficiently improbable hypothesis. But the argument rests upon quite unfounded assumptions. True, one is inclined to think of Shakespeare as sitting down and writing a play straight ahead from beginning to end. But this is mere fancy. It is equally possible that he worked on a carefully prepared synopsis and filled in the scenes in any order that took his fancy. That must often have been the method used in collaboration, and we know that Chapman once wrote 'a tragedy of bengemens plotte,' i.e. on a sketch of Jonson's. If, working on such lines, Shakespeare left the play to be finished by another, there is obviously no reason why the portions from his pen should form even the 'nucleus of a complete play.'

It may be well also to remark that there is no trace of external evidence to connect Day, and very little to connect Middleton, with Shakespeare's company. This is not, in the present case, a serious objection, since the King's men might have come by an old play or draft originally prepared for some other company, but it is desirable to put in a warning that the neglect of biographical probabilities is a common failing of the parallelographers.

At the other end of Mr Sykes's volume is an interesting paper on 'Nathaniel Field's work in the "Beaumont and Fletcher" Plays' (he means 'Nathan Field'—Nathaniel was his brother, the printer), the main result of which is the ascription to Field instead of Beaumont of the Induction and the first two Triumphs of *Four Plays in One*. This carries with it *The Queen of Corinth*, III and IV, *The Knight of Malta*, I and V, and perhaps a few scenes elsewhere. It is impossible not to relish the ascription of the scene, than which Sir A. W. Ward could recall 'no nobler vindication of the authority of the moral law in the whole range of the Elizabethan drama,' to an actor who even among the motley crew of a Jacobean playhouse was singled out by gossip for dissolute intrigue—but possibly on this occasion his brother the bishop guided his pen.

Not the least interesting part of Mr Sykes's volume is the Appendix, in which he states shortly his conclusions respecting a number of vexed questions of authorship. It is a personal satisfaction to me that (like Mr A. M. Clark) he regards *Edward IV* as 'Undoubtedly by Heywood,' and the conclusion is important as connecting the author with the company of William, Earl of Derby. Heywood's hand is also found in *The Trial*

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of Chivalry, another Derby play, 'but it cannot be entirely his,' while (again in common with Mr Clark) Mr Sykes regards *Nobody and Somebody* as 'mainly Heywood's, but with suggestions of another hand.' The interest of this last ascription lies in the fact that (as Fleay long ago pointed out) it is the only play not admittedly by Heywood in which has been found his peculiar spelling of *ey* for *I* (i.e. aye).

This point affords me a take-off for a piece of propaganda. One might have thought that a critic interested primarily in questions of style and parallels could safely rely on the usual modernised texts of Elizabethan authors to give him all he needs. But in point of fact this has proved not to be the case. Mr Sykes's notes, as tricks of Middleton's style, *has* for *he has* and *'tas* for *it has*. But 'One cannot rely upon most modern editions of *Timon of Athens* to illustrate the use of this, for most modern editors silently alter the text, printing "he has" in full where the Folio reads "has".' And on the very next page he comes 'to a most remarkable piece of evidence confirming my conclusion that two hands were concerned in the original draft of *Timon*, evidence of a purely bibliographical kind which I did not discover until I examined a facsimile of the text of the Folio'—namely that one hand writes *Apemantus* and the other *Apermantus*. I have not the least doubt in my own mind that the value of Mr Sykes's studies would have been doubled had he been able to read all the works with which he was concerned in the original editions or exact reprints. It is time to recognise that an edited text—perhaps legitimate as an aid to aesthetic enjoyment—is from the point of view of every sort of critical investigation merely a text from which most of the relevant evidence has been carefully removed. To rely on it is like trying to solve an archaeological problem, not by the study of the finds *in situ*, but from neatly ticketed specimens in a museum.

There is one last feature of Mr Sykes's collection that should be mentioned. With a single exception the essays have already appeared in periodical form and they seem to be here reprinted without alteration, for each duly bears the date of its composition. The one not previously printed is 'Webster's *Appius and Virginia*: a Vindication.' But this is dated 1914, and consequently takes no notice of the article (*M.L.R.*, XVI. 1, 1921) in which Mr A. M. Clark supported the attribution to Heywood for which the name of Rupert Brooke won perhaps too hasty an acceptance. The essay (no. II) on Sam Rowley, one of the most valuable of the collection, was read in its present form before the Shakespeare Association in 1919 (written 1918, printed 1920). It has since been pointed out that it is almost inconceivable that the extant texts of *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, *Orlando Furioso*, and *The Taming of a Shrew*, and improbable that that of *Wily Beguiled*, should have had anything to do with the Admiral's men, the only company with which Rowley is known to have been connected, and the one to which Mr Sykes assigns them. I venture to think that Mr Sykes, intent on what one is sometimes inclined to think the rather unreal problem of 'authorship,' has in a measure missed the true significance of the extremely important textual facts he was the first to discover, and that

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he might have been better advised to have reconsidered the whole subject before republishing his essay.

While, then, I am genuinely impressed with the material which Mr Sykes's really brilliant qualities have enabled him to amass, I am more than ever persuaded of the danger of relying exclusively on any one approach, whether external or internal, to literary problems. There are too many instances before us where the neglect to take all available evidence into account has led otherwise able critics to butt bald-headed against a jagged wall of facts.

W. W. GREG.

LONDON.

Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court.... With Introduction and Notes by PERCY SIMPSON and C. F. BELL. Printed for the Walpole and Malone Societies. Oxford: University Press. 1924. 4to. 158 pp. With coloured frontispiece and 51 plates. £2. 2*s*.

In the presence of this noble quarto the scholar who has that dual personality which combines the bibliophile with the antiquary quickly experiences a sundering internal conflict: it is much too beautiful for working days. Absurd as is the reflection, the feeling somehow arises that, as a safeguard, the Walpole and Malone Societies would have been well advised in supplying with each copy of the book one of those glass-covered receptacles which have to be used in the British Museum by all transcribers of valuable manuscripts. For beyond all doubt the book will be much handled in the years to come. Not only does it materially advance the boundaries of knowledge but it suggests the lines on which all future masque investigators must proceed. Though the masque in its literary and historical aspects has been abundantly discussed much yet remains to be done. The *modus operandi* of Inigo Jones's scenic systems, how far they were derivative and how far original, is at present but a crudely-outlined chapter. If progress here has long languished it is because of the lack of convenient access to Jones's designs for scenery, costumes and frontispieces, the great majority of which have been reposing for generations in an out-of-the-way private collection. From this collection a representative selection of 83 designs has been made and excellently reproduced. Scarcely inferior in value to the worker is the accompanying descriptive catalogue of the entire, previously unsifted collection, an admirable piece of work notable at once for its scientific exactitude, for the knowledge brought to bear and the caution exercised in attempting identification of the uninscribed designs, and for the careful winnowing of the false from the true. In this last-mentioned respect Mr C. F. Bell has done the cause of truth material service in his appendix by revealing the blunders in ascription made by Sir Reginald Blomfield and myself, though personally I should have been better disposed to kiss the rod had he not somewhat over-reached himself (p. 158) in making me say (*The Elizabethan Playhouse and other Studies*, I, p. 106) what I did not say, and, viewing my former very limited

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acquaintance with Jones's designs, would not have dared to say. While on this score, I might perhaps be permitted to express some puzzlement as to why the early seventeenth-century etchings reproduced in the book from my old *Connoisseur* article in proof of Jones's indebtedness to Italian designers should be inscribed 'copyright of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire.'

Mr Percy Simpson adds to the value of the book by contributing a graceful introduction, though it is only too obvious that he has been seriously hampered by considerations of space. Now and again important phases of his subject have had to be abandoned almost as soon as they were broached. In his section on 'The Curtain and the Proscenium' one would have liked to have seen some mention of the little-known fact that some masques, notably *Tethys' Festival* (1611) and *Corona Minervæ* (1636) had two curtains, one in front of and entirely shrouding the frontispiece and one behind it obscuring the stage. The circumstance that this front curtain (of whose *modus operandi* we know nothing) remained undrawn until near the beginning of the performance reveals that the frontispiece was part of the show, symbolically an integrant of the masque with which it was associated, and therefore never an example of Inigo's 'twice conceived, thrice paid for imagery.'

Omissions, however, are venial: better such than misconceptions. In his section on '"Discovering" the Scene,' Mr Simpson advances a theory which seems to me highly calculated to mislead unless vigorously controverted. We are confidently told that 'the space below the stage' —meaning, as I take it, the stage front or what the old Italians called the *parapetto*—could be used for scenic purposes, that caverns, for example, were simulated there, a proof of which is to be found in Design No. 193, as made for *Coelum Britannicum*. It will not be difficult, I think, to convince most scholars who possess the faculty of visualization that such an arrangement was impossible. To begin with, to construct the stage front so that it would admit of any considerable scenic exposure would have been seriously to impair the stability of the stage. Moreover, it is necessary to recall the exact situation. Save in one or two instances late in the Caroline era the stage front was never more than six feet high, sometimes less. The bulk of the audience was seated at a considerable distance from the stage in a candle-lit hall with a wide space between. In these circumstances any scenic (i.e. pictorial) 'discovery' made at so low a level and within so necessarily restricted a space would have been wholly devoid of effect. One is fortified in the conclusion thus arrived at by finding that the evidence on which Mr Simpson relies is fallacious. He maintains that the means of showing the cavern below in *Coelum Britannicum* are indicated in Plate XXIII, a design for another scene in the masque in which the stage front, with a rusticated base presenting a double flight of central stairs, between which is a narrow doorway about five feet high, is sketched in. Apart from the fact that no material scenic exposure could have been made behind such a doorway, we have to take into consideration the particular use made of the cavern. We read in the masque that 'the under-part

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of the Rocke opens, and out of a Cave are seene to come the Masquers.' This settles the point. The masquers invariably made their first appearance on the stage (generally on a cloud or a hill), and afterwards made their way down to the dancing place in the hall by means of the proscenium steps. If in this case they entered below, why were the central steps provided?

For a repetition of this surmised lower cave effect we are directed to Plate XXVI, a design unascribable to any particular masque and one whose components could not possibly have been reproduced partly on the stage and partly below it. Think too of the difficulties of presenting the lofty spacious cavern or arch here depicted, with the prospect seen through it, by means of a scenic discovery on the hall level. A third item advanced is Design No. 228, Plate XXVII, where we have not only the difficulty of a similarly framed vista, but have to face the awkward circumstance that the cavern, if staged below, would be positioned in the extreme left-hand corner, thus complicating the normal difficulties of vision. Design No. 301, also pressed into service in this connexion by Mr Simpson, is wholly irrelevant. Here, as the surrounding clouds show, we have a descending-palace effect of an order highly *à la mode* in seventeenth-century Italy, and with musicians seated on a lower cloud. Nothing depicted could have been shown below stage level.

Not altogether futile, however, is Mr Simpson's reasoning. It serves to concentrate the investigator's attention on the doors and apertures so frequently to be observed in Inigo Jones's designs for stage bases, whether for masques or pastorals; and we have to ask ourselves, for what purpose were these provided? Precedent for their presence can, in a measure, be found in the Italian staging of his own, and of an earlier, day. One must recall that in Renaissance Italy the picture came before the frame, and that the first conception of the frontispiece was that of a city wall flanked on either side by a tower, with a painted base imitating brick or stone-work. (Remarkably enough, the frontispiece of *The Masque of Flowers* was a reversion to type.) Later on, when the towers were ousted by an elaborate, statue-adorned arch, the convention of the brick or stone-work *parapetto* still remained, and so late as 1638 we find Nicola Sabbattini still advocating its use. Now comes the vital point. In Italy half a century before Inigo Jones's time traces can be discovered of real or apparent apertures in the parapet but it cannot be determined whether these were made in anywise contributory to the entertainment or served any purpose, beyond ornament. My own impression is that they were superfluous. In two (only) of Serlio's stage designs[1], in both of which the necessity for a frontispiece is precluded, we find stairs at the base curiously associated with certain apertures. In his *Scena Comica* we see a low stage parapet of about four feet in height, painted in imitation of brick-work, and fronted by a double flight of central stairs. Recessed in an archway between the stairs is a sort of cellar opening and to the left and right of them is

[1] For reproductions see Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, IV, pp. 359 and 361.

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another. In his *Scena Tragica* we have a low front of stone-work with a flight of steps at either end and in the base of each flight a recessed opening. Why there should be three apertures in the one and only two in the other is somewhat puzzling, more especially as Serlio in his accompanying 'Trattato sopra le Scene' is mysteriously silent concerning them.

One notes also that at Lyons in 1548 (three years before Serlio wrote) a performance of *La Calandria* was given in a hall in honour of Henri II's visit, with scenery by Nannochio. The highly ornate frontispiece was embellished with figures of Samson and Hercules, and the base, besides being provided with stairs for the use of the dancers in the *intermedio*, had grilled apertures revealing fighting lions—doubtless apparent openings with painted figures[1]. Eighty years later the convention is to be found continuing. In Furtenbach's *Newes Itinerarium Italiae*, published at Ulm in 1627, at page 87, is given a cut of a Florentine stage scene in which the low base represents a wall with central stairs and otherwise set off by two openings and four iron rings.

Whatever his purpose in placing actual doors in the sill of his court stages, Jones apparently took the idea from Serlio. His earliest extant design showing the doors—that for *The Masque of Angurs* made in 1622 (No. 63)—has a curious correspondence with Serlio's *Scena Comica*, inasmuch as it presents no fewer than three doors, the central one arched and situated between a double flight of steps. It is noteworthy that this central door alone has two valves, as if admitting of ready access. But in no extant design is the three-door principle repeated, and it would appear that later, in devising both masque and pastoral stages, Jones limited himself to a single door. Even then he seems to have had no hard-and-fast system. If we take the precaution to contrast a pastoral design with a pastoral design, and thus avoid making the mistake of confusing masque methods with pastoral methods, we shall find that whereas in the design for the French Pastoral of 1626 (Plate X) the rusticated parapet has a fair-sized door in the base of the double flight of central stairs, nine years later, in *Florimene*, as shown in Plate XXVIII, the covered opening was barely large enough for a moderate-sized man to squeeze through. Evidently, however, this is not so much indicative of lack of system as of diversity of performance.

What purpose, then, did these doors serve? So far as the masques are concerned, there is one possible solution. It lies hidden in the distinction in status long made between the masquers and the antimasquers. While on the one hand the masquers were from first to last princes and nobles, on the other the antimasquers, except for a year or two at the close of the Caroline period when the influence of the French *ballet de cour* became apparent, were recruited from the ranks of the professional players and dancers. There is prime significance in the fact that the two groups never mingled. We know that the masquers

[1] Bapst, *Essai sur l'Histoire du Théâtre*, pp. 200–203; Albert Baur, *Maurice Scève et la Renaissance Lyonnaise* (Paris, 1906), p. 101.

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invariably appeared on the stage before approaching the dancing-place —the main, perhaps sole reason for the regular provision of proscenium steps; and it may be that the doors were chiefly provided for distinction's sake, so that the antimasquers might make rapid approach to the same place. It is sensible to conclude (as argued on p. 93 of the Catalogue) that the appearance of the magicians and the various 'entries' of the antimasque in *The Temple of Love* all took place below, though the identification there made of design No. 227 as a scene in that masque is seriously to be questioned. There is at any rate some slight evidence showing that some of the antimasquers made their appearance below. Beyond doubt, the dwarfish emissary from Hell in *Chloridia* (1631), who rode in on a curtal, attended by two lackeys, must have entered through a door in the stage sill. The book tells us that after dancing, the dwarf 'mounts his curtal and, with his lackeys, danceth forth as he came in'; and it is impossible that they could have danced out up a flight of stairs.

Whether in masque or pastoral, the door in the stage base had undoubtedly a secondary employment. It would have afforded ready means—possibly the only ready means—of access to the crowded hall when it was necessary for the attendants to come in to replenish the lights or perform other duties. Moreover, it might have proved serviceable to the musicians, who, although mostly playing in a box on one side of the auditorium, had occasionally to make their appearance on the stage.

Regarding Inigo Jones's appropriations from the Italians, it is curious that, although attention is drawn in the Catalogue to the fact that he drew on the design for the first *intermedio* in *Il Giudizio di Paride* for the wings in the first scene in *Coelum Britannicum* (No. 192), the much more important fact that inspiration for the transparent Palace in *Oberon* came from the same source, has been overlooked. So, too, though Jones's indebtedness to the view of the *Grotto di Vulcano* in *Le Nozze degli Dei* is pointed out (p. 125), we are not told that 'the sole heaven,' or triple-cloud effect which brought *Salmacida Spolia* to a close had its prototype in the 'Sesta Scena di tutto Cielo' of the same Florentine production.

Just here it is apposite, as well as essential, that attention should be drawn to the unfortunate misassignment of the valuable plan for an elaborate mechanical effect in *Salmacida Spolia*, conspicuously dated 'February 5, 1640' in Webb's handwriting, which has been reproduced on p. 129. It should have been remarked that since *Salmacida Spolia*, the last of the great Caroline masques, was produced on January 21, 1640, a plan bearing a later date could not have been made for the initial performance. But Mr Simpson and Mr Bell are apparently unaware that the masque was repeated at Shrovetide, a circumstance indicating that some slight alteration of the final mechanical effect was deemed requisite, necessitating a further plan. Moreover, an awkward blunder has been made in taking the plan as elucidating the *modus operandi* of the penultimate scenic feat, that of the opening of the great cloud to disclose the Queen, on which it has absolutely no bearing. What it really deals with is the final scene of 'the sole heaven,' otherwise the triple-cloud

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effect, the effect whose source of inspiration has just been pointed out. The slight variation between the description in the book and the details of the plan are to be accounted for by the alteration which necessitated the making of the plan.

It is curious that nowhere in the Catalogue do we find any reference to Sir Jeffrey Hudson's frequent appearance in the Caroline masques, though at least one of the reproduced costume designs, No. 87, was made for him. The book of *Chloridia* reveals that he acted the infernal dwarf in that (Jonson's last) masque and delivered a long speech. But caution must be exercised in assigning Jones's costume designs for dwarfs and pigmies, since, besides Hudson, Queen Henrietta had four or five other dwarfs in her retinue, and the whole of them seem to have danced in the unnamed printed Masque given at Richmond before the King and Queen on September 12, 1636.

Relative to what is said regarding the scenery for *The Triumphs of the Prince D'Amour* on page 101, the time is now ripe for revelation of the identity of the 'Mr Corseilles' to whom Sir Henry Herbert attributes it, seeing that all masque investigators confess their ignorance concerning him. In the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I, 1635*, at p. 592 is a list of foreigners resident in the parish of St Botolph's in which the name of James Corsellis occurs. Corsellis is described as a picture-drawer, and is further spoken of as a native of Antwerp, thirty years settled in England, and a married man with five English-born children.

Relative to the costume designs made for the Toothdrawer, Corncutter, Tinderbox-man and Mousetrap-maker in *Britannia Triumphans* in 1636, it seems worth while noting that all these characters figured in the antimasque of Bœotians in *Pan's Anniversary*, that Jonsonian masque of somewhat puzzling date which in all probability was given on January 17, 1620, and for which none of Jones's designs have come down to us (unless some of them repose in the unidentified lot). Here we seem to have arrived at a definite example of Inigo's 'twice conceived, thrice paid for imagery.'

In conclusion, may one venture to hope that the sale of this beautiful book may be commensurate with its merits, so that the Walpole and Malone Societies may be induced to do the cause of knowledge still further service by publishing a supplementary volume presenting not only the residue of Inigo Jones's designs but all the designs and plans of Jones's pupil, John Webb, which are associated with or have bearing upon Inigo's designs? Between the masque stage and the first picture stage of the public theatre there are missing links which only the designs of Webb can supply. Until they are made accessible we shall never know whence came those distinguishing characteristics of the Restoration Theatre, the proscenium doors and balconies.

W. J. Lawrence.

Dublin.

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The Roxburghshire Word-Book. By GEORGE WATSON. Cambridge: University Press. 1923. viii + 344 pp. 20*s*.

This book is all that it professes to be—in some respects it is rather more. It is, in the words of the sub-title, 'A record of the special vernacular of the county of Roxburgh,' i.e. it contains all that is believed to be specially distinctive in the vocabulary and in the pronunciation of the county. It represents a thorough and scientific examination of the literary as well as of the spoken speech. The bibliography on which the former is based is very full and dates from 1619 to 1922. The latter—the 'spoken' part—is due to the zealous and sympathetic investigation and co-operation of numerous helpers, representing the various districts into which for dialectal purposes the county is subdivided, North, South, West, and Central.

The dialect described is probably the most direct descendant of the Old Anglian speech, and its area includes not only Roxburghshire but also Eskdale and Annandale in Dumfriesshire, and Ettrick Forest—the county of Selkirk.

The word-list is of course the main feature of the book and will appeal to a large number of readers, not only to those who belong to the special dialect area, but also to the increasing number of people who take an interest in Scottish literature and in the preservation of the vernacular speech as the vehicle of that literature. The book ought to appeal to more than these. It ought to appeal very strongly to Scots writers, both of prose and verse, for such should be able to draw from the literary vocabulary as well as from their own local speech.

If literature is the criticism of life the book affords ample material for such a study. It reveals the existence of an extraordinary number of words descriptive of human beings, their personal appearance, and their traits of character—complimentary, and also to a somewhat surprising degree, disparaging. It is interesting, one might say, pleasing, to note that many of the latter class are now either obsolete or obsolescent. Does this suggest the growth in recent times of a kindlier feeling among people generally?

The treatment of meanings and usages is very complete and satisfying. A good example of this is found under the word 'deid' or 'deed.' The pronunciation is given phonetically, then follow three meanings as a noun. 1. Death: 'Hei hunger't his-sel ti deid.' 2. A cause of death: 'Ti be the deid of any one.' 3. A cause of some misdeed, fault, etc.: 'He was the deid o't.' Then follow eleven words compounded with 'deid' with their respective meanings: deid-chack, deid-chap, deid-hoose, deid-kist, deid-palsy, deid-rap, deid-ruckle, deid-spale, deid-thraw, deid-tick, deid-watch. As an adjective, examples are: 1. Dead. 2. *Deid man's bellows*, the bugle. 3. *Deid man's bells*, the foxglove. 4. *Deid man's hand*, the spotted palmate orchis. (Latin names for these also given.) As an adverb it means, To an advanced degree: 'Even the grannie's no deid-auld.'

The county is mainly pastoral and there is a wealth of words relating

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to farming operations, people's occupations, plants, insects, birds, animals and their behaviour, and to their numerous diseases, e.g. 'nacks' with an adjective 'nacky' or 'naukie': 'He wheezes like a naukie hen.' A 'Chowgaw' is a sheep whose bad teeth prevent proper mastication. 'Jummy' is also applied to sheep: 'The yowes (ewes) wer puir jummy craiturs.'

Games receive full attention: 'Guissie in the kirk.' The 'kirk' is a hole into which a boy endeavours to roll a ball or marble. A 'kemp' on the harvest-field was a competition to finish a particular 'rig' and reach the landin' or end of the furrow. This was in shearing. Changes in methods of work and modes of life generally lead to the disappearance of old words and customs. Many words once in daily use and known by all are now things of the past. This fact is proved by the numerous illustrative sentences given in the body of the book and by a perusal of the specimens of the vernacular given in Appendix I. These last are taken from Town Council records and from local prose and poetry from 1620 to the present day.

Attention is given to words of recent origin introduced into the manufacturing towns and great attention has been given to the infusion into current speech of words of gipsy origin. The gipsies of Kirk-Yetholm, a small village in the east of the county, long held themselves apart from the rest of the community. In recent times increasing intercourse with their neighbours has brought a considerable number of their words into more or less common use. These now make such an interesting feature in the vocabulary that the author has gathered them together in alphabetic order in a special appendix with a further list of Romany words that may be looked upon as knocking at the door for admission. Reference to the word-list shows that many of these are closely related to gipsy words in English and Spanish and in a few cases to German and Hungarian gipsy, while some of them find parallels in Hindi and Sanskrit. They are not without hints as to the character of the people from whom they have been borrowed. 'He's been chorin' a yarrie': 'He has been stealing an egg.' (Cf. Hindi *chor*, Sanskrit *cora*, a thief.) 'Let's hae a deek at him': 'Let us have a deliberate keek at him from some unobserved position.' (Cf. Hindi *dekh*, look!) 'A deek in the jaw' is a blow. 'Ee're a shan gadgee, no keepin' yer tryst last nicht': 'You're a fine fellow' (in depreciatory sense). 'A shan manishee' is a woman of bad behaviour. Cf. Sanskrit *mānushī*.

A notice of the book would be very incomplete without reference to the introduction. The author is a native of the district and used the dialect till he reached manhood. Since 1907 he has been engaged on the Oxford English Dictionary. He also shows himself a competent phonetician and he gives a remarkably full and scientific account of the characteristic sounds of the dialect, comparing them with the corresponding sounds of standard English. The sounds are discussed individually with their phonetic names and the symbols of the International Phonetic Association. The treatment is on very good lines corresponding to the method adopted in the transactions of the Scottish Dialects

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Committee. The author expresses his debt to Mr Grant, convener of that Committee, for much valuable advice in this part of the book. The whole book in fact so harmonises in plan with that Committee's publications that it is issued as a special number.

As regards pronunciation there are three main sub-dialects, those of Tweedside, Teviotdale, and Liddesdale. The first shows Lothian influence, and the last that of Dumfries and Cumberland. A few words are arranged in columns to facilitate comparison. The most distinctive characteristic of the second and third groups, the Central and the Southern, especially the Southern, is the breaking into a diphthong of the vowels 'ee' and 'oo' which usually become 'ey' and 'ow.' The elements of the diphthongs with numerous examples are described phonetically in Sections 66 and 68. 'Tea' becomes 'tey,' where 'ey' or 'ei' has practically the same sound as in Scotch 'gey'; 'coo' becomes 'cow' as in 'now,' 'you' becomes 'yow,' and 'doo' (pigeon) becomes 'dow.' The dialect is sometimes known as that of 'tey' and 'dow,' or 'mey' and 'yow.'

A word has sometimes, according to district and newer and older usages, several pronunciations. For example, 'daughter' may be heard as *dochter*, *dowter*, *dafter*, and also approximately as in standard English.

Another feature of some importance is the breaking of the vowel here described as mid-front-half-tense, whereby for instance 'ale' becomes 'yill': 'Hei's naither drunk nor yill-jawed.' Under this word reference is made to Section 24*c* of the Introduction where we find a longish list of words that have been similarly diphthongised, aik—yik (oak), ane—yin, acre—yicker, aiblins—yiblins, hame—hyim, hail (whole) —hyill: 'hyill waiter' = whole water (of heavy rain). 'Ettle at a silk goon an' ee'l yiblins get a sleeve.' Cross-references are made to Sections 37 and 40 where we learn more about the process and further get a hint how to interpret former spellings. The 'breaking' is indicated as early as 1627 by the local spelling *Eilrig* (Alerig), in 1701 by *Yealrig*, *Ealemure* (Alerig, Alemoor), also by *Yeal* (River Ale) in 1691. 'Ho' has sometimes a comparable break, e.g. horn—whurn, hope—whup (in place-names), hone—whun (stane), hoast (cough)—whust. (Contrast 'hoarse'—hyirse and hyirsh, also 'hairsh.')

The author appears to disagree with the late Sir James Murray who in his book on the same dialect, written 50 years ago, derives the Hawick rallying-cry 'Teeribus and Teeriodin' from 'Tyr hæbbe us' = Tyr and Odin protect us. The origin is here given as uncertain. Now 'Teer' would be the natural development from Tyr, and 'i' that of the vowel of 'hæb' under loss of stress. A quotation from Ruickbies' Poems (1815):

> Teerie buss and teerie heather,
> Aye the ewe lap o'er the heather,

shows an attempt to explain the 'bus' as a Scotch 'bus,' a bush. 'Teerie' unknown in meaning is allowed to stand unexplained. Do not the spelling and the pronunciation, and the still current, or at least recently current, pronunciations Wodensday, Thorsday, suggest the survival of

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the names of the old Norse deities long after their worship was forgotten? May the names not be a survival parallel with that noted by Carlyle in his 'Hero as Divinity': 'The Sea-tempest is the Jötun *Aegir*.....To this day, on the river Trent, the Nottingham bargemen, when the river is in a certain flooded state,.....cry out: "Have a care, there is the Eager coming"?'

To the scientific student of dialect and of language generally the Introduction with its numerous cross-references is of inestimable value as indicating the judgment of an expert on the processes by which the dialect has become what it is.

Perhaps the most disconcerting statement in the book is that 't' or 'tt' between vowels with l, r, or n in the following syllable has (in the towns) become a mere glottal catch as in battle, butter, etc., giving ba-l, bu-er, etc. Surely lovers of the vernacular must regret the appearance in a dialect whose sounds are admitted to be 'rather pleasant to the ear,' of what most people regard as an ugly sound. But the author makes no comment. His duty is to record the facts of speech as he finds them. And he has done this with such fullness, with such learning and such wisdom of interpretation as to deserve the admiration and the gratitude of all earnest students of the Scots tongue.

ROBERT JACKSON.

DUNDEE.

The Evolution of Arthurian Romance from the Beginning down to the Year 1300. By J. D. BRUCE. 2 vols. (*Hesperia*, Ergänzungsreihe VIII.) Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht; Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1923. 8vo. x + 495 and 444 pp. Each $3.25.

In this, the, unhappily, posthumous work of the late Professor Bruce, we have the long desired 'travail d'ensemble' on the Arthurian legend in its literary form. The two volumes, comprising upwards of 1000 pages, cover practically the whole ground, from the earliest traditions concerning Arthur to the complete cyclic development, which, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, issued in the composition of the great prose romances. The numerous episodic poems, which form, as it were, an outlying fringe to the main body of romance, are analysed, and a full bibliography including not merely the texts, but critical studies, articles, and reviews, is appended.

Unfortunately Professor Bruce died suddenly while the second volume was still in the press, and the manuscripts of the Index of subject matter, and the Index of critics, were still unrevised. The work was completed by Dr M. E. Speare, and the difficulties of the task no doubt account for the somewhat confused character of the very extensive bibliography, which apparently follows no well-devised scheme, the works are not given in alphabetical order, and it is extremely difficult to trace any desired entry. The whole book is a monument of painstaking erudition, and as a work of reference will be of permanent assistance to students.

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Its authoritative value is, however, marred by certain grave defects not surprising to those familiar with Professor Bruce's work; he was a far better scholar than he was a critic—the combination of the two is unfortunately not inevitable. A whole-hearted adherent of the Foersterian school, refusing to admit the existence of an Arthurian romantic literary tradition previous to Chrétien de Troyes, the trend of modern research left him, not merely unaffected, but actively hostile. He would have nothing to do with the school which saw the influence of early Celtic, notably Irish, mythic tradition in the Arthurian stories: the idea that the fascinating legend of the Holy Grail had its roots in the confused tradition of an early nature ritual, semi-pagan, semi-Christian, was to him anathema. His impatience with views other than his own, and unwillingness to examine the grounds upon which they were based, led him to make statements which were too often glaringly unjust to his opponents. Judging from his remarks on p. iv of the Preface to Vol. I, Professor Bruce was aware of this himself. It is quite certain that, had he lived, the publication of this book would have involved him in hot controversy in more than one quarter.

The late scholar was an uncompromising realist, for him only facts counted, and facts meant the extant texts. The relative date of the writers determined, in his view, the date of their material; that of two authors, the one later in date might have had at his disposal an earlier source, was a view not to be entertained for a moment. Our extant texts are, all of them, dependent the one upon the other, saving and excepting of course the poems of Chrétien de Troyes, who, in the view of this school, is self-dependent, and self-sufficing. The problems involved in conflicting versions of the same story are ignored, or brushed aside as mere caprices of the copyist. Where the writer is called upon to deal with a text at close quarters, as in the case of the *Mort Artu*, of which Professor Bruce had edited both the French and the English stanzaic (Harleian) versions, the existence of a lost source is, perforce, admitted; otherwise the influence of such lost sources on our extant Arthurian literature is either ignored or denied.

In the question of Grail origins, as suggested above, the writer adopts the, now practically discarded, theory of an orthodox Christian source, and works out his theory to a conclusion that, in the opinion of the present reviewer, should be sufficient to discredit such a solution for good and all. For Professor Bruce not merely is the Grail itself to be identified with the chalice of the Eucharist (the fact that Grail signifies Dish, and not Cup, is ignored) but the Fisher King is for him Christ Himself. What has become of the five Sacred Wounds, the object of veneration to the faithful, is not stated! Even more extraordinary is the identification of the mysterious father, and duplicate, of the Fisher King, only mentioned by Chrétien and Wolfram, with the Holy Ghost! This character is sustained in life by the Host, apparently carried to him in, or from, the Grail. Professor Bruce was, obviously, entirely unfamiliar with the structure of the liturgy, and the fact that the Byzantine form, which he considers is reproduced in the Grail procession, contains the

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Epiclēsis or Invocation of the Holy Ghost for the transmutation of the elements. How the character in question could be sustained in life by that of which He Himself was the quickening Power (Dominum vivificantem) is not easy to understand. (Vol. I, pp. 257–262.)

The view that the oldest form of the Grail story is that contained in the Wauchier continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*, and attributed by him to Bleheris, the Welshman, is decisively, and contemptuously, rejected. For Professor Bruce Bleheris is 'a hoax,' one of the many hypothetical sources invented by the ingenuity of mediaeval writers. (Vol. I, pp. 285 ff.) He does not face the fact that we have not *one*, but *four*, references to this personage—viz., Wauchier de Denain, Bleheris; the *Tristan* of Thomas, Bréri; the *Elucidation*, Master Blihis; while Giraldus Cambrensis refers to a certain Bledhericus, 'famosus ille fabulator,' who lived shortly before his time. If Bleheris be a hoax, it is at least strange that three separate and independent writers should all invent the same name for their fictitious source, and that that name should be identical with that of one who, upon independent and historical evidence, had really lived about that time, and enjoyed the reputation of a story-teller. When Professor Bruce cites M. Bédier as sharing his disbelief in the existence of Bleheris, he gravely misrepresents that distinguished scholar. M. Bédier's position is that, whether Bleheris actually lived or not, a point upon which he expresses no opinion, the writers of the day believed in his existence, and respected him as an authority. If there were no Bleheris, there was at least a Bleheris tradition. (Cf. *Tristan*, Vol. II, p. 98.) The fact is that if the existence of Bleheris be admitted, we have here the pre-Chrétien Arthurian romance, which Professor Foerster and his school strenuously deny.

It is amusing to find Professor Bruce, in his notice of this section of the *Perceval* continuations, emphasizing the superiority of the style and subject matter, but preferring to attribute the authorship of these fine and spirited stories, which he agrees with Dr Brugger contain some of the finest passages in Arthurian romance, to an unknown *pseudo*-Wauchier, rather than to one who enjoyed a recorded reputation—*famosus ille fabulator*. (Cf. Vol. I, p. 301.)

Nor is the author always exact in his statements, e.g., when dealing with the Grail adventure in *Diu Crône*, he entirely ignores the fact that Gawain pays not one, but two, visits to the castle. On the first occasion we are distinctly told that the Grail King is incapacitated by reason of old age: he apologizes to Gawain for his inability to rise from his couch. This is taken for granted on the second visit. Professor Bruce, ignoring the first (abortive) visit, and simply finding the statement that the King is seated on a couch, asserts that here the Grail King is not lame. (Vol. I, p. 348.)

There are many other instances of inaccuracy, such as the assertion that 'there are no knives among the Fescamp relics' (I, p. 328 n.). There are, of course, two, and in the very paragraph in which Professor Bruce makes this assertion, he refers to my discussion of the story in my *Legend of Sir Perceval*, Vol. I, where the Fescamp legend is given in detail, and

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the existence of the two knives, which I suggest to be the origin of the two knives in Wolfram's Grail procession, duly noted.

Nor can the author's views with regard to the relative position to be assigned to the prose romances be accepted: we have sound evidence to prove that the *Perlesvaus* was earlier, and not later, than the cyclic versions. But to adequately discuss a work of such volume and content would be impossible within the limits of an ordinary review. The main point to be placed on record is that while the book is a monument of patient research, and a mine of information as to the literature and criticism of the Arthurian cycle, it is so strongly coloured by the mental bias of the writer, and that bias was so decidedly against the results of later research, that it can only be used with extreme caution; it will be most useful as a work of reference, but it must not be quoted as an authority.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

LONDON.

Les Arts poétiques du XII^e^ et du XIII^e^ siècle. Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge. Par EDMOND FARAL. Paris: É. Champion. 1923. xvi + 384 pp. 42 fr.

In an earlier work M. Faral has described the French vernacular literature of the twelfth century as the outcrop of a rich subterranean deposit represented by the contemporary Latin literature. In this new book he brings up fresh treasures from underground, by rendering accessible to the student of literature some authoritative Latin treatises of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, on the art of writing, which help towards a view of the literature of the period as it strikes a contemporary. As M. Faral says, 'qui veut comprendre les caractères véritables de la Chanson de Roland ou du roman de Cligès, et en rendre compte conformément à la réalité, doit emprunter ses principes directeurs, non pas, comme on l'a trop fait, à des théoriciens modernes,... mais,...aux théories qui prévalaient pendant le XI^e^ et le XII^e^ siècle.'

The book comprises three parts. The first is entitled: 'Les divers arts poétiques. Leurs auteurs, leur histoire.' The authors here dealt with are the Frenchman, Matthew of Vendôme, the German Everard, and the three English scholars, Geoffrey of Vinsauf (whom M. Faral distinguishes from his homonym of Cumeselz), Gervaise of Melkley, and the prolific John of Garlandia. The chapter devoted to Geoffrey establishes a canon of his works and dates his *Poetica Nova* between 1208–13. To the list of those works usually attributed to John of Garlandia M. Faral adds two others, and confirms by fresh evidence the opinion of Habel that he is the author of the treatise entitled *Integumenta ovidiana*, which Gaston Paris was inclined to attribute to John Scot Erigena. It may be noted that John of Garlandia's *Epithalamicum beatae Mariae virginis* (unpublished, Brit. Mus. Cott. Claud. AX) does contain, as M. Faral suggests, examples of the colours of rhetoric. The poet introduces them in his tenth and last book, in order to do justice to his

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crowning theme of the Assumption. He vouches for them as his own and no borrowed adornments: 'Cornix furtivo ne sim nudata colore.'

The monumental 'arts poétiques' of these five writers, together with some lesser treatises and various works dealing with the figures of rhetoric, make up the 'corps de doctrine' presented by M. Faral to the modern reader. Some of this material has already been published, by Mari and others, but it is not easily accessible. The third part of the present work, giving text or summaries (or both) of the most important treatises, is therefore exceedingly useful. The *Ars Versificatoria* of Matthew of Vendôme, hitherto available only in a fragmentary form, is published *in extenso* from a MS. in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. The same MS. (No. 511) contains a *Documentum de arte versificandi* and a *Summa de coloribus rhetoricis* by Geoffrey of Vinsauf. The first of these is here published in full, and a summary of the second is given, accompanied by an extract. The *Ars versificaria* of Gervaise of Melkley, also in this MS., is summarised, and an incomplete poem on Piramus and Thisbe, frequently referred to in the *Ars*, is printed along with it. Everard's *Laborintus*, till now only to be found in Leyser's *Historia poetarum medii aevi*, is here printed from the MS. 18570 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The summary of John of Garlandia's *Poetica* will be found a useful guide to the treatise as published by Mari.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of M. Faral's book is the second part, entitled 'La Doctrine.' The exposition of the literary doctrines of the *Artes versificandi* is illuminated by the author's wide familiarity with medieval French literature, which he uses to illustrate their application in practice. Thus, for instance, the thirty odd figures of words exemplified in the Latin of the *Laborintus* are paralleled for the reader by corresponding examples from French authors, and the familiar trick of Chrétien de Troyes:

> Sa folie son savoir vaint.
> Folie? mais amors, ce cuit—

is shown to be an example of the figure termed 'correctio.' Again, Everard's example of 'ratiocinatio':

> Cur misit? quia tempus erat. Quare? quia laesit
> Hostis. Cur? homini perniciosus erat—

finds its counterpart in verses like:

> ...trop iert durement destroiz
> —Destroiz?—De quoi?—De plus qu'amer.
> Qu'amors ne doit nus ce clamer.
> —Amors?—Non voir.—Et quoi?—Outrage.

The pages in which M. Faral deals with the technique of the description are particularly interesting. The stereotyped portraits of hero, or heroine or villain, so tedious to the modern reader of medieval romances in their utter lack of individuality, are the work of authors who would have regarded any deviation from the accepted type as betraying ignorance of their craft. Profane and vulgar indeed the author who would name his heroine's eyes before disposing of her eyebrows, or praise her arms

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while her shoulders yet awaited their adjective, instead of observing the order taught by precept and example in the schools and treatises, an order which M. Faral traces back to a page of Sidonius Apollinarius, held up to imitators by Geoffrey of Vinsauf. Such utilisation of ancient models, of which M. Faral gives some interesting glimpses, especially in the chapter 'Les Sources de la Doctrine,' quickens the dry formulas of the *Artes versificandi* and lends them heightened interest. Not only do the 'artes' continue, often, it is true, in distorted or impoverished form, the rhetorical tradition of Cicero, Cornificius, Quintilian, Horace and lesser oracles, but they draw material from the oral instruction of the schools, at Orleans and elsewhere, where the works of the 'auctores' were the subject of minute textual study.

Puerile and superficial much of this rhetorical theory may be, but, if it had that important action upon contemporary literature which M. Faral claims for it, it has sufficient title to our interest. It may be objected that no direct utilisation of these 'arts poétiques' by vernacular writers is positively proved, and that an author whose work abounds in hyperboles, metonymies, synecdoches and the rest may very well be as ignorant of the labels to be attached to the specimens he has all unwittingly produced as was M. Jourdain of the theory of that prose which he so fluently practised. But the cumulative evidence of M. Faral's book is convincing witness to the existence of a body of aesthetic doctrine, the common heritage of the literary artists of that period, when literary craftsmanship was the object of as patient study, as elaborate consideration, as strict legislation, as it has ever been. Boileau, when he contemptuously dismissed 'l'art confus de nos vieux romanciers,' would have been surprised to learn that their art was governed by rules no less rigorous than his own, and that they knew the distinction of the 'style noble' as well as did he.

Les Arts poétiques is thus a work of much suggestiveness for the student, and opens up many attractive vistas for further research into the details of medieval literary technique. It is hardly necessary to add that it is written with the grace and distinction habitual to its author, who moves with deceptive ease among medieval pedantries, which might well prove dangerous to a less accomplished style.

CLAUDINE I. WILSON.

ENGLEFIELD GREEN.

Li Chantari di Lancellotto. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Glossary by E. T. GRIFFITHS. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1924. 203 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

The rich and fascinating field of Arthurian literature in Italy, of which various regions have been illuminated by the researches of Rajna, Parodi, and Ezio Levi, has been too much neglected by scholars elsewhere; and the altogether inadequate treatment of it in that otherwise admirable work, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, by the late J. D. Bruce, shows that even specialists in England and America may

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have vague and inaccurate notions of the significance and dates of the Italian texts. Mr Griffiths has accomplished a welcome and useful piece of work. The *Lancellotto*, or *Struzione della Tavola Ritonda* (to give it its second title), is an excellent example of the *cantari*, the popular narrative poems in 'ottava rima' sung or recited to the people in the squares of Italian cities, of which the golden age runs from the middle of the fourteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century, and it is at the same time one of the more important Italian contributions to the literature of the Arthurian legend.

Broadly speaking, the poem—which probably dates from the last quarter of the fourteenth century—covers approximately the same ground as the Old French *Mort Artu*, the Middle-English stanzaic *Morte Arthur*, and books XVIII, XX, and XXI of Malory, while differing in various respects from these as from the Italian prose versions. In his careful analysis of the contents and relation to possible sources (the most valuable part of the introduction), Mr Griffiths argues that it rests ultimately upon a French prose original, but represents a redaction which, though connected with the Vulgate tradition, has preserved many primitive features of the story. This is significant, for scholars have come to somewhat analogous conclusions with respect to other Arthurian texts in Italian; notably the *Tristano Riccardiano* and *Carduino*. One important point is that Mordred in *Lancellotto* is still merely Arthur's nephew, and there is no allusion to the later tradition of his incestuous birth.

The poem has been twice previously edited, in neither case satisfactorily. Working directly upon the manuscript in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Mr Griffiths has given us an immeasurably better text than his predecessors; but it is somewhat disconcerting to find an editor who is presumably conversant with Italian libraries speaking of 'the Pluteus collection' (p. 11). This volume must be taken as a contribution to the comparative study of the Arthurian legend, not to that of philology; in his remarks on the language of the poem Mr Griffiths seems hampered by a somewhat limited knowledge of the linguistic questions presented by early Italian texts, and he would have done better to omit this section of the introduction altogether. On the other hand, his notes on names and allusions are generally good and sometimes illuminating. In the note on Dodinel (p. 185), the reader might have been reminded of his part in *Carduino*—perhaps replacing an original Pellenore—as the murdered father of the hero. No elucidation is offered of the account of the burial of Lancelot at Joyous Garde, though these two stanzas (VII, 47, 48, lines 369 et seq.) are unintelligible as they stand and the text is apparently corrupt:

E ssoppelliro messer Lancelotto.
In un sepolcro a Llancelotto allato
eravi quello prenza Galeotto;
che già al modo come ciò fu fatto
in questo mio cantar non ne fo motto,
se non che m' udirete in alchun atto,

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che di metallo tre bele fighure
eran di sopra alle tre sepolture.
Quella di Galeotto i' mezo stava,
e Lancelotto e 'l prenza eran dal lato...

Prof. Bruce—who used the bad edition of Walter de Gray Birch—observed (*Romanic Review*, IV, p. 446): 'The Italian poet was evidently puzzled by the similarity of the names of Galahot (Lancelot's friend) and Galahad (Lancelot's son), and so he remarks: *Eravi quel prenza Galeotto*'; but he leaves the matter there. We do occasionally find a confusion in Italian (as in English) between Galehaut (Galeotto) and Galahad (Galasso, Galeasso), the latter being also called 'Galeotto' by Boccaccio in the *Amorosa Visione* and elsewhere in the present poem (IV, 74) 'Galeatto.' I would suggest that the 'Llancelotto' of line 370, which is an obvious repetition, has replaced an original 'Galeatto,' and would read:

E ssoppelliro messer Lancelotto
in un sepolcro a Galeatto allato.
Eravi quello prenza Galeotto;

similarly correcting the Galeotto of line 377 to Galeatto:

Quella di Galeatto i' mezo stava.

Alternatively, if we take the 'Galeatto' of IV, 74 as caused by the exigencies of rhyme, and suppose that (like Boccaccio) the poet called Galahad 'Galeotto,' we might read 'Galeotto' (Galehaut) in lines 370 and 377, and refer 'quello prenza Galeotto' and the 'prenza' of line 378 to Galahad; though it is difficult to identify the 'prenza' with any other than the 'haut prince,' the 'sires des Lontaines Illes.' In either case, this emendation makes the three tombs clear. The poet (or his source) was misled by the famous inscription on the tomb in the French romance ('chi gist Galehos, li sires des Lontaines Illes et auoec lui si gist Lanselos del Lac, ki fu li miudres cheualiers ki onkes entrast el roiame de Logres, fors seulement Galaas, sen fil,' *Mort Artu*, ed. Bruce, p. 262), and supposed that Galahad, as well as his father and Galehaut, was buried at Joyous Garde.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Le Opere di Dante Alighieri. A cura del Dr E. MOORE, nuovamente rivedute nel testo dal Dr PAGET TOYNBEE. 4th edition. Oxford: University Press. 1924. 8vo. vii + 490 pp. 8*s.* 6*d.*

The fourth edition of the Oxford Dante is so great an achievement that only Dr Toynbee could have carried it out successfully. A revision of the third edition had become necessary owing to the considerable changes which had been made in the course of years in the accepted text of Dante's works, and principally on account of the appearance of the *editio critica minor* published by the Società Dantesca Italiana in 1921 (*Opere di Dante*). By a stroke of almost uncanny ingenuity Dr Toynbee has been able to reconcile what seemed irreconcilable; he has in fact

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been able to rearrange the *Rime*, swelling their number from 92 to 119, and to insert a number of passages in the *Convivio*, and yet to maintain the numeration of pages and lines so that this fourth edition can still be used in connection with such indispensable works of reference as his own *Dante Dictionaries* and the American *Concordances* which were based on the pagination of the previous editions. The Italian editors of the *Opere di Dante* seem to have made little of the comfort of students who are compelled, when using that edition, to consult those works of reference by a complicated process of double decoding. By departing from the mechanical numeration of lines in the prose works they added to their perversity, and thus Dr Toynbee's solution of his typographical difficulty is most welcome; the more so, I should say, because it treats the rigid self-assurance of arithmetic in an off-handed manner well becoming to men of letters.

A reviewer must needs show his appreciation of a fine piece of scholarly work by emphasising some minute points of doubt or dissent, for to express his own admiration would almost be as presumptuous as it is superfluous. In such circumstances it is a relief to find that even Dr Toynbee may not have been completely successful in overcoming typographic difficulties. His defence (*Times Literary Supplement*, Jan. 1, 1925, p. 9) for retaining the title *De Monarchia*, and including among the *ballate* the stanza beginning 'Madonna, quel signor che voi portate' (p. 166), is in itself unanswerable, but one can scarcely refrain from regretting that textual accuracy, in a work of such merit, should have been deemed subservient to considerations of typographical convenience and economy.

For the *Commedia* Dr Toynbee in general has followed the 'testo critico' in *Opere di Dante*, but occasionally he has departed from it. He retains, e.g., 'se' as a conjunction in *Inf.* x, 76, reads 'spregiando natura' in *Inf.* xi, 48, 'ammenda' in *Purg.* xx, 67, 'sicura' in *Purg.* vi, 111, 'salse' in *Par.* xi, 72, etc. However well known, these are minutiae after all, the importance of which has been magnified, perhaps unduly, by scholars who are attracted by such difficulties in the way that people of leisure may be attracted by acrostics or cross puzzles. Each editor must needs face them, but the merit of his work does not rest essentially with the nicety of his decision on such points, unless his decision is based on some stated principle or on a personal evaluation of the MS. tradition. In the present instance students of Dante will wish to look up their pet crux by themselves, and will find ample reason to admire Dr Toynbee's critical judgment; they would, on the contrary, have no interest in reading the opinion of the present reviewer. There are other issues of more general interest to which I would rather call attention.

The main difficulty which is felt at present in discussing any point about the text of the *Commedia* lies in the lack of any edition provided with a critical apparatus. Vandelli, who has been at work for many a year in this field, has put his slowly crystallising readings before the public by degrees: first in Alinari's and the revised Scartazzini editions

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and later in the *Opere di Dante*, but, apart from some discussion of particular points in a few articles in *Studi danteschi*, he naturally has deferred a full justification of his text until the far off day on which the *editio critica maior* will at last be published. The war was partly responsible also for this delay, but, whatever its cause, there is little doubt that it is an evil; for any discussion for the time being is rendered useless, as one cannot feel certain about the reasons on which Vandelli's, and now also Dr Toynbee's readings are based. One would be forced to argue on the basis of personal investigations, however limited in scope, on Dr Moore's collations, on the four hundred passages chosen by Barbi, and perhaps on the introductions by Rocca and Bertoni to the photographic reproductions of the Trivulziano and Landiano MSS. respectively, and on Casella's excellent essay in *Studi danteschi*, VIII. But Rocca dealt with little more than a particular point, and Casella and Bertoni have reached widely differing conclusions about the probable history of the text. Vandelli and Bertoni maintain that no satisfactory 'albero genealogico' of the five or six hundred MSS. will ever be possible, Casella is more hopeful and urges the acceptance of something more than a working hypothesis. Who is right? Dr Toynbee has refrained from adopting the archaic spellings from Vandelli, just as he has slightly modernised Barbi's spellings in the *Vita nuova*, and Parodi and Pellegrini's in the *Convivio*. This appears to me to be a matter of comparatively little importance in the prose works, but of some consequence in poems.

Since Vico's short essay it has often been urged, and I think rightly, that Dante primarily is a poet, and it is clear from many indications, though any proof seems superfluous (but cf. Vandelli, *Note sul testo della Commedia*, in *Studi danteschi*, VI, pp. 45 ff.), that he had very decided preferences for certain forms, and therefore sounds, in fact that his rhythmic sense was as delicate as one could possibly imagine it to have been; thus no effort seems excessive which tends to bring back to us the sounds and rhythms which Dante created. On this subject nothing has been written recently which is more telling and illuminating than Casella's article (*Studi danteschi*, VIII, pp. 28–85), and the general trend of Zonta's essay (*La lirica di Dante*, in Suppl. 19–20, *Giorn. storico*). The former article is further illustrated by Casella's critical text (published by Zanichelli, Bologna, 1924). It is clear from these acute investigations that pauses in the rhythm had a definite aesthetic value for Dante, and that every effort should be made to restore such pauses due to the separate pronunciation of vowels in diphthongs or to hiatus caused by the meeting of vowels which the rhythm does not allow to fuse by elision. Since Petrarch set an example, Italian poets have not been wont to take such liberties with the technique of versification as Dante constantly, if less frequently than his contemporaries, permitted himself. It is obvious, on the other hand, that copyists, who penned their MSS. when the principles of versification had become more rigidly standardised, tended to emendate 'irregular' passages, and in the course of their conscious and unconscious efforts

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multiplied such rhythmical 'paddings' as 'questo' for 'esto,' 'ed' or 'et' for 'e,' 'donde' for 'onde,' and inserted others of a less simple description. There have been editors during the nineteenth century who easily outdid early scribes at this game.

Once this fact is established, there follows that the question of spelling in editing the *Commedia* far transcends the boundaries of the pedantic reproduction of the archaic transcription of sounds, and becomes a question of rhythm, music and style. A few examples will suffice to show why I think that perhaps Dr Toynbee might have further improved his text by accepting some of the readings of the *testo critico* which he probably eschewed either on account of the apparent irregularities of rhythm or in obedience to tradition. (I shall indicate with T the text under review, with V Vandelli's, and with C Casella's texts.)

In *Purg.* II, 33:

che l' ali sue, tra liti sì lontani (TV),

the 'sì' is an evident padding and should be excised, the line gaining in rhythmic value by pronouncing 'sue' as a dissyllable; here also V, but not C, retains the 'sí' which MSS. seem not to warrant.

Inf. XIV, 32:

D' India vide sopra lo suo stuolo (T).
d' Indïa vide sopra 'l sŭo stuolo (VC),

where insistence on 'sŭo' is rendered even more significant by the rhythmic stress.

Inf. XXXIII, 113:

Sì ch' io sfoghi il dolor che il cor m' impregna (T).
sí ch' ïo sfoghi 'l duol che il cor m' impregna (VC).

Inf. XIV, 105:

E Roma guarda sì come suo speglio (T).
e Roma guarda come sŭo speglio (VC).

The difference seems but slight to the eye, but one only needs to read aloud the following to realise the different value of an avoided elision and of the separate pronunciation of two vowels:

Purg. IV, 58:

Ben s' avvide il poeta che io stava (T).
Ben s' avvide il poeta ch' ïo stava (VC).

Dr Toynbee, however, allows such abnormalities to stand in many passages: e.g. *Par.* V, 85, 'com' ïo'; *Par.* XXIV, 54, 'perch' ïo'; *Par.* XXXI, 53, 'mïo,' etc.

And here are now a few examples of lines which seem to gain in rhythmic power and significance by allowing another irregularity to exist as seems to be suggested by the MSS., the irregularity being the avoidance of the normal elision:

Inf. X, 119:

Quà dentro è lo secondo Federico (T).
Qua dentro | è 'l secondo Federico (VC).

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Purg. XVIII, 78:

Fatta com' un secchione che tutto arda (T).
fatta com' un secchion che tutto | arda (VC).

Par. IV, 26:

Pontano egualemente; e però pria (T).
pontano | igualmente, e però pria (VC).

Inf. XXV, 85:

E quella parte, donde prima è preso (T).
e quella parte | onde prima è preso (VC).

Par. XVI, 139:

Era onorata ed essa e suoi consorti (T).
era onorata, | essa e suoi consorti (VC).

Such cases are fairly frequent, as may be realised, seeing that the following occur in the first four cantos: *Inf.* I, 130; II, 3; III, 22, 31, 43, 52, 120; IV, 103. And these apparent irregularities often occur also in Dr Toynbee's text: e.g. *Par.* XXVII, 127, 'Fede | ed'; *Inf.* XXIII, 67, 'o | in eterno'; *Inf.* XXIII, 99, 'pena | è'; *Inf.* XXVI, 29, 'là | intra Urbino'; *Par.* XIII, 106, 'se | al'; etc.

There are other significant points in archaic spelling, such as the simplification of certain diphthongs in rhyme, the uncertainty about the spelling of 'li' and 'gli' which must have sounded then, as it does now whatever its transcription, as 'gli' before vowels and certain consonants, and 'li' in all other cases despite the inability of Italian grammarians to make this point clear, and a few others. The following are misprints which have survived from the previous edition and should disappear from a future one, as words cannot be thus divided in Italian: *Inf.* III, 58, 'riconosci-uto'; *Inf.* X, 41, 'sdeg-noso'; *Inf.* XXII, 111, 'tris-tizia'; *Inf.* XXVIII, 109, 'schi-atta < OHG. slahta'; *Inf.* XXXIV, 29, 'ghi-accia' < glacies; and also perhaps *Purg.* II, 39, 'sos-tenne'; *Purg.* V, 125, 'sos-pinse'; *Purg.* VIII, 132, 'dis-pregia'; *Purg.* XXXIII, 123, 'nas-cose'; *Conv.* I, ix, 14, 'av-rebbono'; *Conv.* I, xi, 43, 'mes-tiere'; *Conv.* II, i, 55, 'litter-ale'; and a very few more of the same kind.

The text of the *Vita nuova* calls for no special remarks, being based as a rule upon Barbi's critical edition; the same may be said of the text of the *Rime*, the arrangement of which is Barbi's apart from the changes which were rendered necessary in order not to invalidate the usefulness of the principal books of reference. The improvement on the previous edition is in this section very great. One may doubt whether all Barbi's conclusions are as definite as his authoritativeness would seem to make them, but his articles and his *Studi sul canzoniere* (Firenze, Sansoni, 1915) are still insufficient to give a complete critical basis of his text, and I know of no one, if it were not Dr Gardner, who could be justified by personal investigations in dissenting from Dr Toynbee.

No amount of ingenuity will produce a really satisfactory text of

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the *Convivio*, as long as a MS. is not found belonging to a different group than the thirty-nine MSS. which are known at present. Parodi and Pellegrini did a good deal to improve the text in *Opere di Dante* as compared with previous editions, and, failing the assistance of reliable MSS., they felt bound to make way for conjectural emendations. Dr Toynbee has been chary in following them on this path, but he has been ready to adopt their readings, and he seems thus to have removed from the *Oxford Dante* all traces of its being partially based upon the indifferent MS. given by Dr Moore to the Bodleian Library. If space were available, it would be of profit as well as interest to note the subtle nicety of judgment which Dr Toynbee has evinced in threading his path amid equally attractive or equally unsatisfying suggestions. He has often followed Parodi and Pellegrini's text, but he has parted company with them in many passages where he has preferred indicating a lacuna to venturing upon a guess (cf. e.g. I, vii, 59; I, xii, 89; I, xiii, 22; II, i, 19). He has had the help in this section of Dr Moore's *Textual Criticism of the Convivio* (*Studies in Dante*, vol. IV), but the decision has been his own; and one would feel inclined to think that he has been right in keeping 'Santo Re' (I, vi, 25), 'comente' (II, ii, 37) and thus avoiding the strange 'temendo'; one would however welcome his reasons for retaining 'secondo' (I, xiii, 25) and 'condizioni' (II, xvi, 30), which seem to make no sense.

The text of the Latin works is in a far better condition, including, I should say, also the *Monarchia*, the few extant MSS. of which are all dependent on a rather unsatisfactory copy. The alterations, as compared with the text of the third edition, are neither as many nor as material as the changes in the text of the *Convivio*. Most of them are based on Rostagno's readings in *Opere di Dante*, and are evident improvements (e.g. II, i, 55; II, x, 12; III, iii, 6; III, iv, 14; III, iv, 32; III, v, 20; III, vii, 11; III, viii, 42). Dr Toynbee shows his usual scholarly caution in bracketing conjectural emendations whether Rostagno's, as in III, v, 151, and III, vi, 15, or his own, and that a felicitous one, in I, i, 20. I may perhaps be pardoned for still disagreeing with the excision of the incidental sentence of the MSS. in I, xii, 44. It is no doubt better to omit the sentence entirely than to have recourse to the compromise which Witte suggested to Dr Moore, but, for reasons that I have stated elsewhere, I persist in considering this excision unjustified.

The text of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* has been improved a good deal and Dr Toynbee is entitled to much credit for his share in this progress. Several of Rajna's conjectural emendations have been corroborated since the publication of his *editio critica* by the evidence of the MS. discovered by Bertalot, and Dr Toynbee has not only made use of that MS., but has further improved his text by bringing to bear upon it the test of the *cursus*. His use of a tool, so perilous in less skilful hands, has been masterly, and it is partly due to it that one finds in the work under review such emendations as are included, among others of a different origin, in the following list of examples: I, i, 6, '[con] nitantur'; I, i, 22, 'qua'; I, iv, 4, 'et hinc'; I, ix, 91, 'confirmantur'; I, xi, 8,

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'existimant'; I, xii, 28, 'animi Latinorum'; I, xii, 33, 'vocetur' instead of 'vocaretur'; I, xiii, 41, 'et pensemus'; I, xiv, 25, 'auctorat' from a MS. reading 'doctor'; II, iv, 20, 'rethorica, musicaque composita'; II, iv, 48, 'oportet nos'; II, iv, 69, 'hanc accipere'.

There was little room for improvement in the text of the *Eclogae* and the *Quaestio*; the latter is now provided with a sub-title which was probably Dante's original inscription; and the text of the *Epistolae* had been so carefully prepared by Dr Toynbee for his critical edition (1920) that it could not materially be altered. In some passages he has adopted the reading suggested by Pistelli in the *Opere di Dante*, notably in the epistle to Cangrande (e.g. 24, 447–448), but in several other instances Dr Toynbee has retained his own reading, and this is particularly welcome in *Ep.* IX, 2, ll. 13–14, and IX, 4, l. 51.

English scholarship owes to Dr Toynbee the credit of having produced a complete edition of Dante's works as good as and more useful than any other in existence.

C. FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

The Genius of Spain and other Essays. By SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1923. 8vo. 164 pp. 10*s.*

La Comedia Espagnole du XVII^e siècle. Leçon d'ouverture. Par A. MOREL-FATIO. Deuxième édition revue. Paris: É. Champion. 1923. 8vo. 71 pp. 3 fr. 50.

Both these works deal with the qualities of the Castilian mind: they differ in subject-matter, method and conclusion. Mr Madariaga studies six novelist-essayists of the present day, M. Morel-Fatio discusses the *Comedia* in the seventeenth century. Mr Madariaga is impressionistic, M. Morel-Fatio documented. Mr Madariaga opens and closes in enthusiastic approval, M. Morel-Fatio pronounces a reasoned censure.

Mr Madariaga finds the 'genius of Spain,' the qualities that go to form *españolismo*, in Ramón Pérez de Ayala, Miguel de Unamuno, Pío Baroja, Don Ramón María del Valle Inclán, 'Azorín' and Gabriel Miró, some of whom belong to the 'generation of 1898,' while others are independent. He names, but has not discussed, Maeztu, Ortega Gasset; Vicente Blasco Ibáñez he, like all Spaniards, considers to be cosmopolitan. The present situation of Spanish letters rests on Benito Pérez Galdós, Giner de los Ríos, and Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo; the first enjoys an essay, the second a biographical note, and from the difficult task of estimating the third Mr Madariaga prudently turns aside. Behind the three precursors he sees the 'Genius of Spain' and the 'Character of Spanish Contemporary Literature.'

It is not easy to offer an account to this journal of a work which advances few facts, has no apparatus, and claims no formal sufficiency. The selection of names excludes many novelists and essayists, all the poets, the dramatists, the critics, and the scholars, as well as, among the

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precursors, such names as Ganivet, Costa, and Rubén Darío. It is not that they fail to show the quality of *españolismo*, but that the virtue of the studies lies, not in the selection of subjects, but in the interpretation. As being directed towards contemporaries, this, too, is exempt from foreign criticism, belonging rather to opinion than to demonstrable fact. It remains for us to be grateful to Mr Madariaga for his impressions. Few of those whom he studies are easy to approach with an English mind, though Baroja may be an enthusiasm among the half-baked. He writes with distinction and penetration, many of his paragraphs are happily conceived and executed, and in employing the English tongue he has given such hostages to fortune as few of us might care to reciprocate. He has professional access to the secret places of Spanish intellectual life, and more than once his prose covers the gossip of the clubs. As himself one of the 'generation of 1898,' his criticism has, apart from its truth, a certain documentary value. He writes and speaks with a full flood of enthusiasm, which he is able to convey to others, and is almost an ideal lecturer. He is an inspiring guide, but a puzzling master, for his writings show the defects of the romantic style of criticism. They are bound by sentiment rather than logic, and are liable to the sophism, the fallacy and the half-truth. They are at the mercy of their initial momentum, and they ride some notions terribly hard. They are not documented, for the examples with which Mr Madariaga supports his opinions are the ornament and illustration rather than the basis of judgment. They abound in partially defined concepts, such as 'genius,' 'people,' 'aesthetic,' 'philosophy,' 'psychology,' 'plastic,' 'art,' 'life,' 'man,' and in their skittishness are occasionally more amusing than instructive. The article on Galdós reads like an obituary notice, and obeys the precept *De mortuis*; the absence of shading makes the portrait indistinct. The essay on the 'Genius of Spain,' which starts by claiming for the Castilian tongue the combined advantages of German, English and French, parades the virtues of *españolismo*, but, when his eye is turned on 'Spanish Contemporary Literature,' Mr Madariaga sees its defects: in neither case is there an attempt at a balanced judgment. The writer proposes to call Spanish literature 'homocentric' (in the sense of 'man-centred'—a piece of dog-Latinity which we hope both countries will withstand), defining Spanish 'man' as the Don Juanesque animal, limited to a particular glebe, time, and society, and obedient to the primitive passions. But as such a 'man' is not necessarily more Man than one qualified by science, society or philosophy, it is possible that not everybody will submit to the claim that Spanish art is quintessential art (p. 20). Withdrawing from things of the mind, it is possible that Spanish genius may have concentrated on 'man'; this would lead to narrowness, but does it justify the proposition on p. 24: 'Measured in area, the Spanish genius is poor. Measured in *depth* it is rich'? Is it 'depth,' for instance, that marks off Lope de Vega from Milton or Machiavelli? The romantic distinction between the 'genius' of conception and the 'talent' of execution leads, in Mr Madariaga's thought, to a dangerous, but characteristically Spanish, contempt for form, so

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that when he says (p. 56): 'Galdós would not be a Spanish creative genius if he had taken the trouble to write well,' we find him accenting not only the word 'Spanish' ('no great Spaniard ever did'), but also 'creative genius' ('this unfortunate influence of literary preconceptions over style'). The word 'spiritual' seems to have an unfamiliar extension in these essays: one might understand 'spiritual realism,' but hardly 'spiritual skeletons' (p. 106). With regard to facts: Galdós was born in 1843, as stated on his birthplace and as Professor S. G. Morley has shown, not in 1845, an error that originated in the article by 'Clarín.' The philology on p. 129 and the phonetics on p. 149 are unhappy. It is far from certain that Galicia (Καλλαϊκοί) and Portugal (Portus Cale) have any relation to Gaul, Wales or Walloon, and it is certain that Portuguese nasals are different in structure and history from the French. Catalan *seny* is pronounced [seɲ], not *seyn*.

The essay, now classic, which M. Morel-Fatio has reprinted, contrives by means of ingenious observations, not in our own case wholly unsuspect, to leave France and Spain alone among modern European nations as possessing 'un théâtre.' It then deduces the Spanish Ars Poetica from the *Arte Nuevo de Hacer Comedias*, supported by the observations of other seventeenth century apologists, and, bringing it before the tribunal of Gallic taste, pronounces in the name of universal principles a balanced and reasoned censure. One may doubt, with H. Schuchardt, whether the *Comedia* receives full justice; it is notorious that critical work lagged behind practice, and it is quite possible that the worth of the *Comedia*, as of our Elizabethan drama, may consist in, not obeying, but transcending its professed technique. But the contrast of the French and Spanish stages is the most fruitful antithesis in comparative literature, and we are unfeignedly thankful to see again this authoritative study.

MANCHESTER. WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

Versuch einer Zusammenstellung der deutschen Volksbücher des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts nebst deren späteren Ausgaben und Literatur. Herausgegeben von PAUL HEITZ und F. RITTER. Strassburg: J. H. E. Heitz. 1924. Small 4°. xvii + 219 pp. 60 fr.

The last twenty years have seen, in Holland as well as in Germany, an increasing interest in the popular, naïve prose literature, which drew more frequently from the international storehouse of tales than from purely national sources. In Holland this revival of interest may be associated with the name of G. J. Bockenoogen, in Germany with those of Johannes Bolte and Richard Benz. Although the latter[1] may overstate the case for the Volksbücher, to the disadvantage of the court novel in verse, his enthusiasm can only be helpful to a cause which, a century ago, was so warmly espoused by men like Arnim, Brentano, Görres and Tieck.

[1] Richard Benz, *Die deutschen Volksbücher. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, Jena, 1913.

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Thus the present volume comes at the right moment. It adds materially to the bibliographies in K. Goedeke's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (2nd ed., Dresden, 1884, 1886), and aims at providing, as far as possible, complete lists of the editions of the German Volksbücher of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The term 'Volksbücher' is, however, taken in the narrower sense of 'Historienbücher,' i.e. the romances and novels of the Middle Ages in popular adaptation and mostly in prose; outside of these, only the larger jestbooks and collections have been included (cp. Preface, p. vii). Thus legends of the saints, e.g. of St Brandan or St Patrick[1], and beast-stories (*Reineke Fuchs*) and fables (but see Nos. 44–67, *Buch der Weisheit*) are excluded from the plan.

The Volksbücher are arranged alphabetically, with the fifteenth and sixteenth-century editions of each in chronological order, and are numbered continuously from 1, the 1472 Augsburg edition of the *Alexander* to 735, the 1491 Augsburg edition of *Wilhelm von Orleans*. Editions subsequent to 1600 are added, when such exist, but without numbers. Occasionally this principle appears to have been forgotten. There is no fifteenth or sixteenth-century edition of the *Vergilius*, but the only, apparently very recent edition, 'o. J. (gedruckt in diesem Jahr), Frankfurt,' is numbered 701, while the numerous seventeenth-century editions—no earlier ones are known—of the jestbook, *Der Grillenvertreiber*, have no number in accordance with the rule. Again, the 1601 Hamburg edition of *Apollonius von Tyrus*, of which many early editions down to 1556 are noted, receives the number 36, and the 1604 Cologne edition of the *Haimonskinder*, 233. As regards the chronological order, we have only noticed one slip: No. 483, *Olivier und Artus*, Basel, 1520, should precede No. 482, Basel, 1521. A welcome feature of the book is that the editors give the public and private libraries—among the former, the British Museum figures very frequently—where copies of the older editions, and in some cases also of the later ones, are preserved; they also refer to booksellers' catalogues. Further merits are that it is stated when an edition is embellished with woodcuts[2], and attention is paid to the modern literature on each Volksbuch. There is a certain irregularity in the references to libraries; we find: 'London, British Museum,' 'London (British Museum),' 'British Museum, London'; why not 'London BM' throughout, as 'München SB'; but here, too, we find also 'München HSB' and simply 'München.' The abbreviations might have been given on a page at the beginning, for every reader will not know at once what is meant by, say: 'Berlin KBKK' or 'Budapest MH.'

With these lists before us, thanks to the untiring industry of the editors, in this comprehensive and convenient form, we are able to draw conclusions as to the greater or less popularity of the subjects

[1] Cp. G. Waterhouse, *Modern Language Review*, xviii, 1923, pp. 317 ff.

[2] In the case of some, e.g. No. 172 a, *Fortunatus* of about 1570; No. 638, *Stauffenberger*, about 1550, Strassburg; p. 39, *Faust*, only a few original wood-blocks are preserved in the printing-office of Heitz, Strassburg, while the editions themselves have disappeared.

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(e.g. *Faust*, *Vergilius*), or the extraordinary rarity of some—not necessarily very old—editions. Cp. Nos. 1, 7, 30, 257, 259, 261, 270, 607, and page 177, where an inquiry for the lost *Sigenot* edition of 1613 at a hundred libraries brought no result. It is also interesting to see the prominent part which Strassburg played in the dissemination of the chapbooks in the earlier period.

The editors are fully aware that there may be gaps in their lists, and they invite additions and corrections. We offer the following: *Fortunatus*, No. 161–173: add after 161: 1518 Augsburg, sm. 4°, with woodcut title and 47 large woodcuts in the text. Catalogue No. 364, item 240, of Maggs Brothers, London. *Bruder Rausch*, Nos. 504–512: my facsimile edition of the oldest, Low German edition (A), Zwickau, F. Ullmann, 1919, has escaped the editors. My bibliography of the German editions, pp. 51–59, gives the following additions: 1. A, *s. l. a. et n.*, but Joachim Westfal of Stendal, c. 1488. 2. C, *s. l. a. et n.*, but Servais Kruffter, Cologne, 1520–30. 12°. 12 ll. Berlin St. B. 3. W, Augsburg, Hanns Froschauer, 1512. 4°. 10 ll. Vienna St. B. 4. *s. l. a. et n.*, but Nürnberg, J. Gutknecht, 1515–20 (?). 8°. Weller, *Repert. typogr.*, 1864, No. 941. The editors have also overlooked the facsimile edition of their No. 505, Strassburg, 1515, Math. Hüpfuff, by Dr R. Payer von Thurn, Vienna, 1912. *Melusine*, p. 130, add to the eighteenth-century edition: *s. a.* (eighteenth century). Dresden zu haben bey dem Buchbinder H. B. Brückmann, Braitegasse, No. 68. With woodcuts. (In my possession.) To Nos. 162 and 176 a add, as place where a copy is preserved, London BM, and to No. 636, according to E. Schröder, *Zwei altdeutsche Rittermären*, 3rd ed., 1920: Graz (Styria), Landesbibliothek. Under the catchword *Histori*, p. 74, after No. 238, add: *Ein seer lustig vñ kurtzweylige Histori/von zweyen gesellen/die beyd vmb ein Edle Frawen warben/vnd sie jr doch keynen nicht wolt.* Nürnberg durch Georg Wachter [1540?]. 12°. 12 ll, with two woodcuts (London BM). From H. Stainhöwel's translation of Boccaccio's *Decamerone*. Cp. Hans Sachs, *Ein kurzweillige comedi: Die jung witfraw Francisca, so durch ain list zwayer pueler abkom.*

The present volume affords sound bibliographical help to students of the German chapbooks of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to the librarians who are the custodians of such treasures, as well as to book-collectors and second-hand booksellers. We should like to consider it a forerunner of a *corpus librorum popularium* which would catalogue the chapbooks of the Germanic and Romance nations, and show their interdependence.

LONDON. R. PRIEBSCH.

From Goethe to Byron: the Development of 'Weltschmerz' in German Literature. By WILLIAM ROSE. London: G. Routledge and Sons. 1924. 8vo. 210 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Roses Buch ist ein wichtiger und willkommener Beitrag zu jener Richtung der Literaturwissenschaft, die man in Deutschland die

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'Problemgeschichte' nennt; diese Richtung hat sich dadurch vor allem hohe Verdienste erworben, dass sie die Betrachtung des geistigen Gehalts der Dichtung durch eingehende Analyse gewisser Vorstellungs- und Gefühlskomplexe aus der Dämmerung blossen Geredes in das helle Licht wissenschaftlicher Forschung erhob. Als eine vortreffliche Leistung auf diesem Gebiete darf hier das neue Buch von P. Kluckhohn über *Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des* 18. *Jahrhunderts und in der deutschen Romantik* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1922) genannt werden. Wie er, verfolgt auch Rose seinen Gegenstand von den Tagen des Sturmes und Dranges bis zu den Anfängen der Romantik. Beide Male handelt es sich um ein Problem, das erst für eine Generation drückend werden konnte, die sich den Wertungen und den Schranken des aufklärerischen Rationalismus entwunden und mit den chaotischen Gewalten des Irrationalen irgendwie fertig zu werden entschlossen hatte. Die Erotik, der Kluckhohn seine Untersuchung gewidmet hat, spielt in Roses Thema bedeutsam genug hinein, wir brauchen nur an die Urgestalt des 'Weltschmerzlers' in der deutschen Dichtung, an Goethes *Werther* zu erinnern, um uns dessen bewusst zu werden. Ja, vielleicht übt der Weltschmerz für den Dichter erst dann einen verlockenden Reiz aus, wenn er aus dem Liebesleben aufquillt; denn nur hier verbündet er sich mit dem mächtigsten Lebenstriebe des Menschen; nur hier kommt es zu jenem fesselnden Spiel der Kräfte, zu jener Enfaltung des menschlichen Mikrokosmos, die den Dichter gerade in den Tagen des 'deutschen Idealismus' am stärksten anzog. Zugrunde liegt freilich eine viel allgemeinere, negative Einstellung des Menschen zum Leben und zu seinen gleichsam offiziell anerkannten 'Wertungen.' Rose sieht in dem 'deutschen Weltschmerz' eine dem englischen Byronism und dem französischen 'Mal du siècle' nahe verwandte und doch wieder durch ganz bestimmte inhaltliche und Gefühlsnoten von ihnen verschiedene Erscheinung; er bemüht sich zu zeigen dass der 'Weltschmerz' vor allem aus der Unbefriedigung des deutschen Bürgertums im 18. Jahrhundert mit seiner politischen Lage entsprang und dass seine ursprünglich 'egoistische' Haltung allmählich, unter dem Eindruck der Enttäuschung über den Ausgang der französischen Revolution, ins 'Kosmische' umschlug. Ich glaube, dass damit die politische Seite der ganzen Bewegung (die unzweifelhaft vorhanden ist) doch überschätzt wird. Rose hat unzweifelhaft recht mit seiner Bestimmung, wonach der Weltschmerz der quälenden Unzufriedenheit des Individuums mit seiner Lage und mit seiner Umgebung entspringt, einer Unzufriedenheit, aus der sich der Leidende in eine phantastische Welt zu retten sucht, ohne dass seine Träume ihn wirklich befriedigen könnten. Der typische 'Weltschmerzler' gehört nicht zu den Starken, die das Leben meistern und nicht zu den schöpferischen Naturen, die sich zum objektiven Anblick ihrer selbst erheben und ihre Leiden in einem dichterischen Symbol darstellen können; er berauscht sich an seinen eigenen Qualen, er greift nach Gütern, die ihm immer versagt bleiben müssen und lässt das, was er erreicht hat, fahren, um einem Unerreichbaren nachzujagen, bis seine Seele sich im fruchtlosen Streben aufgezehrt hat. Die moderne

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Psychoanalyse, deren Hilfe auch Rose ausgiebig herbeiruft, lehrt uns tiefer in die Phänomenologie dieser Erscheinungen eindringen. Andrerseits vermag eben die Literaturgeschichte wieder dem Psychologen und dem Mediziner eine Fülle von ausgezeichnet gesehenen und dargestellten 'Fällen' darzubieten, die immer aus einer eigentümlichen Kombination persönlicher Erlebnisse und freier Phantasiegebilde hervorgegangen sind. Der Dichter kann sich dabei verschieden verhalten; *immer* bedeutet freilich eine wirkliche Dichtung eine 'Ablösung' des Erlebnisses und damit der Gefahr von seiner Seele. Aber der Poet kann entweder im eigenen Namen sprechen und z. B. sein 'lyrisches Ich,' das eigene Erlebnis sozusagen unmittelbar aussprechen lassen oder er kann als Epiker und Dramatiker hinter dem Vertreter der eigenen Person zurückstehen. Dieser Vertreter wird dann um so deutlicher jene besonderen Motive der Verzweiflung, jene besonderen Wünsche und Idealvorstellungen, jene besonderen Leidenswege verdeutlichen können, die vielleicht weniger für den Dichter persönlich als für seine ganze Zeit charakteristisch sind, für die Zeit, innerhalb deren und für die er gewissermassen leidet und das Leid gestaltet. Diese besonderen Motive, Stimmungsnoten und Gestaltungsweisen sind jedesmal herauszuarbeiten; und Rose hat sich bei seiner Analyse einer grossen Reihe von Dichtungen aus der Jugendzeit Goethes und Schillers, aus den Kreisen des 'Sturmes und Dranges' und des 'Göttinger Dichterbundes,' bei der Besprechung der Autobiographien von K. F. Moritz, Hippel und Jung-Stilling, und der einschlägigen Schriften von F. J. Jacobi, Heinse und Jean Paul redlich um diese Aufgabe bemüht. Aber er hat doch wohl nicht scharf genug gesehen, wie eng das ganze Problem mit dem deutschen Wesen und vor allem mit der Gefühlslage der gebildeten Jugend Deutschlands verknüpft ist (zumeist stehen ja die 'Weltschmerzler' in jugendlichem Alter, und auf die Bedeutung der Pubertät hat Rose ganz richtig hingewiesen). Es ist *nicht* ein kennzeichnender Zug deutschen Wesens, wie man oft gesagt hat, die Wirklichkeit zu idealisieren und sich über ihre Bedingtheiten und Brüche hinwegzutäuschen; es ist noch weniger deutsche Art, der Erdenwelt überhaupt den Rücken zuzukehren und sich in einem 'Wolkenkuckucksheim' anzusiedeln. Gesundes Deutschtum hat von Alters her und zu allen Zeiten danach gestrebt, im Reiche der Realität zu verbleiben, aber der Wirklichkeit ihre letzten bestimmenden Kräfte und ihre tiefsten immanenten Wert- und Zielsetzungen abzufragen und sie auf diese Weise ihrem eigenen Urbilde gleichsam anzunähern. Nur wo das aus irgend einem Grunde unmöglich war oder schien, sind jene Krankheitserscheinungen am Deutschen eingetraten, zu denen die Schwärmerei, die Phantasterei, der himmelstürmende Titanismus und vor allem der Weltschmerz gehören. Diese beiden letzteren Formen wohnen ja, wie auch Rose zeigt, vor allem in der Sturm- und Drangperiode nahe beieinander. In der neuen Jugend der Zeit um 1770 waren neue Wünsche aufgewacht, die zur scharfen Ablehnung 'des Alten,' ja zuletzt der gegebenen Welt überhaupt führten. Hätte man die Jungen von damals darüber befragt, was sie nun eigentlich an der Welt um sie her bemängelten und wie sie sich die

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neue, bessere Wirklichkeit dachten, sie wären vielleicht in derselben Verlegenheit gewesen, wie die Jugend der heutigen (oder gestrigen?) Nachkriegszeit, deren höchste, schmerzlichste Wollust eben das Schwelgen in einem nebelhaften 'Ganzanderssein' gegenüber allem wirklich Vorhandenen besteht. Bei der Jugend von 1770 kommt freilich ein anderes hinzu, was einen scharfen Gegensatz gegen die kommunistische Strömung von heute bedeutet: der starke Individualismus mit seiner subjektivistischen Note, der sich den Allerweltsregeln der Aufklärung und ihrer rein numerischen Bewertung des Einzelmenschen entgegenstellt. Hier aber wachen sehr alte Forderungen deutschen Wesens auf, die z. T. im Pietismus der Gegenwart wieder bewusst wurden, die aber aus der älteren Mystik, aus der täuferischen Bewegung und anderen Strömungen gesteigerten persönlichen Innenlebens ihre Kraft schöpften. Hier ging alles aufs Ganze, aufs Unbedingte, aufs Unbeschreibliche, und in seiner unendlichen Sehnsucht fühlte sich das Ich selbst 'zum Ewigen erweitert.' In der älteren Zeit stellten sich diese Richtungen einer tief verworrenen, einer brutalen, veräusserlichten und versinnlichten Gegenwart gegenüber, deren Macht sie kennen lernten, deren Wertungen sie keineswegs anerkannten, die sie innerlich längst überwunden hatten. Ganz anders die Jugend von 1770. Sie ist die Nachblüte und zugleich der Gegner eines Geschlechts, das sich in saurer Arbeit auf dieser Erde eingerichtet, das eben jene chaotische Welt des Barock (deren wirklich schöpferische Gewalten sie nicht verstand) auf seine Weise überwunden hatte, indem es sie gründlich rationalisierte. Mit einer naiven Selbstverständlichkeit wurden die neuen Lebensordnungen als allverbindlich hingenommen und weitergegeben. Rationalistisch erzogen und theoretisch noch nicht befestigt zum Kampfe mit dem Geist der Zeit (ein bewusster 'Misolog' freilich wie Hamann war auch gegen allen Weltschmerz gefeit), überall eingefangen in 'selbstverständliche' Forderungen, Ansprüche und Normen der 'Gesellschaft,' in festgefügte Formen und Gesetzlichkeiten, denen das mächtig aufgewühlte Innere widerstrebte und denen man doch keine festbegründeten Gegenwerte gegenüberstellen konnte:—so geriet der jugendliche Mensch leicht in eine unendliche Verwirrung und Verlegenheit. Das Grundproblem 'Ich und Welt' wurde ganz von frischem gestellt. Die grosse Lebensfrage ging dahin, ob er bereit war, sein gesteigertes Ich ganz aufzugeben oder es rücksichtslos der Welt gegenüber zu behaupten oder aber auf Grund einer neuen Ansicht von der Welt als einem nicht fertigen, sondern mitten in der Entwicklung zu immanenten Zielen befindlichen Kosmos zu neuer, extensiv beschränkter, innerlich aber unendlicher Würde zu erheben. Der ersteren Haltung entspricht feige Resignation, die zuletzt umschriebene Synthese haben die Klassiker vollzogen, dazwischen stehen die 'Weltschmerzler,' deren Qualen die Klassiker miterlebt, aber innerlich überwunden und durch freie künstlerischen Gestaltung von sich 'abgelöst' haben. Der rechte Weltschmerzler wird eben mit der Welt nur fertig, solange sie seinen Neigungen schmeichelt; aber ein furchtbarer Feind wohnt in seiner Brust, der diese Zufriedenheit nie zu einem Dauerzustande werden lässt. Ihn drängt es nach einem ganz

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Andern, nach einem Unbedingten, aber er kann dabei nicht von der eigenen Person und zwar von der *psycho-physischen Person und ihrer Verflechtung in empirische Zusammenhänge* absehen. Er verspürt gleichsam sein Ich mit seiner ungeheuren Dynamik erst da, wo er sich der Welt entgegenstellt oder sich vielmehr an einen bestimmten, mit aller Glut erstrebten, aber stets versagten Gegenstand anklammert, um ihn an sich zu reissen und sich einzuverleiben. Im vergeblichen Kampfe steigert sich das Begehren, die Sehnsucht, das Gefühl der inneren Unendlichkeit und Unbegrenztheit, wächst das Gefühl innerer Kräfte, die aber kein anderes Betätigungsfeld haben als eben das Begehren nach irgendeinem greifbaren Ziel. Hier ist keine Kraft zur Resignation, keine Möglichkeit der geistigen Umgestaltung des Gegebenen in der neuen Zusammenschau von Ich und Welt, hier verpufft sich alle Energie in einem sinnlosen, krankhaften Streben nach der stärksten Selbstempfindung des begehrenden Ich.

Die Arten, dieses Erlebnis auszudrücken, sind natürlich unerschöpflich wie alles, was aus dem Innersten des Menschen emporquillt. Rose hat eine ganze Reihe von Typen in historischer Folge gemustert und nach der inhaltlichen Seite, auch nach den literaturhistorischen Zusammenhängen eingehend beschrieben. Er ist dabei mancher wichtigen Urkunde, wie z. B. dem autobiographischen Roman *Anton Reiser* von K. Ph. Moritz besser gerecht geworden, als die frühere Forschung. Immerhin dürfte sein Buch noch Ergänzungen nach der formalen Seite vertragen. Im Laufe der Entwicklung bilden sich bestimmte typische Züge und Motive, gewisse sprachliche und sachliche Mittel der Charakterisierung des Weltschmerzes aus, die dann wieder bei den einzelnen Dichtern wertvolle, aus der besonderen Erfassung des Problems sich ergebende Abwandlungen zeigen. Rose weist auf solche Zusammenhänge immer wieder hin, aber doch mehr gelegentlich, wie denn die eigentlich künstlerischen Formfragen bei den problemgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen leicht in den Hintergrund treten und damit eine gewisse Einseitigkeit in die Betrachtung hineinkommt. Auch jene Dinge sollten einmal im Zusammenhange behandelt und gezeigt werden, wie ein bestimmtes Thema, ein Problem, sich mit einer gewissen innerlichen unbeirrbaren, aber doch nicht starren Zwangsläufigkeit eine Fülle von Organen schafft, mit deren Hilfe es sich bald so, bald so objektiviert. Freilich droht das Problem, sowie sein Träger mitten inne steht in der lebendigen Welt mit ihren unübersehbaren Verschlingungen, immer wieder über seine engeren Grenzen hinauszuwachsen. Rose hat des öfteren darauf hingewiesen, wie der eigentliche, an seinem Kummer sich beseligende und sich durch Grübeln zerstörende Weltschmerz leicht verdrängt wird durch himmelstürmenden Titanismus; aber auch die müde Resignation und endlich die Überwindung durch besondere Kräfte im Innern des Menschen stehen nicht fern und es wäre wohl angebracht, auch diese verschiedenen Möglichkeiten in ihrer typologischen Auswirkung genauer zu beobachten. Endlich berührt Rose gelegentlich den Punkt, wo das reine Gefühlserlebnis in ein mehr theoretisches Weltanschauungserlebnis übergeht; im allgemeinen rückt

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er grundsätzlich den 'philosophischen' Pessimismus wohl zu weit ab von dem im Affekt wurzelnden 'Weltschmerz'—die Übergänge sind, wenn wir Philosophie nicht bloss im streng systematischen Sinne, sondern als den Versuch ernster Orientierung in der Welt überhaupt nehmen, durchaus fliessend und auch diese Fragen verlohnten an der Hand des grossen Materials eine eingehende, grundsätzliche Erörterung. Hier ist nicht der Platz dazu. Wir können nur mit dem Wunsche schliessen, dass Roses hingebende Arbeit durch die Anregung zu weiteren Studien auf einem so bedeutsamen und im ersten Anlauf kaum zu bewältigenden Gebiete ihre lebendige Kraft bewähren möge.

ROBERT PETSCH.
HAMBURG.

MINOR NOTICES.

Dr Alexander M. Witherspoon has made a valuable contribution to knowledge in his work *The Influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan Drama* (*Yale Studies in English*, No. LXV; New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford, 1924; vi + 197 pp. 8*s.* 6*d.*). He shows how Mary, Countess of Pembroke, in a pious desire to fulfil the wishes of her brother Sir Philip Sidney, tried to set up in England a model drama which should be free from the artistic faults of the popular stage: how she thought that in Garnier she had found her beau idéal of a dramatist, and how she proceeded to translate one of his plays herself, induced Kyd (of all people), then in low water, to translate another, and actually succeeded in setting a short-lived fashion for original plays of the Garnier type. Dr Witherspoon finds that we have twelve plays which may be classed together as inspired by Garnier: the Countess's *Antonie*, Kyd's *Cornelia* (translations), Daniel's *Cleopatra* and *Philotas*, Samuel Brandon's *Vertuous Octavia*, Lord Brooke's *Alaham* and *Mustapha*, Sir W. Alexander's four *Monarchicke Tragedies* and Lady Carey's *Mariam*. It is an error to dismiss these plays as alike 'Senecan.' Dr Witherspoon carefully shows that Garnier is distinguished from his master Seneca by his hatred of horrors, his political and patriotic interests, and his reliance on moralistic declamation. Moreover Garnier's earlier plays are distinguished from his later ones by their more lyrical character. Every one of the seven English writers had his or her own individual leanings, it might be to lyrical, it might be to political and philosophical drama. Still, they formed a definite group and could be treated together, their relation to Garnier examined, the causes of their insignificant success explained. All this has been admirably done by Dr Witherspoon and much light has been thrown on a very interesting attempt to classicize English drama in a romantic age.

The book has few obvious slips. By far the most serious is the statement that *Mariam* has never been reprinted (p. 150). Being thus ignorant of the existence of the Malone Society's edition of 1914 and its thorough discussion of the question of the identity of the authoress and of the dedicatee, Dr Witherspoon has wasted two pages on questions

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which he was not properly prepared to treat. Again, if he had seen some notes on the text of *Mariam* which appeared in *Notes and Queries*, 12 Ser. I, p. 22, he would not perhaps have printed (p. 154 bot.) 'In' for 'Is' or 'prov'd' for 'proud.'

When he says (p. 97) that the translation of 'Maire l'honneur d'Arpin' by 'noble Marius, Arpins friend' shows inability to distinguish between a field of battle and a person, we may retort that his criticism shows inability to distinguish between a field of battle and a birthplace. Probably, on p. 10 bot. 'se mestant' should be 'se meslant,' on p. 95 'desensables' should be 'defensables,' and on p. 100 'court-deare-verse happie Daniell' should be 'court-deare verse-happie Daniell.' These are but trifles. The merits of the book are outstanding.

G. C. M. S.

A great deal of thought and a great deal of reading have gone to the making of Mr J. A. Fort's paper, *The Two Dated Sonnets of Shakespeare* (London: H. Milford. 1924. 47 pp. 3*s*.); but, as in the case of so many other studies of the Sonnets, the conclusions arrived at are anything but convincing. The title of the paper begs the question. It is a plausible suggestion that Shakespeare first met Southampton when he took him a copy of *Venus and Adonis*, entered on the Stationers' Register 18 April 1593. But in spite of Mr Fort's 'Tables' (p. 20) it is by no means clear that Sonnet 104 was written in April, and therefore in April 1596. The date of the first 'dated' Sonnet is therefore doubtful. The argument by which the date of Sonnet 107 is fixed as November 1598 is unlikely to be accepted by anyone. Mr Fort supposes it was written when Southampton had been released from prison after his marriage to Lady Elizabeth Vernon. 'The prophetic soul | Of the wide world dreaming of things to come' means that the 'wide world' of Elizabeth's court had expected a long imprisonment for Southampton. 'The mortal Moon hath her eclipse endured' means that the marriage had been a rebuff to the Queen. 'Peace proclaims olives of endless age' means that 'they lived happily ever after.' On the basis of these interpretations the Sonnet is said to be definitely dated. Then, assuming that all the Sonnets are correctly arranged and give a connected story, the dates of other Sonnets are fixed from these two. In Appendix B Mr Fort discusses a few particular passages. In Sonnet LI, l. 11, he defends Malone's conjecture 'Neigh to dull flesh.' I would ask him here to consider a note in this *Review*, vol. IX, p. 372. He paraphrases LXX, l. 6, 'hostility being gradually changed to affection by the action of time.' I should suggest 'considering that you are constantly tempted to evil by the times.' On XCIX, l. 7, he suggests that Shakespeare must have meant 'withered' marjoram-blossoms, as they would be nearer the colour of Southampton's hair. From this fifteen-line Sonnet he would strike out l. 5. It is surely better to consider l. 1 extra-metrical.

G. C. M. S.

Two handsomely produced translations of fourteenth-century classics come to us from the American University Presses. Mr Jacob Zeitlin

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tells us that he was attracted to the *De Vita Solitaria* because it seemed to contain 'the germs at least of the sort of writing that flowered in the *Essais* of Montaigne.' The introduction to his volume, *The Life of Solitude by Francis Petrarch translated with Introduction and Notes* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1924, 316 pp.), deals somewhat fully with the position of the treatise in relation to classical and mediaeval thought, and its significance as a revelation of Petrarch's personality. The notes might have been augmented with advantage. It needs a student of the history of the period to understand Petrarch's allusions to contemporary Spanish potentates in the second Book (Chapter II). In *Il Filostrato, the Story of the Love of Troilo as it was sung in Italian by Giovanni Boccaccio and is now translated into English Verse* (Princeton University Press; London, Milford, 1924. xi + 195 pp. 9*s*.), Mr Hubertis Cummings presents an easily flowing version of Boccaccio's poem, with the metrical variation of converting the last line of each octave into an alexandrine. Here and there he has misunderstood his text (for instance, the 'alle prese' of III, 20), and there is far too much padding (Griselda, in IV, 92, is made to exclaim 'All I see is night,' of which there is no trace in the original). But the translation will no doubt serve its professed purpose of assisting students of Chaucer who cannot read Italian.

E. G. G.

A distinguished Italian once observed in my hearing that the different way in which the two nations approach the educational problem is indicated in the fact that, whereas Italy has a Minister of Public Instruction, Great Britain has one of Education. In a singularly pleasant and well-informed little volume (*La Scuola in Inghilterra, notizie ed osservazioni sul sistema educativo inglese*, Turin, Paravia, 1924, 115 pp., L7), Professor Piero Rébora shows himself a genial and sympathetic, if occasionally critical, observer of this aspect of English life. The subject hardly comes within the survey of this *Review*, but the book—though primarily addressed to Italians—will be read with interest and profit by English people as well.

E. G. G.

Dr J. A. van Praag's thesis for the doctorate of the University of Amsterdam, *La Comedia espagnole aux Pays-Bas au XVII^e^ et au XVIII^e^ siècle* (Amsterdam: J. H. de Bussy. 1921. 4 fl. 50), presents, when taken together with William Davids' *Verslag van een oderzoek betreffende de betrekking tusschen de Nederlandsche en de Spaansche letterkunde in de XVI—XVIII eeuw*, a complete account of the results of research into the bearings of Spanish literature upon that of the Low Countries; but it differs from its companion in the language employed, the felicity of its critical asides, and the abstinence from typographical fireworks. As supplementary to the parallel study in French, and as complementary or antecedent to German adaptations, Davids' work holds in comparative literature a cardinal position, which is amply

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acknowledged in the Bibliography. Without being qualified to examine the writer's propositions, which are often of respectable ancestry, we may nevertheless note that he has found himself limited by the disorganisation and inaccessibility of the Spanish material (p. 4), and that he is careful to state when his researches have not led to the result promised by other authors. While generally treating of 'sources' arranged in interesting categories, in the treatment of Calderón's plagiarists De Praag expands into detailed and valuable comparisons as to style and method, which the reader will notice leads to the correction of the Spanish text (pp. 112 ff.), to the indication of otherwise unknown works (Chap. VI *passim*), or to curious and entertaining social observations (pp. 174 f.). The writer knows how to compensate for the scanty literary interest of his matter by judicious historical remarks (e.g. on p. 12), from which we should like to single out his notes as to the mediation of the Sephardic Jews between the southern and northern cultures (p. 18 and elsewhere), to which no separate entry in the bibliography appears to correspond, and which might possibly be generalised beyond the one literary type in question. In sum, Dr Praag's thesis is well indexed and well paragraphed, supported by good bibliographies and helpful *résumés*, concise, suggestive, and agreeably expressed.

W. J. E.

The *Introduction to the Historical Study of New High German* by Mr Arthur Kirk (Manchester, University Press. 1923. vii + 85 pp. 6*s*.) seems to us to fall between two stools. For the advanced student it is too sketchy; while the material is too allusively presented to be serviceable except to readers whose grasp of the subject already places them beyond the need for a book of this kind. Moreover, for the elementary student, who seeks the main lines of evolution of the German language, a good deal is included that will be beyond his comprehension. In the enumeration of the Indogermanic languages in chapter I, Tocharic and Old Bactrian forms are quoted, which might well be left to a work on Comparative Philology; whereas the scanty paragraph (33) on Ablaut makes no attempt to illustrate this original feature in less remote Indogermanic tongues like Latin and Greek, or to show the possible relationship existing between the first five Ablaut series. Equally unsatisfactory is the treatment of Umlaut. The chapter on Phonetics is not utilised as it might be to throw light on sound development; and features of sound change are illustrated by but one example of each. We doubt whether Mr Kirk's book is likely to supersede a work like Professor Wright's *Historical German Grammar*, much as a fresh treatment of the whole subject in English is to be desired.

I. M. M.

The neat and handy volume containing a reprint of the English version of Carl Philipp Moritz's *Travels in England in 1782* (London: H. Milford. xx + 239 pp. 3*s*. 6*d*.) will be welcome to many readers unable to enjoy this interesting and, in parts, amusing work in its

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original tongue. Like all good books of travel, it combines description, incident and reflection; the reader sees passing before him a varied series of pictures, some drawn in vivid detail, of England and English life and conditions near the end of the eighteenth century, and is at the same time almost constantly in touch with the interesting personality of the author. The English translation is a very free one, in parts more than free, and could not safely be used as a 'source' in place of the original; Mr Matheson, the editor, draws attention in the notes to 'some of the more striking deviations,' but not to all. In his Prefatory Note and Introduction he provides a helpful selection of bibliographical material and a sympathetic sketch of Moritz's life and character. An Index of Names, though not complete, is a useful feature of the volume.

F. E. S.

It is surprising that our American colleagues, with their zeal for text-editing, should have left it to an English scholar to present Grillparzer's comedy, *Weh' dem, der lügt*, to English students. Professor Gilbert Waterhouse has given us a welcome edition of the play (Manchester: University Press. 1923. xlv + 121 pp. 3*s.* 6*d.*). The outstanding feature of his lengthy Introduction is a critical survey of Grillparzer's sources (in its first form, published in this *Review*, xvii, 1922, pp. 50 ff.), supplemented, in an Appendix, by the text of these sources in full. Nothing so helpful is to be found in any of the German editions. In accordance with the principles of the Manchester series, particular care has been bestowed on the text. Here, I am glad to see, Professor Waterhouse is conservative, his text being essentially a critical reproduction of that of 1840. This procedure is much preferable to the partial and not always consistent modernisation, which seems to me to rob the great Vienna edition of a claim to finality. The least satisfactory part of Professor Waterhouse's volume is his Notes, which occupy only eight pages. Compression is, of course, desirable; but he gives a good deal of information which should be superfluous to a student who is well enough equipped to appreciate a critical text, while he omits help which such a student might look for; notably, comparative references to Grillparzer's other works, always in Grillparzer's case a valuable aid to elucidation. A Bibliography is printed at the end, but it omits some critical studies and essays on the play which the student might consult with advantage. Oskar Katann's suggestive paper on '*Weh' dem, der lügt* und das Problem der Wahrscheinlichkeit' in the volume of *Grillparzer-Studien* edited by him—an essay which shows how persistently the poet was occupied with the problem of truth and falsehood—appeared unfortunately too late (1924) to be utilised. Professor Waterhouse refers to Archer Gurney's unpublished English translation; but he might also have quoted a passage from Gurney's letter to Grillparzer (A. Sauer, *Grillparzers Gespräche*, ii, 1906, p. 183): '*Weh' dem, der lügt*—unter allen Ihren Stücken mir das liebste; dieser Leon, diese Edrita, der edle Bischof, der Barbarenhäuptling... Welches Vergnügen machte es mir, dieses reizende Lustspiel zu übersetzen, das an Grazie und Lieblichkeit

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sich nur einigen Shakespearischen Lustspielen, einen *As You Like it* z.B. vergleichen lässt.'

J. G. R.

Dr Louise Brink has put as the motto of her book, *Women Characters in Richard Wagner* (*Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series*, xxxvii. New York, 1924. xv + 127 pp. $2.): 'Dass wissend würde ein Weib.' It is an analysis of the *Ring* dramas, in which she traces the conflict of the adolescent woman, attempting to cast off the shackles which attach the libido to the parent, in order to fulfil the individual right to adult, creative love. Fricka is the woman who has not yet attained the capacity for love which passes beyond the infantile goals; in Sieglinde we see a transition stage in the transference of love to the brother; and in Brünnhilde, the only one of the Walküren who strives for a love beyond the father, we have the acute father-daughter conflict. Here obedience to the father is refused and creative love attained, though only after painful resistance to the tendency to return to a fixation on infantile goals. The apparently definite deductions, drawn with the aid of the technique of psycho-analysis, give the impression that the author is reading into the dramas more than is justified. It is true that the artist gives us more than his consciousness understands, but until we are tolerably certain that the results already obtained by the new psychology of the unconscious are permanent and universal, there is bound to be a certain uneasiness in the mind of the reader that the author of a book like this is over-elaborating her thesis. Nevertheless, Dr Brink's study is a valuable contribution to the new type of literary research. We would like to see her undertake an investigation of the father-daughter conflict which recurs with such striking frequency in German literature.

W. R.

The case of Shelley, discussed by Dr Solomon Liptzin in his thesis *Shelley in Germany* (*Columbia University Germanic Studies*, New York, Columbia University Press; London, H. Milford. 1924. 97 pp. 7*s.*) confirms the impression that one of the uses of foreign influence on a literature is to help to free an insurgent generation from literary traditions which are felt as a burden rather than as a viaticum. Until the middle of the century the interest in *Queen Mab* was only rivalled by that in *The Cenci*; and it was not until the fifties that critics turned to the more mature and characteristic *Prometheus Unbound* (p. 65). Shelley first won admittance to Germany surreptitiously under the aegis of Byron's romantic cloak, as a mere foil and companion to Byron. Young Germany discovered and welcomed his political and religious views, and created for itself a likeness of Shelley according to its predilections: not the airy spirit that lives in the pages of Maurois' *Ariel*, but a more sentimental and tragic figure, an atheistical saint. The failure of the movement that led to the revolutions of 1848 brought with it a change of attitude towards Shelley; a reaction set in against the dreamer; to

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a material generation his ideals appeared fantastic. It was not until the eighties that interest in Shelley revived, and then rather from the scholarly standpoint. Thus Shelley missed in Germany the full and free recognition which Byron won in excess of his merits. The generation that might have understood him and loved him had grown old or vanished before he reached his full poetic power.

F. W. S.

It is a matter for congratulation to all interested in German literature that the English Goethe Society, which was founded in 1886, but suspended its activities during the war, has been revived under the presidency of Lord Haldane. Since its meetings were resumed in 1923, the Society has lived up to its traditions of vigour and interest, and the volume of *Publications of the English Goethe Society* (New Series, Vol. I. Edited by J. G. Robertson. London, Alexander Moring. 1924) contains the papers read before it during the first session of renewed activity. They include Viscount Haldane's Presidential Address on 'Goethe as Thinker,' Professor Atkin's account of the very interesting Frida Mond Collection (portraits, autograph letters, books, etc.) given to King's College, and papers on '*Iphigenie auf Tauris*: Some New Points of View' by Professor Robertson, on '*Kabale und Liebe* in English Translation' by Dr L. A. Willoughby, on 'Hölderlin's Ideals as reflected in *Hyperion* and *Empedocles*' by Mr Marshall Montgomery, and on 'Novalis and Sophie' by Dr William Rose. A Chronicle of the Society and a Goethe Bibliography for 1923–24 are appended. It is to be hoped that the Society will receive, in an increased membership, the recognition due to it.

E. P.

The *Dutch Library*, published by M. Nijhoff at the Hague and Messrs Gyldendal in London, has begun with three charming little volumes (1924. Each 3*s*. 6*d*.), translations of two of the 'abele spelen' from the Brussels Hulthem MS. of the beginning of the fifteenth century: *Lanseloot van Denemerken* and *Esmoreit, sconincs sone van Ceciliën*, and of the sixteenth-century *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, the last-mentioned probably an adaptation for a reading public of a mystery play. These works, apart from their inherent poetic charm, have a claim upon the student of European dramatic literature, even if he may have little interest in that of Holland; for they are among the first, as they are certainly among the most interesting, of the serious secular dramas of the European theatre. Of the two 'abele spelen' *Lancelot* stands nearer to modern sympathies; although the reader's appreciation of *Esmoreit* is somewhat hampered here by a well-meant, but only partially successful, archaic English, which, like most imitations, often makes an unpleasantly mongrel impression. Its translator, Professor H. M. Ayres of Columbia University, seems to me to be happier in his rendering of *Mary of Nimmegen*. The volumes are provided with short and judicious introductions, the first by Professor Geyl, the translator of *Lancelot*, the other two by Professor A. J. Barnouw. (It seems

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a little fanciful to bring, as Professor Barnouw does, *Mary of Nimmegen* into line with *Faust* and *Tannhäuser*). One misses any reference to the accessible editions of the originals. It is surely the first purpose of such translations to tempt the reader—and in the present case he will be tempted—to turn to the texts themselves.

J. G. R.

Norwegian Fairy Tales from the Collection of Asbjørnsen and Moe, translated by Helen and John Gade (*Scandinavian Classics*, XXIV) (New York, American Scandinavian Foundation; London, H. Milford. 11*s.*) is probably the first American version of these fairy tales, although there were American editions of Sir G. W. Dasent's translation (New York, 1852) and H. L. Brækstad's (New York, 1883). No literary undertaking in Norway has done more to introduce the mind of the country to the mind of the town than the work of these marvellously matched fairy-tale collectors, the naturalist P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and the poet Jørgen Moe. Nor has any work done more to forward that process of 'fornorskning,' the bringing out of Norwegian peculiarities in the Dano-Norwegian literary language, which has been going on with increasing rapidity side by side with the steady progress of the 'landsmaal.' The thirty-three tales here selected are preceded by a short but informing introduction. The grouping of the tales according to their contents is not so clear. Why should, for instance, the humorous tales, *The Parson and the Sexton*, or *The Rich Farmer's Wife* be classed with the wonders of *Kari Wooden-Skirt*, and *Stupid Fellows with Jades for Wives* with huldra and trolls? Many of the tales, like those mentioned, are well chosen, and also *Taper Tom*, *The Three Aunts* and *The Gertrude Bird*, while others, such as that of *The Three Lemons*—told to Asbjørnsen by a market-woman in Kristiania—are not particularly representative. Some, like *The Ram and the Pig who went into the Woods to live by themselves*, bristle with proverbial sayings which make them very difficult to render. On the whole the translators seem to have succeeded very well. Occasionally the suggestive indirect speech of the original has been unnecessarily made direct, as in *The Parson and the Sexton*, where H. L. Brækstad's translation is more faithful. Again, some of the renderings are too literal. The contempt of 'I'll give you burnt horn' (pp. 113 f.)—the idea being that of smoking out evil spirits—might perhaps have been conveyed more clearly by 'I'll give you a flea in the ear.' Also in *The Gertrude Bird* the woman's words to Our Lord and St Peter ought to sound more contemptuously indifferent. The value of the book is enhanced by the illustrations of Kittelsen and Werenskiold, of which there might have been more. The price will make it difficult to compete with English editions still in print.

I. C. G.

We have pleasure in drawing attention to *The Review of English Studies*, a new quarterly journal of English literature and the English language, edited by Dr R. B. McKerrow, with the assistance of a distinguished advisory panel. In his preliminary announcement Dr McKerrow

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states the main object of the journal to be the publication of research work, interpreting the word research in the most liberal spirit, as not merely the amassing of material, but also its interpretation; in this sense, as he rightly says, it is 'the life-blood of literary history.' He hopes also that the new *Review* will assist in the coordination of English studies by discussions of method, and thus 'afford such instruction and information as may be useful to young students, and perhaps even to some of the older ones in this field.' We extend a warm welcome to the new undertaking and its collaborators, as fellow-workers in a field, in which the *Modern Language Review* has, for twenty years, had, almost alone, to bear the burden and responsibility. Of the need of a journal devoted exclusively to English studies, our *Review* is, indeed, the best proof; for the demands upon our space in the English field have long been in excess of what we have been able to meet. We wish Dr McKerrow all success; and to judge by his admirable first number, there should be little doubt of *The Review of English Studies* finding a large circle of readers. It is published by Messrs Sidgwick and Jackson, 3, Adam St., Adelphi, London, W.C. 2, and the annual subscription, including postage to any part of the world, is 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

J. G. R.

An international Committee, promoted by the 'Union Académique Internationale,' has been for two years working on a much needed new Mediaeval Latin Dictionary. In support of this undertaking the British Academy, which belongs to the 'Union Académique,' has appointed two Committees, the first consisting of Professor Sir Paul Vinogradoff (Chairman), Professor W. M. Lindsay, Dr M. R. James, Dr Plummer, Canon Watson, Messrs G. G. Coulton, A. E. Lowe, C. T. Onions, M. L. W. Laistner, Dom. A. Wilmart, and Professor J. H. Baxter (Secretary) to co-operate with the International Committee, the second consisting of Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, K.C.B. (Chairman), Sir Israel Gollancz, Professors T. F. Tout and Claude Jenkins, Messrs J. P. Gilson, A. G. Little, W. Page, R. J. Whitwell, and C. Johnson (Secretary) to collect materials from British sources for the period extending from the eleventh century to about A.D. 1600, with which the International Committee does not deal. *Domesday Book* will be the boundary between the two Committees. The *New English Dictionary* was only made possible by the co-operation of a large number of contributors, who undertook to read particular books with a view to selecting suitable quotations, and to note them on slips of uniform size. Similar assistance is invited from all those who know enough Classical Latin to enable them to recognise non-classical words and usages.

Those who are willing to help are invited to write to Professor Baxter or to Mr Johnson according as their interest is in the earlier or the later Middle-ages. If they have facilities for reading a particular text they are requested to name it when they write. Instructions and slips will be provided.

J. H. Baxter, St Mary's College, St Andrews, Scotland.
C. Johnson, Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.

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THE AUTHENTICITY OF CERTAIN TEXTS IN LAMBARD'S 'ARCHAIONOMIA' 1568.

To the kindness of Professor Liebermann I owe a copy of the article[1] in which he defends the authenticity of Lambard's *I Athelstan* and *Athelstan's Charitable Ordinance* against my argument[2] that they are both translations into Old English made in the sixteenth century from the Latin of Quadripartitus. If such a matter could be settled by weight of authority the balance must be heavily against me. But after studying Professor Liebermann's reply, and re-reading the materials so admirably presented in his *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*[3], I am not convinced that these texts are authentic. For, no doubt because his space was short, he has omitted to deal with some of the evidence on which I relied most, so that his alternative explanations are not clear; and on some details selected for discussion he does not quite meet the points I hoped to make. On other details again, his argument is rather that they are consistent with the views expressed in his *Gesetze* than that they are inconsistent with my contention; and it is to be expected that many of the facts would be explicable on either hypothesis, since both were devised to explain them.

In general, Lambard's texts of *I Ath.* and *Ord.* have four distinguishing features: (i) they are found in no extant MS., and apparently no MS. was known to Wanley when he made his *Catalogue* in 1705; (ii) Lambard's *I Ath.* differs extraordinarily in drafting from the *I Ath.* of the extant MSS. (no Old English MS. of *Ord.* survives); (iii) Lambard's *I Ath.* and *Ord.* are both very close to the Latin text of Quadripartitus as it appears in the 'London' group of MSS.; (iv) both are expressed in barbarous Old English.

I have tried to explain all four features by assuming that these texts were translated from the Latin of the 'London' text by Lawrence

[1] *Anglia*: *Beiblatt*, July 1924, pp. 214 ff.
[2] In this Review, vol. XVIII, pp. 100 ff.
[3] The texts of *I Ath.* and *Ord.* are given in vol. I, pp. 146–9. The commentary on them is in vol. III, pp. 96–9. Professor Liebermann's collection of texts is so accurate and complete that for the purposes of the present discussion it is hardly necessary to go farther afield.

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Nowell in or about 1567. Professor Liebermann has explained the first by assuming that Lambard used an Old English MS. since lost unaccountably[1]; the second by assuming that before 1100 there had been a recasting (*lq*)[2] of the text of the extant MSS.; the third by assuming that Quadripartitus (or rather that early draft[3] of it which he believes to lie behind the text of the 'London' group) was translated from this recasting, *lq*; and the fourth (in so far as he notices abnormality of language) by the activities of the 'recaster before 1100,' of another assumed reviser in the early twelfth century, of Lambard, and of the printer[4].

It is a complicated hypothesis, giving ample scope for explanation of details; and facts that are inconsistent with it are necessarily few. To note such facts very briefly was one of the aims of my previous article, and it would serve no purpose to cover the same ground again, because the hypothesis has been supplemented and guarded in Professor Liebermann's latest contribution. Dealing with the argument that the readings in *I Ath.* § 5 can hardly be explained except in the sequence: extant MSS. *ic ann...ge sculon*: translated by Q. 'præcupiam[5]...debeatis': miscopied in some 'London' MSS. 'precipiam...debeamus': translated in Lambard by *bebeod(e)...us...gebyraþ*, he acknowledges that Lambard

[1] In *Gesetze*, vol. I, p. xxxiii, col. 2 it is suggested that the lost MS. of *Ord.* was older than the lost MS. of *I Ath.* Later (vol. III, p. 98) it is recognised that their textual history is the same.

[2] I.e. the lost common source of L(ambard's) Old English and of Q(uadripartitus). Professor Liebermann is not quite accurate when he says I have called *lq* a ghost. That statement was limited to *I Ath.* and *Ord.*, for which there could be no *lq* if, as I believe, there was no *l*—no authentic source for Lambard. Whether evidence exists to establish an *lq* for any other text is a separate question, of which only a small part concerns us: because the *lq* which is assumed in *Gesetze* for e.g. *II Eadweard* is of a different character from the *lq* dealt with here.

[3] In his *Quadripartitus*, Halle, 1892, §§ ix and x, Professor Liebermann has shown that the extant MSS. containing Quadripartitus (or excerpts from it) fall into several groups, of which no one derives from another. That each of these groups represents a separate draft or recension by the author of Quadripartitus (*Gesetze*, vol. III, p. 309, § 3) is not so well established. To accept it for present purposes will narrow the issue, although it is a bar to the pressing home of nearly all arguments drawn from the Latin text. For instance, in *I Ath.* § 3, where the extant MSS. have: *Us is to ðencanne hu ondrislic hit on bocum gecweden is*, most MSS. of Quadripartitus have the equivalent: Recolendum quoque nobis est quam terribiliter in libris positum est. But MS. Claudius D. II of the 'London' group (the clause is missing in the earlier Rylands MS.) has the bad reading: Recolendum nobis quoque est *quod* terribiliter in *hiis* libris positum est, which corresponds to Lambard's *We moton eac ðæs ðencan ðe egeslic on ðissum bocum is gewriten.* On the one view, the bad readings in Claudius D. II are corruptions of the correct Latin, and Lambard's text translates them. On the other, Lambard's type of text (*lq*) arose somehow out of the correct Old English; the bad readings in Claudius D. II are due to translation from *lq* in an early edition of Quadripartitus; and they were removed by the translator himself from later editions. It must then be assumed that the author of Quadripartitus knew not only *lq*, but also the better text of the extant MSS., from which he made random corrections. This necessary and important extension of the hypothesis seems to have escaped attention.

[4] See e.g. *Gesetze*, vol. III, p. 96; vol. I, p. 146, col. 3 n.; and vol. I, p. xxxiii, col. 2.

[5] Cp. classical 'præcupidus,' and *(ge)unnon* rendered by 'cupiatis' in the same clause.

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probably knew a manuscript of the 'London' group[1]. Apparently he is disposed to admit the intervention of an Elizabethan scholar in this decisive place, while maintaining that the documents are in other respects genuine.

To meet this development I shall try to show: first, that it is not only exceptionally and for an isolated word that the intervention of an Elizabethan is needed; then, that my hypothesis explains all the details, so that further assumptions are unnecessary; and, lastly, that three other texts in Lambard, for which no manuscript source is known, are Elizabethan renderings made under the same circumstances. Incidentally I shall draw attention to some of the difficulties of Professor Liebermann's position.

I.

To begin with a point of detail: In reply to the argument that in Lambard's *Ord.* the whole phrase *án sconc spices oþþe án rám weorþe IIII peningas* is spurious, Professor Liebermann refers to his Glossary (*Gesetze*, vol. II, p. 635), where no light is cast on my difficulties. They are these:—Elsewhere in the Anglo-Saxon laws we have *sceap*, *weðer*, *ewu*, *lamb*, but nowhere else is a *ram* specified. It may reasonably be supposed that the economy of a flock in Athelstan's day was very much what it was in later times: there were ewes for breeding, milk, wool and meat; rams for breeding and wool; wethers for meat and wool; and the number of rams would be small compared with the number of ewes and wethers. No doubt rams were sometimes eaten, and it may be that a ram was fair tender under an order requiring delivery of a 'sheep.' But is it likely that in providing for the monthly food of a pauper, the king would specify a ram, the most unsuitable kind of meat for the recipient, and perhaps the most inconvenient for the supplier? Next, *án sconc spices* is a barbarism from whatever angle it is examined[2]. *Sconca* is not elsewhere used for the hindquarter in Old English, and phrases like 'leg of mutton,' 'gammon of bacon,' 'haunch of venison,' which are not recorded in the Oxford Dictionary before the sixteenth century, can hardly be carried back to the eleventh or the twelfth century. Again, *weorþe IIII peningas* is good modern English—'worth 4 pence,' but the Old English expression is regularly *IIII peninga* (gen. pl.)

[1] 'Ich wusste nämlich dass L(ambar)d zwar nicht Q(uadripartitus), wohl aber eine Hs, von dem diesen abschreibenden Londoner Stadtjuristen gekannt hat, und fand zweimal, in Fehlern gegen das Original, das Latein in Lond. übereinstimmend mit L(ambar)d,' etc. (*Beiblatt*, p. 215). Whether Lambard or Nowell is responsible is relatively unimportant, and so is the distinction between *Q.* and the London Laws.

[2] The isolation of the phrase in the Oxford Dictionary s.v. *Shank*, 1. e is significant.

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weorþ[1]. And, as the elements are bad severally, so is their meaning when they are taken together. For *án sconc spices* = 1 ram = 4*d.*[2] And a ham is roughly one-eighth of the cured meat of a pig. So 1 pig = 8 rams = 32*d.* But modern conditions suggest that two sheep would have about the same meat value as one pig; and luckily the contemporary *VI Athelstan* § 6 confirms this, giving the values 1 pig = 2 sheep = 10*d.* My explanation is that the lost *Ordinance* had *.i. flicce oþþe .i. weðer*: which was regularly translated in Quadripartitus 'una perna vel unus aries[3].' Nowell, taking both words in their usual meanings, rendered 'aries' by *ram*; and, as he knew no Old English for 'a gammon of bacon,' he paraphrased 'perna' with *án sconc spices.* Applying now the independent check afforded by the values, we get 1 flitch = ½ pig = 1 wether = 4*d.*, which gives a true relative value and a reasonable money value for the pig and sheep in Athelstan's time. Defenders of the phrase can hardly decline the task of explaining the words and their meaning in combination; and those who concede that it is spurious, but think it is interpolated in a genuine text, must consider how this strange patchwork came to be produced.

But in fact these versions are all of a piece. The linguistic characters that make them suspect cannot be localised in an occasional word or phrase: they are uniformly diffused through the texts, and are essential to the expression. The word-stems are standard West Saxon of the late tenth and the eleventh century. The inflexions, where they occur, are full Old English inflexions, but they are barbarously misused. The syntax shows an occasional Latinism[4], several Modern English features,

[1] The abnormal construction occurs again in Lambard's *Að* § 1...*biþ weorþ syx ceorliscra manna aþas.* Its significance will appear later.

[2] That the alternatives are equivalent in value is common ground: see *Gesetze*, vol. II, p. 640, s.v. *Schinken.*

[3] For 'perna' = *flicce* see Bosworth-Toller, *Suppl.*, s.v. *flicce.* For 'aries' = *weðer*, cp. Ine § 70, 1 where the translation 'Widder' 'ram' is unsatisfactory.

[4] E.g. *Ord.* § 1: *Q.* sub testimonio: Lambard *under gewitnesse.* Examples of the other peculiarities are given in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* (1923), pp. 101 ff. Of these, only three are questioned. Against the explanation of the *ἅπαξ oferhealdan* (normal *forhealdan*) as a literal rendering of *Q.* 'supertenere,' Professor Liebermann calls attention to other compounds in which *for-* and *ofer-* have similar force. This can only affect the decisiveness of the example taken by itself. As evidence that the spelling *gereafa* (4 times out of 5) is genuine, an undoubted example is quoted from the twelfth century MS. Harley 55. My argument was not that an isolated example with *ea* is impossible in the twelfth century (when almost every conceivable spelling of the *e* sounds may occur) but rather that its exceptionally free use in *I Ath.* and *Ord.* suited well with an Elizabethan origin; for the spelling *rea-* is recorded in *N.E.D.* for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only. I agree, however, that this is not good evidence against authenticity. On the other hand, the use of the definite article with *Drihten* (Modern English '*the* Lord') is in no way paralleled by three instances in *Swerian* (*Gesetze*, vol. I, p. 396), where, as Professor Liebermann himself suggests, the article is a strong demonstrative = 'that' and is good Old English idiom. It was not pretended that the forms *ðæs Drihtenes* etc. are due to the Latin: they are due to the modern English in which Nowell thought when translating the Latin.

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and a complete disregard for such radical distinctions as that between strong and weak adjectives, which is still clear in Chaucer. At every turn there is conflict with the history of vocabulary, accidence and syntax that has been built up from reliable texts. Now, if an Elizabethan antiquary tried to translate from *Q.*, having a good knowledge of Old English vocabulary and a special familiarity with the phrasing of the Laws, this is the sort of Old English he might be expected to produce; for neither from tradition nor by training could he know the niceties of the old language. But if these peculiarities derive from an old MS., where among the ample remains of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries are they to be paralleled in a passage of natural prose[1]? If they are due to Lambard's mutilation of an old MS., has he anywhere else in his collection of Laws mutilated to the same degree a MS. which is still available for comparison? If the printer is responsible, why did he choose just here to falsify his copy? (The peculiarities on which I rely cannot be explained as typographical errors.[2]) And if Lambard himself falsified the text, or allowed his printer to do so, what becomes of his high reputation as an editor, which Professor Liebermann objects to the relatively charitable suggestion that he mistook Nowell's translation for a transcript from an old MS.?

There is another important consideration. We have two distinct versions of *I Ath.*, one in extant MSS. and one in Lambard. If Lambard's text is an antiquarian rendering of Quadripartitus made by a person who had not the Old English of the MSS. before him, the anomaly is explained. But if that explanation is rejected, the problem remains. It is unlikely that the original wording of a law would be wantonly changed, and the evidence of many late MSS. shows that considerable variations are not very common, and are usually explicable as modernisations or attempts to clarify the expression. But if Lambard's text ultimately derives from that of the extant MSS., nothing less than complete rewriting will account for the difference; and accordingly the recasting *lq* is postulated in *Gesetze*[3].

Yet no motive has been suggested that would explain such a

[1] Copies of interlinear glosses should not be cited, because they are different in kind. Nor will an assemblage of irregularities from various places make a parallel, because here irregularity is concentrated. Manipulation of Old English texts after the twelfth century and before 1550 need not be reckoned with.

[2] Lambard was certainly not particular about final *-e*, and his printer probably set no great store by it. So the addition or omission of *-e* should not be used as evidence.

[3] *Gesetze*, vol. III, pp. 96 ff. The possibility of derivation from two different copies promulgated in Athelstan's time is admitted (*Gesetze*, vol. I, p. xvi), but is subsequently neglected, with good reason.

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recasting. Certainly it was not the desire to make the meaning clearer or to bring the wording up-to-date; for in what age could a person who had before him the straightforward MS. text of *I Ath.* Prol.: *and eow bidde...þæt ge ærest of minum agenum góde agyfan þa teoþunga, ægþer ge on cwicum ceape ge on þæs geares eorð-wæstmum*, think that Lambard's sorry stuff: *ic...bebeode...þæt hi ærost mines* (*!*) *agenes* (*!*) *æhtes* (*!*) *ðam* (*!*) *teoþe* (*!*) *gesyllaþ* (*!*), *ge ðæs libbendes* (*!*) *yrfes ge ðæs gearlices* (*!*) *westmes*, was more modern or more lucid? And if a motive for its production could be found, *lq* still does not help very much. As it is by definition the source of *Q.*, it must be dated before 1100[1]: and any linguistic peculiarities that are attributed to it must be paralleled from eleventh century MSS., which in fact maintain the accidence, syntax and vocabulary of West Saxon fairly well. It will not explain, for instance, the occurrence twice in Lambard's *I Ath.*[2] and nowhere else in Old English, of the modern substantival use of *teoþa*(*n*) = 'tithe(s),' which is first recorded from an extant MS. in the thirteenth century.

It will not even explain some larger discrepancies between Lambard's texts and the extant MSS. If we compare the Latin for one phrase from the passage just cited: Extant MSS. *þa teoþunga, ægþer ge* on *cwicum ceape ge* on *þæs geares* eorð-*wæstmum*: *Q.* decimas utriusque *in* vivente captali et *in* ornotinis frugibus *terre*: Lambard *ðam teoþe...ge ðæs libbendes yrfes ge ðæs gearlices westmes*, it is plain that the text of the extant MSS. without modification, and not Lambard's text, lay before the translator of *Q.*; so that *lq*, if it ever existed, showed no recasting in this phrase. Still another recaster of the beginning of the twelfth century must be assumed to account for the divergence of Lambard's text from *Q.*[3]; and one may well ask where in the twelfth century MSS. of Anglo-Saxon laws a sentence has been so completely rewritten without change of bulk, matter or arrangement; and how such a complete rewriting could leave unbroken in other places the very close relation with *Q.* that is supposed to have been produced by the previous recaster; and why these particular texts were so singularly afflicted with revisers.

II.

I shall now turn to the considerations which lead Professor Liebermann to conclude that the authenticity of the texts is unshaken. No doubt he has selected the chief difficulties that stand in the way of the

[1] *Gesetze*, vol. III, p. 96.
[2] Oxford Dict., s.v. *Tenth* B. 1b and *Tithe* B; Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *tēoþa* 2a.
[3] *Gesetze*, vol. III, pp. 96 ff.

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opposite view; and it will be best to deal with them all in order, lest any strong point should escape.

(*a*) Since Lambard knew a number of Old English legal texts which are now lost, why may not his *I Ath.* and *Ord.* derive from a lost MS.? Perhaps the readiest answer is that the whole question of Lambard's lost Old English MSS. is uncertain[1], and as his *I Ath.* and *Ord.* have exceptional features in common, it is legitimate to consider them apart and on their own merits.

(*b*) What scholar in Elizabethan times would try to deceive his colleagues without any political motive? As it is explicit in my hypothesis that there was no intention to deceive[2], we are at one here.

(*c*) Who had the necessary knowledge to produce such texts? Certainly Lawrence Nowell, Lambard's teacher, and (beside Josselin) the first Anglo-Saxon scholar of the time. That he had a good knowledge of the Old English vocabulary is proved by the MS. Dictionary he sent to Lambard in 1567[3]. Extant transcripts[4] and Lambard's Preface show that he had worked specially on the Laws. The right words and phrases in *I Ath.* and *Ord.* are thus accounted for; and the deplorable grammar and syntax could not be above Nowell's powers.

(*d*) Why did he overlook the Old English of *I Ath.* in the extant MSS. CCCC 201 and Nero A 1[5]? After all, Nowell was a pioneer, working before there were any catalogues, reference books, or ordered national collections; and at a given moment he might not know that the Old English basis of the Latin text of *I Ath.* was to be found in two

[1] It would be a grave error of method if, as Professor Liebermann says, I had denied that Lambard used any lost MSS. without giving my reasons. In fact, the denial concerned only *I Ath.* and *Ord.*, and was based on evidence given. The assumption that for other texts he used Old English MSS. since unaccountably lost, requires investigation, which would be easier if somebody would state as a working hypothesis the number of lost MSS. assumed, their content, and probable dates. As matters stand, it is not clear whether 'Lambard benutzte ausser erhaltenen Hss. manche verlorene' (*Gesetze*, vol. I, p. xxxiii), and 'Lambard zu einer ganzen Anzahl anderer Gesetze Texte kannte, die seitdem verloren sind' (*Beiblatt*, p. 215) mean the same thing. After all, Lambard worked in the great age of collectors of Old English MSS., which, as a class, have never since lost in interest or value. He made no long researches. He says he referred chiefly to Archbishop Parker's library, which has been well preserved. And relatively unimportant books and transcripts of his own have been carefully handed down.

[2] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XVIII, p. 103.

[3] Bodleian MS. Selden, *supra* 63.

[4] At Messrs Hodgson's sale on 19 June 1924, the lots from the Lambard collection included: 'No. 512 Leges Ethelberti Regis Saxonice etc., *in Lambarde's hand*, 54 pp., sm. 4to, 1572, and a Common-Place Book...[containing *inter alia*] Extracts from the Laws of Alfred (to Henry I), *in Nowell's hand*, etc.'

[5] According to *Gesetze*, vol. I, p. xxv, col. 2 both Nowell and Lambard did use this MS. But the supporting reference to Turk, *Legal Code of Alfred the Great*, p. 13, is unsatisfactory. Turk says loosely that Nero A 1 'passed like many copies by Nowell and Lambard' into the Cotton collection. But he cannot mean 'like many transcripts *of it* by Nowell and Lambard,' for there is no record of these transcripts in the Cotton collection.

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MSS. Lambard himself records none of the remarkable divergences of these MSS. from his print of *I Ath.*

(*e*) Why did he not translate also such interesting texts as *III* and *IV Ath.*? If it is fair to turn an unanswerable question, and to account rather for what is on record, I suggest that Nowell was using a MS. that contained *II Ath.*[1]—CCCC 383[2] or Otho B XI or a transcript of either—and that on collating the Latin text[3] in a MS. of the 'London' group, he noticed *I Ath.* and *Ord.* immediately before *II Ath.* He filled the gap in his collection of Old English Laws, not from another MS. (because there was none of *Ord.*, and he had neither of the two that contain *I Ath.*) but by translating the Latin back into Old English—a proceeding not so strange when the subject was in its infancy[4]. He would be interrupted by the original text of *II Ath.*; but I do not think that ended his experiment. He went on to translate the pieces immediately following *II Ath.* in the 'London' MSS., viz.: *Episcopus*[5], *Norðleod*[6], *Mirce*[6], *Að*[6], *Hadbot*[7], omitting the first and fifth as of ecclesiastical and not secular interest: that is to say, Lambard's texts of *Norðleod*, *Mirce*, *Að* are also modern. Perhaps he had not inclination or opportunity to do more.

(*f*) That Lambard knew Quadripartitus is no part of my contention[8]. Nor is his reputation as an editor impugned by assuming that (as was common among scholars until very recently) he relied on transcripts

[1] No extant MS. of *II Ath.* contains also *I Ath.*

[2] MS. CCCC 383 now contains only the beginning of *II Ath.* It is quite possible that the missing quire has been lost since Lambard's day, and that his text of *II Ath.* is drawn primarily from this MS. (see *Gesetze*, vol. III, p. 99). It is also possible that his *V Ath.* comes from the Corpus MS.; and if it followed immediately on *II Ath.*, as it does in *Textus Roffensis*, the order of pieces in *Archaionomia* (see below, p. 264) would be conveniently explained. But the first clause of *V Ath.* refers clearly to *II Ath.*, so that Lambard may have established the order by internal evidence rather than by MS. authority.

[3] It was by studying texts which had Latin equivalents that the early scholars attained to a reading knowledge of Old English.

[4] It was natural enough that those who began the study of Old English should try to write it, just as they would try to write Latin or French; and some attempts by Lambard in the front of the Dictionary that Nowell sent him are interesting because they show the same mixture of knowledge and ignorance that appears in *I Ath.* and *Ord.*: e.g. (referring to the gift)

Mid hiht ic þolige L[awrence] N[owell]
Butan hiht ic ahnige W[illiam] L[ambard];

and the rendering of 'Invigila lampadi' by *Wæccaþ þine leohtfæt*, where the modern use of *watch* and the polite plural are written back into West Saxon.

[5] *Gesetze*, vol. I, p. 477.

[6] For the texts see *Gesetze*, vol. I, pp. 458–64. Lambard has neither *Episcopus* nor *Hadbot* (*Gesetze*, vol. I, p. xxxiii, col. 2, l. 15 is a slip).

[7] *Gesetze*, vol. I, p. 465.

[8] By 'Quadripartitus' Professor Liebermann means the complete work. I use it to include those parts of the complete work that are incorporated in MSS. of the London Laws, because they are the parts that matter in the present discussion. Unless he knew them, Lambard's remarks (in his Preface) on the Latin versions existing in 1568 are hard to explain.

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supplied by friends, and particularly by Nowell. In the Preface to *Archaionomia*, he says that Nowell sent him 'the ancient laws' in 1567, with a request that he should make a Latin translation. Nowell had evidently been working on the Laws and was interrupted by an enforced journey abroad. Lambard seems to have regarded the Latin translation as his primary business; he had only a year for the whole work, which would preclude any exhaustive study of the scattered MSS.; and it is not surprising that he should pass as genuine what modern scholars find defensible.

For the points already discussed Professor Liebermann claims no more than that they are reasons for doubting. The heart of his argument lies in the details that follow.

(*g*) In *I Ath.* § 4, 1 Lambard has *heofonlica* : *eorþlicum* : *ecelic* : *hwilwendlicum*, which is a more natural order than *Q.* 'eterna : terrenis : celestia : caducis,' though the sense is the same. Professor Liebermann thinks that this clause in Lambard's text is due to the 'reviser before 1100,' and that *Q.* translates it, changing the order for the worse. But it is just as likely that Nowell, finding the clause in *Q.* (it is not in the Old English MSS.), would change the order in his translation.

(*h*) In *Ord.* Lambard has *án earm Engliscmon* = *Q.* 'pauperem unum Anglicum indigentem': *i.e.* there is no separate and unnecessary word to render 'indigentem.' It is difficult to see how anything can be deduced from this in favour of one view or the other.

(*i*) *þæt ge alysaþ* in *Ord.* § 1 is quoted as peculiarly idiomatic, with a reference to the special use of *þæt* illustrated in the Glossary to *Gesetze* s.v. *þæt* IV A 2. But this passage is rightly excluded from the Glossary, because the construction of *þæt* is normal: *ic...gecyþe...þæt ic wille þæt ge fedaþ... and þæt ge alysaþ.* In fact the expression is unidiomatic, for OE. usage requires the subjunctives *feden...alysen.*

(*j*) In *Ord.* § 2 Lambard's (*on ðа tun...ðe ðis*) *ungefremed wunie* is said to be 'feiner' than *Q.* '(in ipsa villa...ubi hoc) non fuerit executum.' But subjective tests are not reliable even if we could be sure that the author of *Q.* would express himself better than a cultured Elizabethan. In Modern English a thing can be said to 'remain undone'; but where in Old English is there a parallel to *ungefremed wunian* used of a thing to be done? If there is none, the indication is against authenticity.

(*k*) In *Ord.* Prol. Professor Liebermann thinks Lambard's *gif ge him habbaþ* more concrete than *Q.* 'si sit ibi,' for which the MSS. nearest to Lambard's text have the scribal error 'si sit tibi.' The passage is crucial, but the question that matters is 'Which is translated from the other?' And it seems more likely that an antiquary, coming on 'si sit tibi' (and bound to make the best of it in a context that requires the plural) would produce the barbarous *gif ge him habbaþ*[1], than that the translator of *Q.* would find in an eleventh century MS. *gif ge him habbaþ* and render it 'si sit ibi.'

(*l*) *Ibid. Godes ðeowa* = *Q.* 'Dei ministrorum.' But either is a literal translation of the other, so that the evidence is neutral.

(*m*) *Ibid.* 'das ursprüngliche *ealle wæga*' = *Q.* 'omni via.' If *ealle wæga* were the Old English for 'always' as well as the literal equivalent of 'omni via,' the evidence would be neutral. But as 'always' is *ealne weg*, *ealneg* in OE., *ealle wæga* cannot be original, and is best explained as an unidiomatic literal rendering of 'omni via.'

[1] Based on the regular 'est tibi' = 'you have.'

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(*n*) In *Ord.* § 1 *under þæs bisceopes gewitnesse on ðæs rice it sie*=*Q.* 'sub testimonio episcopi in cuius episcopatu sit.' It is argued that a translator would have written *bisceoprice*, instead of *rice* which occurs also in Ine's Laws. But Nowell certainly knew Ine's Laws; and after *bisceopes* the simple *rice* avoids a repetition. Besides, I doubt that the syntax of the whole phrase can be paralleled in natural Old English.

The next three places are said to refute with special clearness the contention that Lambard's text is based solely on *Q*.

(*o*) *I Ath.* Prol. Extant MSS. *þæt ge ærest of minum agenum góde agyfan þa teoþunga*=Lambard *þæt hi ærost mines agenes æhtes ðam teoþe gesyllaþ*=*Q.* 'ut in primis de meo proprio reddant Deo decimas.' The argument is that 'Deo' in *Q.* arises from misunderstanding of *gode* ('goods') of the extant MSS., and that while Lambard has nothing corresponding to the erroneous 'Deo,' his *æhtes* 'property' is a substitute for the correct *gode*.

Let it be granted for the moment that 'Deo' is a wrong rendering of *gode*. It follows that the reading in the supposed source *lq* was *gode*, and that *æhtes* was substituted for it after 1100. The person who made this substitution did not know that OE. *æht* is fem., for he gave it the masculine and neuter genitive sing. *æhtes*[1]; and he did not know that the weak gen. sing. *agenan* should be used after the demonstrative *min*. Nowell might well be guilty of such grammar, but a parallel could scarcely be found in the early twelfth century, when our second recaster is supposed to have worked. It is just conceivable, as an oddity, late in the twelfth century (though the old stem-form *æht-* would be less likely then). So it would seem that to support the genuineness of the text we need a third reviser!

But is it so sure that *æhtes* has been substituted for *gode* in a context that is not really ambiguous? *Q.* 'de meo proprio' would naturally be rendered with the help of a noun, and in fact Lambard re-translates *mines agenes æhtes* by 'ex meo proprio.' So there is no reason why Nowell should not have produced *mines agenes æhtes* without reference to any text but *Q*. Nor is his omission to render 'Deo' by any separate word surprising: for what is expressed in 'decimas reddere Deo' is implied in 'pay tithes[2].'

Thus the argument fails even on the assumption that 'Deo' in *Q.* is an error for *gode* of the MSS.; and that assumption is itself unnecessary because in the same clause *Q.* renders *of heora agenum gode* by 'de suo proprio,' showing that he interpreted *gode* correctly; and because 'decimas reddere Deo' is a legitimate rendering of *agyfan þa teoþunga*.

(*p*) In *I Ath.* § 2 the extant MSS. have *Iacob se heahfæder*: *Q.* 'Iacob pater excelsus'; Lambard *Iacob se hiehfæder*. Since Nowell knew that Jacob was a patriarch, and knew (as his MS. dictionary shows) that the Old English for 'patriarch' was *heahfæder*, it is hard to see how else than by *Iacob se hiehfæder* he could render 'Iacob pater excelsus.'

(*q*) In *I Ath.* Prol. the extant MSS. have *þæt ylce don*=*Q.* 'similiter facere' =Lambard *þæt ilce gedón*. This would be telling if 'to do the same' were not a usual rendering of 'similiter facere,' and *don þæt ilce* the obvious rendering of 'do the same.' Even less helpful is *I Ath.* § 5: extant MSS. *mid unrihte*=*Q.* 'iniuste' =Lambard *mid woh*. There is no reason why a recaster should change *mid unrihte* to *mid woh*[3]; but a translator who knew *V Ath.* or *III Eadgar* or *II Cnut* (all in

[1] The only example in Bosworth-Toller, *Suppl.*, where it must in any event be deleted now that it is shown to be later than 1100.

[2] Similarly in *I Ath.* § 3, where the extant MSS. have *gif we þa teoðunga Gode gelæstan nellað*, *Q.* and Lambard have no separate rendering for *Gode*.

[3] That *mid wo* is explained by a late gloss *unriht* in the Harleian MS. of *III Edgar* § 4, tells against substitution of *woh* for *unriht* in the twelfth century, but not against the use of *woh* by an antiquary in the sixteenth century. It is of some importance, in view of the limitation given at p. 257, n. 1 above, to note that *unriht* is not a fourteenth century gloss (*Gesetze*, vol. I, p. 202, col. 2 n.), but belongs to the well-defined group of Worcester glosses made about 1200.

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Archaionomia) would know the phrase *mid wo(h)*, which Lambard re-translates by 'iniuste' in this passage.

(*r*) In *I Ath.* Prol. the extant MSS. have *agyfan* = *Q.* 'reddant' = Lambard *gesyllaþ*; and Professor Liebermann rightly says that *agyfan* is the readier word. Then, why should a recaster alter it to *gesyllaþ*? That Nowell with *reddant* before him should hit upon the less satisfactory synonym need cause no difficulty[1].

(*s*) In *I Ath.* Prol. *Q.* 'archiepiscopus' = Extant MSS. *ærcebiscop* = Lambard *hehbisceop*. In *Ord. Q.* 'archiepiscopus' = Lambard *ærcebisceop* (there are no extant MSS.). Nowell knew both Old English words, for he has them in his MS. dictionary; and the variety of rendering, if pointless, is not improbable. On the alternative view an early recaster deliberately altered *ærcebisceop* to *hehbisceop* in the first passage and left it unchanged in the second. If the recasters could be shown to act on any rational plan, the case for their existence would be stronger.

The next group of passages is cited to show that some of the variations of Lambard's text from the extant MSS. can be paralleled in twelfth century MSS. Two of these parallels are from *Mirce* and *Norðleod*, the authenticity of which will be considered later. From the rest it will be enough to choose the three that are most interesting.

(*t*) *I Ath.* § 5. Extant MSS. *gestrynan...gestrynan* = *Q.* 'adquirere'...'conquirere' = Lambard *begytan...begytan*. It is true that in *Alfred* § 65 the twelfth century MS. CCCC 383 has *begytan* for original *gestrynan*, and the explanation is simple. OE. *gestrynan* means both 'to beget (children)' and 'to acquire'; but the meaning 'acquire' disappears after the Conquest. OE. *begytan* means usually 'to acquire,' and retains this sense up to Elizabethan times, alongside the modern sense 'to beget (children),' which first appears in late Old English. Hence substitution of *begytan* for *gestrynan* in the sense 'acquire' is to be expected from the twelfth century onwards; and *begytan* not *gestrynan* is the word that would be suggested to Nowell by the usage of his own time if he were rendering 'adquirere,' 'conquirere.'

(*u*) *I Ath.* Prol. Extant MSS. *on cwicum ceape* = *Q.* 'in vivente captali' = Lambard *ðæs libbendes yrfes*. It is suggested that the substitution of *libbende* for *cwicu* is supported by the alliterative phrase *ne libbende ne licgende* applied to goods in *II Cnut* § 24. But there *libbende* is original: no MS. has the variant *cwicu*. And it is by no means clear why anybody who had before him the alliterative formula *on cwicum ceape* (every word of which is common in Middle English) should replace it by *libbende yrfe*, a phrase otherwise unknown for the good reason that *yrfe* itself means 'live-stock,' 'cattle.' As Nowell's rendering of 'vivente captali' *libbende yrfe* is easily accounted for.

(*v*) *I Ath.* Prol. Extant MSS. *freondscipe* = *Q.* 'amicitia' = Lambard *lufu*: and similarly in *Ord.* § 1 *Q.* 'amicitia' = Lambard *lufu*. Professor Liebermann explains, not altogether convincingly, that the recaster, failing to appreciate the threat of withdrawal of the royal favour, altered *freondscipe* to *lufu*; and thinks that an Elizabethan would naturally render 'amicitia' by the original word *freondscipe*. But to speak of the king's 'friendship' for his subjects in a formal document would sound too familiar in the days of the Tudors. The right word for the feeling between king and subjects was 'love,' and so Nowell naturally translated 'amicitia' by *lufu* in this context. It happens that in both places the phrase is 'for my love,' which is common in Elizabethan English.

The other passages offer no difficulty. So the simple and precise solution—that Lambard's *I Ath.* and *Ord.* are translations made by

[1] He gives *gesyllan* in his MS. dictionary, and he may have thought it more distinctively Old English than any form of 'give.' It is noticeable that he prefers *biþ* and *sy* to *is*.

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Nowell in or about 1567 from the Latin of the 'London' text—satisfies all the conditions that have so far been mentioned. Professor Liebermann's complex solution meets some of the conditions, but I think it can only be accommodated to the rest by more and more elaboration, until it slips beyond the reach of proof or disproof. Yet it is perhaps the best hypothesis that can be framed on the basis that these two texts are authentic.

III.

Before examining *Norðleod*, *Mirce* and *Að* in detail, it is worth while to note how they fall in *Archaionomia*. Lambard's order is *I Ath.*, *Ord.*, *II Ath.*, *V Ath.*, *Norðleod*, *Mirce*, *Að*[1]. But the texts of his *II Ath.* and *V Ath.* stand apart from the rest because they agree very closely with extant MSS.[2], while the rest show many remarkable variants.

That Lambard's *Norðleod*, *Mirce*, *Að* form a homogeneous group is hardly disputable; and they have so much in common with his *I Ath* and *Ord.* that they are explained in *Gesetze* by the same assumptions, viz. a lost *lq*, before 1100, and a second recasting very little after 1100[3]. On the whole they read more like genuine texts; but the short sentences, and the retention or clear indication of technical terms in *Q.*, would make the task of an antiquarian translator easier.

It happens that the first and the last clause of the group are good specimens for closer study. Lambard's *Norðleod* § 1 reads ...*se wære belympaþ to ðam mægþe ðæs cynecynnes and þæt cynebot to ðam landleod.* Here at once are three false genders: *mægþ*, *cynebot*, *landleod* are all feminine, yet the forms of the article used are unmistakeably masculine or neuter. *Landleod* (*Q.* 'terrae nationi': extant MS. *leodum*) occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Laws only in this place and in Lambard's *Mirce* § 4, where again it is made masculine. *Cynecynnes* makes its only appearance in the Laws here, and the phrase *ðam mægþe ðæs cynecynnes* 'the kindred of the royal kin' is not a plausible variant of *magum*

[1] This order, which is by no means inevitable, and is not found in any extant Old English MS., differs from that of the 'London' group only in the omission of *Episcopus* and *Hadbot*, and the insertion of *V Ath.* after *II Ath.* An explanation is suggested in II (*e*) above.

[2] In the side-note to *II Ath.* § 6, 2 *blisgeras*, Professor Liebermann finds evidence that Lambard had access to a lost MS. other than the one he prints (*Gesetze*, vol. III, p. 100, col. 1). It runs '"alias *beligeras*," quod sonat "accusatores falsos."' But this incredible reading was not in the source of *Q.*, which preserves *blasieras*; and it is most likely an unhappy Elizabethan conjecture for the rare form *blisgeras* 'incendiaries.'

[3] As an alternative to the second recasting, a series of double readings in *lq* is suggested (*Gesetze*, vol. III, p. 260, col. 1). This raises fresh difficulties.

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'kinsmen,' which is the reading of the extant MSS.[1] Then *belympaþ to* (*Q.* 'pertinet': extant MSS. *gebyreð*) is plural instead of singular, and the sense 'is payable to' goes a little beyond the recorded meanings. No wonder Professor Toller remarks that 'the passage seems very corrupt[2].'

The texts of *Að* § 2 are worth setting out in full:

Eleventh century MSS.	*Textus Roffensis* (*after* 1120)	*Q.* (*London MSS.*)	*Lambard*
Mæssepreostes aðˇ and worldþegnes is on Engla lage geteald efendire for ðam seofon cirichadan þe se preost þurh Godes gife geþéah þæt he hæfde.	Mæssepreostes aðˇ and woruldþegenes is on Engla lage geteald efendyre; *and* for þam seofon cyrichadan þe se *mæsse*preost þurh Godes gife geþeah þæt he hæfde, *he biðˇ þegenrihtes wyrþe.*	Misse presbiteri et secularis thaini iusiurandum in Anglorum lege computatur eque carum; *et* pro septem ordinibus ecclesię, quo sacerdos per Dei donum ascendit ut haberet[ur], *thaini recto dignus est.*	Messepreostes and weoroldðegnes aþ on Engla laga *biþ gelic gedemod; and* for þam seofon *cyriclicum endebyrdnyssum*, *ðam* se preost *be* Godes gyfa *up astigeðˇ*, *biþ he þæs ðegnes rihtes geweorþod.*

This is the order of the texts if Lambard's version is a translation of *Q.*, and it presents no difficulty. But we must consider the alternative view that Lambard's text derives from the extant MSS. in the first two columns, and that *Q.* is translated from Lambard's version.

The equivalence of *Textus Roffensis* and *Q.* appears at a glance. *Textus Roffensis*, like the earlier MSS., has *efendyre* = *Q.* 'eque carum,' and *þæt he hæfde* = *Q.* 'ut haberet,' neither of which are in Lambard; but it also has an intrusive *and* in common with *Q.* and Lambard, as well as the phrase *he biðˇ þegenrihtes wyrþe*, where *Q.* and Lambard have equivalents, though the eleventh century MSS. have not. Hence, if ever there was an *lq*—a common source of *Q.* and Lambard—in this place it must have been almost identical with *Textus Roffensis*, and divergences in Lambard must be ascribed to the second recaster.

Again, since *Textus Roffensis* was written after 1120, it is later than the supposed *lq*, and probably later than the supposed second recasting. Yet its idiom is sound, and its vocabulary normal; and there is no reason to expect a lower standard in any part of Lambard's text that is of a like age.

Let us now examine the divergences of the fourth column. *Efendyre*, which is plain English and caused no difficulty to the compiler of *Textus Roffensis*, is replaced by *biþ gelic gedemod*, which never was English[3]. *Endebyrdnys* did not survive into Middle English, yet it is

[1] *Q.* has *cognationi*.
[2] *Suppl.*, s.v. *landleod*.
[3] The false conjugation of *gedemod* is unimportant in comparison with the false idiom.

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substituted for *hād* which did[1]. *Be* (*Godes gyfa*), for *þurh* of the MSS., is an anachronism that reflects the comparatively late usage '*by* God's grace.' The regular formula *þegenrihtes wyrþe* is replaced by *þæs ðegnes rihtes geweorþod*, which again is impossible English[2]. There remains *ðam...up astigeð*[3] for *geþeah* of the MSS., and its significance will be brought out by a table showing all the uses of *geþeon* in this group of texts:

	Norðleod § 7	*Norðleod* § 7, 1	*Norðleod* § 9	*Norðleod* § 10	*Norðleod* § 11	*Að* § 2
All MSS.	geþeo	geþeo	geþeo	geþeo	geþeoð	geþéah
Quadripartitus	promove-atur	assurgat	promove-atur	assequatur	assequatur	ascendit
Lambard	beo gewel-egod	biþ gerysen	sie gewel-egod	begytaþ	begyten	up astigeð

As the verb (*ge*)*þeon* 'to prosper' etc. outlasted the Middle English period, the obvious interpretation is that *geþeon* has been variously translated in the Latin of *Q.*, and mechanically re-translated by somebody who always missed the right word. Fortunately the other view—that *geþeon* was altered without reason in the Old English source of *Q.*—can be dealt with shortly: for Old English idiom permits neither *ne bið butan to healfhyda gerysen* nor *up astigeð ðam cyriclicum endebyrdnyssum.*

The evidence already produced seems to me decisive against authenticity. If it is accepted, the following words (besides those previously mentioned) should be deleted from the dictionaries: *Norðleod* § 11 *sunsunu* (son's son) which Professor Liebermann has already rejected as a misreading; *ibid.* § 7, 1 the compound *healfhyd* (MSS. *to healfre hide*); and *ibid.* § 10 *ofergylden* adj. (MSS. *goldfæted*), where the participle *ofergylded* might have passed muster.

Some other difficulties find an easy solution. For instance, Lambard agrees with three MSS. of the 'London' group in omitting the whole clause *Norðleod* § 12; and in *Mirce* § 2 he agrees with one MS. of the same group in the absurd statement (resulting from transposition of

[1] Perhaps some of the words and phrases in Lambard's text derive from Aelfric's *Grammar*, in which Latin words stand side by side with their Old English equivalents. At least it is remarkable that in *Mirce* § 3, 1 where the MSS. have *gebyreð oðer swilc* (*to bote*) = *Q.* 'debet addi tantumdem,' Lambard reads *biþ to ðissum genumen eft swa micle*. In Aelfric's *Grammar* (ed. Zupitza, p. 5, l. 15) occurs *to ðissum is genumen se grecisca y* (where *is genumen* seems to be due to the use of 'adsumere' in Latin grammars); and at p. 108, l. 11 we have: 'tantumdem, þæt is, eft swa mycel.'

[2] *Geweorþod* takes *mid* + instrumental or simple instrumental—never the genitive. This is the only instance in Bosworth-Toller, *Suppl.*, s.v. *geweorþian*.

[3] *Astiged* in the print. The present tense *astigeð* is awkward, and is much more likely as a rendering of *ascendit* than as a variant of *geþeah*.

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M = milia) that 'the King's wergeld is equal to 6000 thegn's wergelds i.e. 30 sceattas[1].' The agreement is accounted for if Lambard's text is translated from a MS. of the 'London' group that contained these errors[2].

A more complicated problem, which has vexed the commentators[3], is presented by *Norðleod* § 10:

Extant MSS.	*Q.*	*Lambard*
And þeah he [*sc.* ceorlisc man] geþeo þæt he hæbbe helm and byrnan and gold-fæted sweord, gif he þæt land nafaþ, he biþ ceorl swaþeah.	Et si assequatur ut habeat loricam et galeam et deauratum gladium, si terram non habeat, tamen est {siþcundes / ceorlus}.	and gif he begytaþ þæt hæbbe byrne and helm and ofergyldene sweord, ðeah ðe he land næbbe, he biþ siþcund.

Here *Q.* is a kind of middle term between the MSS. and Lambard: in the MSS. the sequence *And þeah...gif...ceorl swaþeah* fixes the true reading *ceorl*; in Lambard the sequence *gif...ðeah ðe...siþcund*[4] fixes the opposite meaning—that the *ceorl* by virtue of possessing arms rises to the rank of thane; in *Q.* the conjunctions *si...si...tamen* are ambiguous, and substitution of *siþcundes* for 'ceorlus' is enough to reverse the sense. But it must not be supposed that the reading *siþcundes* is scattered through the MSS. of *Q.*: it is peculiar to the 'London' group, and to Lambard's text which is closely related to that group. A satisfactory explanation must account for this well-defined distribution of the bad reading. Now, as two out of three 'London' MSS. record also the reading 'ceorlus,' and all the other MSS. of *Q.* have 'ceorlus' only, it is a fair presumption that *Q.* originally read 'ceorlus,' agreeing with the Old English MSS. But it happens that the next clause of *Norðleod* gives the conditions under which a *ceorl's* descendants may become *gesiðcundes cynnes* (*Q.* 'siþcunde generationis'). A late reader or copier of *Q.*, who felt that the conditions in *Norðleod* § 10 should lead to the same result, may well have written 'siþcund(es)' over 'ceorlus,' and so reversed the meaning. Derivation of the 'London' MSS. from this altered copy would explain their readings, and also

[1] I.e. about 30 pence. I have not compared the Rylands MS. Lat. 155 for all clauses, but some specimens of its readings elsewhere, which I owe to Professor Powicke, are enough to show that it is not the 'London' MS. Nowell used.

[2] The alternative explanation, along the lines indicated above, p. 254, n. 3, is very clumsy.

[3] See *Gesetze*, vol. III, p. 261, col. 3 for the views of Maurer and Seebohm. Professor Liebermann assumes that *lq* contained both the readings *ceorl* and *siþcund*; that Lambard's immediate source preserved only *siþcund*, and that both were taken over into *Q.* How *siþcund* became confined to the 'London' MSS. is not explained; nor is it clear, as this view implies, that as early as 1100 the mere possession of 'helm, corslet and gilded sword' was considered enough to raise a *ceorl* to thane's rank.

[4] *Siþcund* for *gesiþcund* is not recorded elsewhere in English. *Q.* regularly drops the prefix; and this again points to derivation of Lambard's text from *Q.*

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explain why the other families of MSS. show no trace of the variant 'siþcund(es).' And if Lambard's text is translated from one of the 'London' MSS., it would naturally reproduce *siþcund(es)*, and render the ambiguous conjunctions of *Q.* by *gif...ðeah ðe*, which accord with that reading.

One passage remains which causes some difficulty on my view. In *Norðleod* § 2 the only eleventh century MS. (CCCC 201) has *Arces* [for *Arcebisceopes*] *and æðelinges wergild is xv þusend þrymsa*; *Textus Roffensis* omits *Arcebisceopes and*; *Q.* likewise has (all MSS.) 'Comitis wergildum est xv milia þrimsa'; while Lambard reads: *Ærcebisceopes and eorles wærgild biþ xv m. ðrimsa.* The pointless changes that a writer with the Old English text before him would hardly make—*eorles* for *æðelinges*, *biþ* for *is*, *m.* for *þusend*—favour the view that Lambard's text is translated from *Q.* But how are we to account for *Ærcebisceopes* which is not in *Q.*, and is in the earliest Old English MS.? It is not really satisfactory to assume that *Arcebisceopes* stood in a common source of Lambard's text and *Q.*, because the nature of *Q.*'s source for this set of laws is indicated both by *Q.* itself and by *Textus Roffensis*, and neither includes the archbishop[1]. Of the two alternatives I have to suggest, neither is very convincing unless the evidence already discussed is brought into account. It is just possible that Lambard, who says he used the Parker Library, consulted MS. CCCC 201 there—although, to be strict, this explanation goes beyond my hypothesis. It is more likely that *ærcebisceopes* was inserted by Lambard or Nowell to fill an obvious gap in the scheme of wergilds given in *Norðleod*:—king; [archbishop and] atheling; bishop and alderman; mass-thane and secular thane: for the information that the archbishop ranked for wergild with the highest nobles, immediately below the king and above the bishops, was available elsewhere. Such tampering with texts might be thought incredible; yet a passage from *Mirce* will show what early editors were capable of.

[1] In *Gesetze*, vol. III, p. 261, col. 1 it is suggested that the common source for *Textus Roffensis*, Lambard and *Q.* had the same error *arces* that appears in MS. CCCC 201; that the translator of *Q.* and the scribe of *Textus Roffensis* could not understand *arces* and therefore omitted it; and that the copyist of the MS. from which Lambard printed (ordinarily stupid beyond any of his kind) solved the difficulty and restored *arcebisceopes*. The implications of this hypothesis are formidable. From the table giving the descent of the MSS. at p. 256 of the same volume, it appears that at least four lost MSS. must have contained the error *arces*; so that besides the scribe of CCCC 201, at least four others failed to understand *arces* and copied it mechanically. The scribe of *Textus Roffensis* also failed to understand it, but, unlike the others, chose to omit it. The translator of *Q.* did the same. Yet the problem that these seven had to solve was of the simplest: the context cries out for the reading *arcebisceopes*, and change of the last letter of *arces* gives *arceb̄*, the normal abbreviation for *arcebisceop(es)* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Such a chain of unlikely happenings ought not to be assumed.

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MSS.	*Q.*	*Lambard* (1568)	*Wheloc's edition of Lambard* (1644)
Ceorles wergild is on Myrcna lage CC scill'.	ceorles weregildum est in Mircenorum laga CC sol.	Ceorles weregyld on Mercna land biþ CC scill.	Ceorles weregyld is CC and VI and LX þrimsa; þæt biþ CC scill. on Mercna land.

Without any warning Wheloc has mixed into Lambard's clause the reading of *Textus Roffensis* in *Norðleod* § 6: and were not the first edition of *Archaionomia* available, we might be tempted to think that he had access to a lost MS. No doubt the same kind of thing went on in the transcripts of Old English texts used by Elizabethan editors and variants that are known only from their copies or prints should be scrutinised very closely before they are attributed to lost MSS.

K. Sisam.

Oxford.

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THE 'ANGEL' AND THE 'GOLIARDEYS' OF LANGLAND'S PROLOGUE.

In his last sketch of English Medieval Literature, the late Prof. W. P. Ker repeated some arguments in support of the theory of a single authorship for the three familiar versions of *Piers Plowman's Vision*. Amongst them, the alleged unity and uniqueness of 'tone of thought' in the poem received especial emphasis. 'It is hard to believe,' says Mr Ker, 'that there were two authors in the same reign who had the same strong and weak points, the same inconsistencies, wavering between lively imagination and formal allegory, the same indignation and the same tolerance. "Piers Plowman" is one of the most impartial of all reformers. He makes heavy charges against many ranks and orders of men, but he always remembers the good that is to be said for them. His remedy for the evils of the world would be to bring the different estates—knights, clergy, labourers and all—to understand their proper duty. His political ideal is the commonwealth as it exists, only with each part working as it was meant to do; the king making the peace, with the knights to help him, the clergy studying and praying, the commons working honestly, and the higher estates also giving work and getting wages[1].' Now such 'a tone of thought' may appear unique to those who are familiar only with the contemporary literature of romance or the crude satirical verse. But in the literature of English medieval preaching, hitherto sadly neglected, we shall find that wherever it deals with the same problems it maintains precisely this attitude of mind. Indeed, the ideal of a corporate society achieving its end through the proper harmonious working of its established Orders, and by way of contrast the common vices which now mar the divinely-appointed system, are themes urged and repeated in every homily-book of the period. With satire and political argument as well as with metaphor and allegory the pulpit controls the popular imagination.

Professor Ker has not been the only critic, who through contempt for the medieval sermon, has failed to discover the one complete clue to Langland's own thought and method of treatment. Professor Skeat himself claimed that 'William's originality is most surprising.' How-

[1] *Engl. Literature, Mediaeval* (Home Univ. Library), p. 200.

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ever, M. Jusserand's acute parallels to statements of the *Vision*, drawn from the current Parliament Rolls, delivered a first serious blow at that idea from another quarter. They proved how completely the poet is at one with the feelings and opinions of the Commons of England as expressed in Parliament—'wanting what they wanted, hating what they hated[1].' But unfortunately, forgetful again of the pulpit, Jusserand makes his hero to be a kind of lonely Vox Populi, crying in the wilderness beyond Westminster—'an echo and a commentary,' he says, 'that they had nowhere else at that time[2].' To this claim Professor Manly replied in his article in *Modern Philology* for July, 1909[3], by arguing that such views *must* have been 'commonly held and discussed' at the time. Yet even he seems to have missed the real source of inspiration and example here, alike for poet and for people. The full task of showing how practically every concept and every allusion throughout the length and breadth of the *Vision*—picturesque and satirical as well as didactic—may be matched in our English preachers' homily collections and treatises, has yet to be undertaken. Nevertheless it is safe to say that until that is accomplished, Langland's work will never be correctly estimated or understood. For it is the fine product of English medieval preaching.

The influence of popular religious treatises upon certain passages of Conscience's Sermon on the Deadly Sins in Passus v of the poem, for example, has been pointed out, by Skeat and others, it is true. But there is really far more than the occasional accents of *Catoun*, of the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, or the *Myrour for lewde men*[4] to be heard in it. Clearer still are the accents of John de Bromyarde's *Summa Predicantium* and all that it represents, of noted preachers at Paul's Cross in London, with their wider interest and appeal, their talk of King and Parliament, of leaders and public affairs in church and state, their comments on the bustling scenes and characters of city life. One noteworthy little example of this latter influence has to suffice for the present sketch. Its value lies in the fact that it seems to offer some fresh interpretation of a famous passage added to the Prologue in the so-called 'B' Text.

[1] *Piers Plowman*, London, 1894, pp. 71, 133, 176, etc.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 103 (see, too, p. 176).
[3] Reprinted E. Engl. Text Soc., No. 139 c, Ext. Issue (see here, pp. 3–5).
[4] As in MS. Harl. 45. This treatise (in a late fourteenth cent. MS.), mainly a picturesque expansion of the *Ayenbite*, and hitherto neglected, is really the most important of all three in its apparent influence on Langland here. It is also the source from which the later treatise *Jacob's Well*, in MS. Salisbury Cath. Libr., 103 [Pt. 1 in E.E.T.S., O.S., 115] is chiefly derived—a point missed by Dr Brandeis, who might have found his 'perfect little picture' therein. (See his preface to 'Pt. 1.')

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Tyrwhitt, Skeat, Jusserand, Manly, all agree that this particular version of the work belongs to some date within the rough limits of June, 1376, and June, 1377. The former year had opened darkly enough. The old King Edward III was now under the disastrous influence of a mistress, his government impotent and discredited, his court rapidly becoming a scandal to the eyes of all good and loyal subjects. By the month of June matters were no brighter. With the death of the Black Prince[1], the early promise of the Good Parliament was destined to be blighted, and its work undone. The evils return. A year later the king himself follows his eldest son to the grave[2], leaving but a boy of eleven in his place. Now to this short epoch, and the dozen years following it, belongs at least one London preacher of particular distinction, no mere onlooker either, from outside, at these critical events for court and government. A clerk like Langland, living 'in a little house in Cornhill, not far from St Paul's,' the great preaching scene, could hardly have been unacquainted with his reputation and his eloquence. This was Thomas Brunton, Bishop of Rochester[3]. Once a Benedictine monk at Norwich, he was destined to become a Royal Confessor, and to take part in the famous Council at the London Blackfriars in 1382, which condemned the heresies of Wycliffe[4]. Both the *Historia Anglicana* of Walsingham[5], and the *Liber Custumarum* among the London Guildhall documents[6] make mention of the sermon delivered by him at Paul's Cross, 'in processione,' on the day following King Richard II's coronation; and the former records his death in 1389, as though it might be a misfortune of almost national dimensions. Of the literary remains of this once famous but now almost forgotten orator apparently all that we possess is the single manuscript of his Latin Sermons, preserved in the British Museum[7]. Apart from a funeral oration on the death of the Black Prince[8], practically none of these sermons, otherwise so interesting for their allusions to social types, has any rubric heading definitely identifying them with historic occasions of delivery. All the sifting of internal evidence has yet to be done. For the rest, it is the chronicler again who reminds us that in the anxious months when the Good Parliament was determining to bring pressure to bear on the king's

[1] June 8, 1376. [2] June 21, 1377. [3] 1373 (?) to 1389.

[4] Cf. *Fascic. Ziz.* (Rolls S.), p. 286.

[5] Vol. I, pp. 338–9 (Rolls S.). The sermon is wrongly ascribed by the Editor here (Index) to Thos. Trillek, Brunton's predecessor, who had died in 1372.

[6] *Munim. Gild. Lond.* (Rolls S.), vol. II, p. 481.

[7] MS. Harl. 3760. However, Bale mentions '*Sermones coram pontifice Romano*' (*Scriptorum Brit. Index*, ed. Oxf., 1902, p. 433); and elsewhere—'atque alia plura.' (*Ibid.* p. 51.)

[8] *Ibid.* fol. 212, et seq.

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evil administration, Brunton was one of four Bishops singled out to give counsel in the emergency to the knights of the shires, who 'on being informed by their advice would be able to reply the more circumspectly to the royal petitions[1].'

Turning from the background of the scene to Langland's actual expansion of his original Prologue in this 'B' Text, we are introduced first[2] to 'a lunatik, a lene thing with-alle,' who on bended knee offers to his sovereign a greeting and good wishes for his reign. 'I have no doubt,' commented Skeat, 'that the "lunatic" is William himself.' If this be so, it is only reasonable to suppose that subsequent figures looming mistily out of the same misty scene will be equally real and recognisable personalities of the day. Next, then, 'in the eyre an hiegh, an angel of hevene lowed to speke in latyn[3].' It is none other, we believe, than the figure of Bishop Brunton of Rochester, bending from his London pulpit. The very words 'in latyn' at the outset have about them a decidedly 'unangelic' and topical ring. Few, we think, will be fully satisfied with Skeat's attempted explanation of them[4]. On the other hand, if the angel be really the saintly but very human orator of the church, Latin, it is to be noted, as opposed to the vernacular used for regular preaching *ad populum*, would be the appropriate language of his address alike for sermons before 'parliaments' of clergy, or for sermons, 'in presence of lordes[5],' at the opening of Parliaments of the realm. Furthermore, if a sermon summary in Latin verse such as follows here in the Prologue appears unfamiliar to the modern reader, we have only to point him to contemporary parallels presented by an Abbot of St Albans[6], and by other medieval homilists who sometimes

[1] See *Chron. Angl.* (Rolls S.), pp. 69–70. The others were London, Norwich, and Carlisle. This event in Bp Brunton's career has been overlooked by Dr R. L. Poole in his article ['Brinton'] in the *D.N.B.*, q.v.

[2] 'B' Text, Prol., ll. 123–7.

[3] *Ibid.*, l. 128, et seq.

[4] 'The angel descends and begins to speak, but only in Latin, since common people ought not to be told how to justify themselves; all who could not understand Latin or French had best suffer and serve' (ed. Clar. Press Ser., 1876, p. 100, note to l. 128). The present writer suggests what seems to him the more natural and straightforward meaning of this sentence which begins—'for lewed men ne coude...' on p. 277, below. The angel speaks, because the 'lewd' *cannot* speak for themselves, in their own defence.

[5] MS. Thornton (Lincoln) version of *Morte Arthure* (fourteenth cent.), ll. 636–8:

> In the pale3 of 3orke a parlement he halde3,
> With all the pere3 of the rewme, prelates and other,
> And *aftyre the prechynge* in presence of lordes
> The kyng in his concell carpys thes wordes....

Cf. Archbp Sudbury's Sermon before Parliament, Oct. 13, 1377, etc. (misleadingly called a *speech* in Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, IV, p. 268).

[6] Amundesham (Rolls), vol. I, pp. 229–231 (1426). Cf. again Sermons in MS. Harl. 5398, fol. 40, etc. (a '*Recapitulacio in metro*').

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add such memoranda to their own extended prose homilies. Thirdly, in support of the same argument, there is something at least suggestive about the fact that the English Dominican, Thomas Walleys, in his *De Arte Predicandi*[1], a treatise of the first half of the fourteenth century in use in Langland's day, employs this very figure of 'the angel from on high' to illustrate his view of *the preacher's* ideal of deportment *in the pulpit.* Finally, we may notice that in the 'C' Text of the poem the 'angel' becomes 'Conscience,' the preacher of Passus v of the 'A' Text,—speaking now explicitly 'to clergie and to the kyng[2],'—a point that will be the better appreciated as our discussion proceeds.

Now Dr Gasquet[3], apparently without any thought of the Plowman's Vision in his mind, has himself identified one sermon of the Brunton Manuscript with the period concerned, when the Good Parliament meets in April of the year 1376[4]. References to the evil domination of Alice Perrers, to the woes of the realm now in the grip of corrupt and avaricious ministers, to the hedge of wanton upstarts about the throne[5] shutting out the wise and virtuous counsellors, all justify the contention:

> Rex autem Anglie, licet habeat consiliarios et officiarios prudentes et fideles, tamen in arduis per unius consilium tantummodo operatur, ut veniat id scripture, —'Operatur unus.' Nec est decens vel tutum quod ad unius uxoris cingulum pendere debeant omnes claves [i.e. regni]. Hoc regimen est contra consilium jetro [i.e. Jethro], qui Moysi rectori populi consuluit in hunc modum, exo. 18[6],—'Provide de omni plebe viros potentes et timentes deum in quibus sit veritas, et qui oderint avariciam,' etc. Et bene debent esse consiliarii viri, non pueri, juvenes, et lascivi, quia Roboam relinquens consilium seniorum, et adherens consilio juvenum perdidit regnum suum,—non mulieres, que pro utilitate propria sunt sagaces, sed viri probitate, maturitate, et sanctitate, quia 'impius facit opus instabile,' proverb. 11[7]....

It is this very sermon, we believe, which the poet now recalls as he writes.

Brunton's theme[8] is primarily a call to action, fearless downright action in the cause of justice, on the part of all holding positions of responsibility in church and state. 'Faith without works is dead':

> Amore Christi, et ob defensionem regni, in tanto discrimine constituti non simus tantum locutores sed factores, et sic 'abjiciamus opera tenebrarum, et induamur arma lucis[9],' ut vita nostra emendetur et regnum in justitia reguletur....

[1] Cf. MS. Harl. 635, fol. 6, et seq.
[2] 'C' Text, Pass. I, ll. 151–7. See here, p. 279, below.
[3] *The Old English Bible, and other Essays.* The value for the student of Dr Gasquet's sketch of this MS. of 'The Forgotten Preacher' is considerably lessened by his failure to give regular references to folios and the original wording of the Latin text.
[4] Sermo 69. MS. Harl. 3760, fol. 186, et seq.
[5] 'Personae indigni et bassi status,' Brunton calls them (fol. 190), thinking doubtless of such 'farmers of customs' and monopolies as Lyons, Ellis, Peachey, and Bury, impeached by the angry Commons in 1376.
[6] I.e. Exod. xviii. 21.
[7] I.e. Prov. xi. 18 (fol. 190 of MS.).
[8] Text: 'Factor operis hic beatus' (Jas. i. 25).
[9] Rom. xiii. 12.

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But besides 'the angel's' plea for justice there is also his plea for piety here[1]. 'Age penitentiam!'—

> Facienda sunt opera sanctimonie quo ad deum. Hec opera consistunt in auditione missarum, et sermonum, et in devotis processionibus. Unde concludo quod si rex vel princeps daret exemplum humilitatis in processionibus, exhibendo suam presentiam corporalem, glorificaret dominum, et esset in majori reverentia quo ad mundum: de primo patet exemplum de rege Anglie, Henrico 3^io. et Lodowico rege Francie...[2] etc.

Finally, in the secular sphere let the sovereign assert himself, getting rid of the unclean swarm of favourites, who poison the air, and preferring the men of virtue.

If the 'angel' of the Prologue be Brunton, who then is the 'goliardeys, a glotoun of wordes,' who next appears in the poem,—'and to the angel an hei3 answered after'...[3]? No one reading Brunton's sermon, and after it the complaints of Sir Peter de la Mare, spokesman of the Commons, as expressed in his speech 'to the kynges conseille' in the Good Parliament of 1376[4], could fail to be struck by the remarkable agreement between them. Sir Peter then is undoubtedly the grieving 'goliardeys' in question. Was ever a more appropriate and witty sobriquet chosen? 'Glotoun of wordes.' He who is actually the first recorded Speaker of the lower house in English history, was described by the chroniclers as one peculiarly noteworthy for his 'facundia sermonis,' and his fearlessness in address. Idol of the London crowds, popular verses were composed and circulated in honour of this 'goliardeys'; he was greeted with acclamation and with gifts, and a priest who once spoke ill of him was promptly set upon and beaten to death in the streets[5]. As in the poem, so then in the world of historic events, he 'answers after' the angel, prompted, that is, by the prelate's courageous example. At his back, like a supporting chorus stand 'alle the commune,' crying their 'Precepta Regis sunt nobis vincula legis[6].' Their wistful hope and confidence in the strong personal rule of the monarchy are those of the old preacher who cries thus to his congregation on the Sunday:

> Worschypffull ffrendys,...experiens schewethe that in the absens off a kynge, or ellys yff a kinge be not had in reputacion, ffavour, worchepe, and drede, lyke as [scripture?] schewythe a sovereyn awethe to be, offtyn ther growethe and encresethe myche malyce and wykkudnes, and schortlye to s[p]eke off, ffalshed, syn, and untrawthe (?) have ther grete dominacion. ffor than be spolyacions, robbryes, deseytes,

[1] Need we follow Skeat in translating Langland's 'pietas' as 'mercy'?

[2] Fol. 189^b. The well-known 'exemplum' of the preference of the one for hearing sermons, and of the other for hearing masses,—a holy rivalry!—follows here (cf. the version in our thirteenth cent. Engl. (?) *Speculum Laicorum*, etc.).

[3] Prol., ll. 139–142.

[4] See *Rot. Parl.*, II, 323, as indicated by Jusserand, *Piers Plowman*, p. 45, n. 1.

[5] See *Chron. Angliae* (Rolls S.), pp. 72, 73, 124, 150, and 392 [Appdx]; also art. in *D.N.B.* [De la Mare].

[6] Prol., ll. 143–5.

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tresons, and many wrongys doo wt owte correccion, and cawsethe oftyn tyme the pepull to be rebell, and ryse ane nense the pees, as it had lyke ffor to have be in thys reem wt yn ffewe ȝeers, had not god schewed to us off hys good grace[1].

Perhaps the most curious and telling feature of resemblance between the effusions of poet and of preacher has yet to be mentioned. In Langland's Prologue the 'renowned' fable of the Rat Parliament follows the cry of the Commons afore-mentioned[2]. 'Who will bell the cat?' M. Jusserand, it is true, has discovered it twice already within the limits of the same century, significantly enough in the works of English homilists[3]. But this sermon of Bishop Brunton of Rochester presents it more or less definitely at the actual period in which Langland must have been writing. As thus appearing[4] it must apply to precisely the same situation of affairs:

Inter opera cetera in regno Anglie a retroactis temporibus acceptata, iam pendet in manibus opus arduum et excellens ex eo quod ad parliamentum sunt vocati prelati, domini, et communes ad tractandum et declarandum de regimine bono regni. Sed quid proderit puncta parliamenti tractare, et facta transgressorum publice declarare, nisi post declarationem sequitur penalis executio debita in hac parte, cum frustra sint jura nisi sint qui jura debite exequantur? Sed numquid est scitum, et quasi undique predicatum, quomodo singulares persone non virtuose, sed viciose et scandalose, per multa tempora habuerunt principale regimen huius regni? De quorum regimine, licet universaliter murmuremur, et etiam obloquamur, ad correctionem tamen debite faciendam veritatem solidam dicere non audemus....Non sic, domini reverendi! Sed ne parliamentum nostrum comparetur fabuloso parliamento murium et ratorum, de quibus legitur....

Thus Langland himself pictures the scene:

With that ran there a route of ratones at ones,
And smale mys myd hem, mo then a thousande,
And comen to a conseille, for here comune profit....

The *Summa Predicantium* of Bromyarde[5] has the same kind of general complaint to make about Parliaments as Brunton's homily:'

Et ista infirmitas communiter sequitur parlamenta moderna, ubi multa dantur consilia sed nulla fit in opere executio. Ideo merito vocatum est nomen ejus 'parlamentum,' quia ibi multa loquuntur, sed in toto vel magna parte est postmodum mentitum quod ibi fuit locutum et ordinatum.

Its author agrees with the bishop, too, that ecclesiastical censure must take a leading part in the cure:

Clerus debet cum principibus consilium inire, et per censuras ecclesiasticas eos cogere ad consilium tenendum[6].

[1] MS. Cambr. Univ. Libr. Gg-vi-16, fol. 34. [2] Prol., ll. 146, et seq.

[3] I.e. in Bozon's *Contes Moralizés*, most probably by an English Franciscan (see ed. P. Meyer, 1889), and Bromyarde's *Summa Pred.*, by a Dominican doctor of Chaucer's day.

[4] Fol. 187.

[5] See under 'Consilium.' Here then is Carlyle's 'talking shop.'

[6] In Bromyarde again (*S.P.*—'Nobilitas'), we find the text that Langland quotes (Prol., l. 192)—'Vae terre ubi puer rex est' (Exod. x. 16),—applied to decadent nobles and courtiers much as in Robt. Crowley's comment on the line in *Piers* ('de lassivis, fatuis, aut ineptis principibus...').

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Langland, however, has his own particular reflexions to make upon the picturesque fable thus brought to his notice in a famous pulpit utterance.

Brunton, the outspoken preacher of many occasions more, makes it clear in the same sermon that most others of his rank and station, lords temporal as well as spiritual, were keeping silent in the face of abuses, fearing the king's displeasure[1]. Now he stands forth boldly with his pulpit challenge in defence of the suffering, toiling masses of the people, silent through no fault of their own:

> for lewed men ne coude
> Iangle ne iugge, that iustifie hem shulde,
> But suffren and serven...[2].

Evidences of the influence of preacher upon poet, however, are not confined to any single utterance in this remarkable sermon series. In discussing Professor Ker's summary of the message of Piers Plowman to the world, we remarked that it was none other than the ancient preachers' ideal of king, 'priesthood, knighthood, and labourers,'—as a typical preacher, Wimbledon, puts it,—working in perfect harmony for the peace and welfare of Christendom. Langland's opening vision, and in particular the more optimistic passage inserted in the 'B' Text of his Prologue immediately preceding the appearance of the 'lunatik[3],' show, none the less, some advance upon the homilists' original theme, ancient enough in his own day. There is now a more national, a more definitely English feeling in his appeal, as there is also a more careful and detailed attention to many smaller groups and professions that make up the 'felde ful of folke.' The old generalisations upon society, with their breadth, their simplicity, their vagueness here give place to a more concentrated, intimate treatment of the contemporary scene. Our poet's world cannot be lightly dismissed in the old threefold fashion. In its very shrinking he studies what he sees more closely. Its problems, its vices, therefore, appear to him somewhat more complex, its types more varied. In the ordinary course of modern criticism this development will be—and indeed has been—attributed to the special genius of the writer. He is a poet and an artist, not a commonplace moralist of the

[1] Cf. fol. 187, etc.: 'Tacent domini temporales, quia timent offensam regis....Tacent confessores....Tacent predicatores...' etc.

[2] Prol., ll. 129–131 [cf. Brunton's contrast here, fol. 190: 'Nam ubi mediocres et subditi poenas sustinent in presenti, per quas purgantur, domini tamen et consiliarii quantascumque iniurias irrogant ecclesie et publice utilitati, evadunt communiter impuniti'].

[3] Lines beginning: 'Thanne come there a kynge...,' and ending: '...eche man to knowe his owne' ('B' Text, 112–122).

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pulpit, we shall be told[1]. But those who trouble to make themselves acquainted with the preaching of the great Bishop of Rochester will not be so inclined to accept the explanation.

Thomas Brunton has advanced. Again and again in his sermons he is moved to leave the familiar beaten track for new and more independent paths of his own. Not content, for example, merely with the usual exhortation to fellow-prelates to preach faithfully in their dioceses, he urges them to preach also in London, because of its national significance. Let them think in terms of 'all the churches of England,' he says in effect, and act as voices of righteousness to the whole nation[2]. Discussing knighthood, on another occasion, he drives home his appeal with a typical—'Sed, ut veniamus ad exempla magis domestica, nonne manus milicie Anglicane, olim fortis et graciosa, nunc autem debilis .....?[3]' When he knows of some custom at the court of France which is a vast improvement over that which obtains in his own country, he does not hesitate to press it from the pulpit[4] upon the attentions of the English king and his advisers. Finally, even in his treatment of the typical theme of the Body and its Members, there are signs that the social organism has been subjected to a fresh and more minute analysis, clearer still when he goes on to deal in detail, like his contemporary Bromyarde, with the separate vices and weaknesses of the age[5]. He is speaking with some authority of his own, not as the scribes. Change but a metaphor, and we are back to the Vision of Piers Plowman again:

Unum corpus multi sumus. Hujus mistici corporis multa sunt membra: quia capita sunt reges, principes, et prelati, oculi sunt judices, sapientes et veraces consiliarii, aures sunt religiosi, lingua doctores boni, manus dextra sunt milites ad defendendum parati, manus sinistra sunt mercatores et fideles mechanici, cor sunt cives et burgenses quasi in medio positi[6], pedes sunt agricole et laborantes quasi

[1] Cf. here Professor R. W. Chambers' distinction, as applied to the poem, between what he calls 'devotional treatise,' and 'satire in the strict sense of the word' (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vol. XIV, p. 136). I hope to show later elsewhere that no such distinction can here be drawn, and that in England as abroad the pulpit is the real parent of the contemporary satire.

[2] MS. Harl. 3760, fol. 60^{b}: '...predicando, et precipue post curam nostram Londoniis predicando, quia est civitas Anglie principalis....Item quia quilibet episcopus Anglie habet Londoniis subditos vel parochianos: igitur ibi docens quasi predicat suis et ceteris ecclesiis Anglicanis, ut ista in effectu faciendo quilibet nostrum concludat de seipso id apostoli,—2 Cor. 11 [28],—*Instancia mea cotidiana sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*,—suple Anglicarum.'

[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 152.

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 190, Beg.: 'Heu quod rex Francie ter in ebdomada popularibus plenam audientiam facit....'

[5] See in my forthcoming volume: *Preaching in Mediæval England* (Cambridge Univ. Press).

[6] Instead of these places of dignity for the middle-class men of businesss, the ordinary preacher was more wont to speak nothing but evil of them, declaring, in effect, with a certain typical sermon *exemplum* (cf. in MS. Harl. 268, fol. 29, second half of fourteenth cent.), that God made the three classes of clergy, knights, and labourers, but the devil made the burghers! Bishop Brunton, steeped in the life of London, knows better.

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totum corpus firmiter supportantes. Et licet in omnibus membris istis, precipue in duobus principalibus sollicite veritas est servanda, viz. in capitibus discrete et juste ad regendum, in cordibus perfecte ad diligendum. Dixi primo quod in capitibus veritas est servanda discrete et juste ad regendum, quia capita et rectores tam temporales quam spirituales debent esse uni cum Deo per firmam adherenciam..... 2°, principes et rectores debent esse unanimes cum subditis, eos in periculis tanquam capita precedendo.....etc.[1]

Even in days when the original Vision was still taking shape in his own mind, Langland may have learnt to look upon the good bishop as his spiritual guide, a hero of earlier preaching scenes. Here then was one worthy to appear in his poem as 'Conscience,' a master most fitted to direct him, and the Folk of that Field which is the world of fourteenth-century England, to the courts of heaven, the 'tour ther Treuthe is inne':

> Then sauh I muche more then I beofore tolde,
> For I sauh the Feld ful of Folk that ich of bi-fore schewede,
> And Conscience with a Crois com for to preche.
> He preide the peple have pite of hem-selve,
> And prevede that this pestilences weore for puire synne,
> And this south-Westerne wynt on a Seterday at even
> Was a-perteliche for pruide, and for no poynt elles.
> .....
> Of this Matere I mihte momele ful longe,
> Bote I sigge as I sauh, (so me god helpe !),
> How Conscience with a Cros comsede to preche[2].

The suggested identification of this older passage with Brunton may be merely the present writer's dream, not that of the poet. Nevertheless, it is clear that in the new text of the Prologue, prepared, doubtless, when the sermon in question was on every intelligent Londoner's lips, our bishop's latest heroism receives worthy and lasting recognition. In the *Vision*, indeed, it has long outlived the very name and fame of its originator. For all the superior scorn of our modern men of letters, the negligences and ignorances of professors, the English medieval pulpit has no need to be ashamed of itself. Once it was a force to be reckoned with,—in politics, and also in literature.

G. R. Owst.

London.

[1] *Ibid.*, fol. 61–61^{b}. (The 'exemplum' which follows here is to illustrate the truth that the stronger must take the lead.) See also the remarkable sermon, fol. 111^{b}, et seq.,—*Simul in unum dives et pauper.*

[2] 'A' Text, Pass. v, ll. 9–23. Bp Brunton urges this very interpretation of the pestilence in one of the sermons of his collection (fol. 191, 'Merito haec patimur, quia peccavimus...' etc.), of which I quote part in my forthcoming book.

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STANLEY, SHERBURNE AND AYRES AS TRANSLATORS AND IMITATORS OF ITALIAN, SPANISH AND FRENCH POETS.

I.

ONE can hardly be grateful enough to Prof. Saintsbury for his monumental edition of Minor Caroline Poets. He himself recognizes historical interest as the chief justification of his edition, and goes so far as to advise the study of his minor poets not only as illustrative of the versification, diction, and subject-matter of their age, but also for the influence they might have exerted on Dryden and the Romantics (e.g. Keats); one wonders therefore why the study of the influences exerted *on* those very poets, i.e. *Quellenforschung*, should be dismissed as a sport 'only one degree higher than worrying cats'. At the risk of being classed by our great critic among such lower species of sportsmen, I venture to publish here some additional matter concerning a few minor Caroline poets.

In one case at least I feel sure that Prof. Saintsbury himself will be pleased with the result of my research: namely, in my being able to acquit Thomas Stanley of the alleged travesty of one of Ronsard's best sonnets. Concerning Stanley's *Revenge* (*Caroline Poets*, III, 142), Prof. Saintsbury remarks in a footnote:

> Not one of his best, even as a translation. The suspicion of *flatness* which occurs too often in him could not be more fatal than in connexion with Ronsard's famous and beautiful sonnet. But Stanley has handicapped himself almost inconceivably. He has thrown away the half-sad, half-scornful burst of the opening 'Quand vous serez bien vieille'—the vivid picture of the crone half-boasting, half-regretting her love and her disdain, by the flicker of fire and candle, to the listening handmaiden, and the final touch as to the use of life. In fact I have sometimes wondered whether he really meant this masterpiece.

If Prof. Saintsbury had persisted in the wise doubt underlying the last sentence and not been paralysed by his intense horror of plagiarism-hunting, he would never have indulged in the above quoted disparagement of the taste of such a free, but always vigilant translator as Thomas Stanley. As a matter of fact, *The Revenge* is not a translation of Ronsard's famous sonnet, but of his *Ode* (XIII) *à sa maistresse*[1] in *Le*

[1] A paraphrase of Hor. *Carm.* IV, 10: 'O crudelis adhuc, et Veneris muneribus potens'. This Latin ode has been often imitated. See for instance Bembo's sonnet: 'O superba e crudele, o di bellezza'.

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Troisiesme Livre des Odes (ed. Laumonier, Paris, Lemerre, II, p. 276). When compared with this latter poem, Stanley's translation reveals the usual features of his achievements in this field. Unlike other translators, Stanley almost constantly condenses his model, and the greater economy of expression resulting therefrom generally enhances the forcefulness of the poem. The French original opens thus:

Ieune beauté, mais trop outrecuidée
Des presens de Venus,
Quand tu verras ta peau toute ridée
Et tes cheveux chenus,
Contre le temps et contre toy rebelle
Diras tu en te tançant,
Que ne pensoy-ie alors que i'estoy belle
Ce que ie vay pensant ?
Ou bien, pourquoy à mon desir pareille
Ne suis-ie maintenant ?

To Stanley the poem at once suggests the antithetical style so dear to the school of Donne: 'Contre le temps et contre toy rebelle'; and he renders the whole passage as follows:

Fair Rebel to thyself and Time,
Who laugh'st at all my tears,
When thou hast lost thy youthful prime,
And Age his Trophy rears,
Weighing thy inconsiderate pride
Thou shalt in vain accuse it,
Why beauty am I now denied,
Or knew not then to use it?

The following passage in the French poem, 'La beauté semble à la rose vermeille, etc.', is omitted by Stanley, obviously on account of its staleness, and the conclusion is somewhat lightened of its elaborate mythological *paraphernalia*:

O de Paphos, et de Cypre regente,
Deesse aux noirs sourcis !
Plustost encor que le temps, sois vengente
Mes desdaignez soucis,
Et du brandon dont les coeurs tu enflames
Des jumens tout autour,
Brusle-la moy, à fin que de ses flames
Ie me rie à mon tour.

Then shall I wish, ungentle fair,
Thou in like flames mayst burn;
Venus, if just, will hear my prayer,
And I shall laugh my turn.

A similar comparison could be drawn in the case of each of Stanley's translations and imitations, and *Quellenforschung*, thus made subservient to the æsthetic appreciation of the poet, could hardly be dismissed as 'a sport only one degree higher than worrying cats'.

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But my present aim is not so much to enhance Stanley's reputation as an imitator (my space not allowing of it), as to emphasize his position as a promoter of the study of foreign poets, and a very conspicuous rear-guard of the Elizabethan tradition of Romance influence. He came under this influence in early youth when he had as his tutor William Fairfax, son of Edward Fairfax, the translator of Tasso. Foreign travel doubtless contributed to deepen his acquaintance with fashionable authors in Italy, France and Spain, so that when, towards the close of the civil war, he settled down in the Middle Temple and engaged in literary work, he became the soul of a small cenacle of minor poets, to whom he communicated his taste and preferences, and, in one case at least, his enthusiasm in initiating others into the study of foreign poets. Before coming to this point, I will give a list of the originals of Stanley's translations interspersed in his poems as reprinted by Prof. Saintsbury, and say a few words on his imitations of and acquaintance with Romance literatures, chiefly as suggested by his *Excitations* upon his translations from the Classics.

Here are Stanley's avowed translations, side by side with their originals. Of each poem I give the title and the first line, mentioning the foreign work in which it is to be found. Once for all I must state that, in the case of often-reprinted books, I omit any mention of a particular edition, the first line enabling the reader to ascertain the poem referred to:

Stanley's *Poems*.	Sources.
The Self-deceiver. Deceiv'd and undeceiv'd to be	Montalvan, *Successos y Prodigios de Amor*, Nov. VI (*La Desgraciada Amistad*). Mi engaño y mi desengaño
The Sick Lover. My sickly breath	Guarini, *Rime*, Madr. VI, *Amante infermo.* E così pur languendo
Commanded by his Mistress to woo for her. Strange kind of love! that knows no president	Marino, *Lira*, parte terza, *L'Amante ruffiano.* Strane guise d'amar, d'amor fedele[1]
The Enjoyment[2]. Far from the court's ambitious noise	St.-Amant, *Oeuvres complètes* (Bibliothèque Elzévirienne), I, 110. Loin de ce pompeux edifice

[1] The second line '*Incredibile esempio*, ultimo eccesso' shows that 'president' of l. 1 of the English poem stands for 'precedent'. Stanley translates, or rather pastiches, stanzas 1, 2, 8, 9, 14, 15, 21 (ll. 1—4), 22, and omits the rest. A minute analysis of his treatment of the original would result in a critical appreciation of Stanley's genius. The same may be repeated for most of the following translations.

[2] Also a pastiche. Stanley condenses stanzas 2 and 3 into one, and so with 8 and 9, 12 and 14; he omits stanzas 13, 15, 16, 17, 18.

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The Bracelet. Now Love be prais'd! that cruel fair	Tristan, *Les Amours* (see Tristan, *Les Plaintes d'Acante*, ed. Madeleine, Soc. des textes franç. modernes, 161), *Le Bracelet.* Amour en soit beny, le sujet de mes vœux
Apollo and Daphne[1]. When Phoebus saw a rugged bark beguile	Garcilaso de la Vega (see Bibl. de Autores Españoles, Tomo XXXII, *Poetas líricos de los siglos xvi y xvii*, Tomo Primero, 33). A Dafne ya los brazos le crecian[2] Marino, *Lira*, parte prima. Stanca anelante a la paterna riva
To his Mistress in Absence. Far from thy dearest self, the scope	Tasso, *Rime* (ed. Solerti, II, no. 326). Lunge da gli occhi vostri
The Dream[3]. To set my jealous soul at strife	Lope de Vega, *La Arcadia*, libro primero (Belisarda's song). O burlas de amor ingrato
Time Recovered. Come, my dear, whilst youth conspires	Girolamo Casone[4], *Rime*, Trivigi 1598, *Rubar il tempo al tempo.* Godiamci, anima mia
Claim to Love[5]. Alas! alas! thou turn'st in vain	Guarini, *Rime*, Madr. V, *Amore inevitabile.* Crudel, perch'io non v'ami
To his Mistress, who dreamed he was wounded. Thine eyes, bright Saint, disclose	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. X, *Sogno della sua Donna.* Morto mi vede la mia morte in sogno
On his Mistress's Death. Love the ripe harvest of my toils	Petrarca, *Rime.* Amor, quando fioria
A Lady Weeping. As when some brook flies from itself away	Montalvan, *op. cit.*, Nov. X (*El Palacio Encantado*). Corre con pies de sonorosa plata
The Revenge. Fair Rebel to thyself and Time	Ronsard (see above). Ieune beauté, mais trop outrecuidée

[1] A very characteristic instance of contamination. Stanley takes the cream (i.e. the conceits) of the two sonnets, 'When tears the subject of my tears increase' condensing the final tiercet of Garcilaso's sonnet, '¡Oh miserable estado, oh mal tamaño, / Que con llorarla crezca cada dia / La causa y la razon por que lloraba!'—whereas the conclusion, 'Where he expected fruit he gathers leaves', reproduces almost literally Marino's final conceit: 'Donde il frutto bramò, coglie le fronde'. Miss Guiney would hardly have conjectured 'leaves' in the place of the first 'tears' in Stanley's l. 6, if she had known the source, and Prof. Saintsbury would have refrained from charging Stanley with inaccuracy in reference to Marino's Christian name, thus: 'Why Garcilasso I do not know. Marini's name was Giambattista'.

[2] Imitated also by Drummond of Hawthornden, 'Now Daphnès armes did grow' (ed. Kastner, II, 178).

[3] An extreme case of abridgment, only stanzas 1, 3, 5 (ll. 3—4), 6 being selected by Stanley out of fourteen.

[4] Girolamo Casone, and not Guido Casoni, as Prof. Saintsbury has it in a footnote, possibly misled by Tiraboschi, who mentions only Guido Casoni: the latter, of course, is a different person from Girolamo, although a native of the same town, Oderzo (see Crescimbeni, *Istoria della volgar poesia*, IV, pp. 69, 176). Prof. Saintsbury's error has found its way into M. A. Scott's *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, p. 191.

[5] Here we have an amplification, as in the two following poems.

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To a Blind Man in Love. Lover, than Love more blind, whose bold thoughts dare	Marino, *op. cit.*, parte terza, *Ad un orbo ammogliato.* Poco senno facesti
Song[1]. I languish in a silent flame	Voiture, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Ubicini, Paris 1855, II, 336. Je me tais et me sens brûler

So far the translations; but from an attentive perusal of Stanley's original poems one becomes convinced that, if Donne's influence on Stanley was an abiding one, and one constantly to be taken into account in order to explain his technique, on the other hand the influence of the poets whom he translated was paramount for the choice of his themes. Guarini's name is no less entitled to be mentioned with *Expostulation with Love in Despair* than with the imitations of his madrigals above referred to, since Stanley's poem is a mere amplification of Madr. XVI, 'Che dura legge hai nel tuo regno, Amore?'. Marino's *Amore incostante* (*Lira*, parte terza, 'Chi vuol veder, Marcello') is imitated, and sometimes closely rendered, in *Love's Heretic*, 'He whose active thoughts disdain'; *Bombice d'Amore* of the same Italian poet (*Lira*, parte seconda, Madr. LXVII, 'Fabro de la mia morte'), which in its turn derives from Tasso's Madr. 'Come l'industre verme' (ed. Solerti, II, no. 336), has evidently inspired Stanley's *Silkworm*, 'This silkworm, to long sleep retired[2]'; *Giuoco di neve* (*Lira*, parte seconda, Madr. XC, 'Come il ferir fia poco'), which had become a familiar *motif* with Marino's followers[3], is the source of *The Snow-ball*, 'Doris, I that could repel'; the little poem entitled *Madonna arse le Poesie dell' Autore* (*Lira*, parte terza, 'Non sazia ancor questa crudel Tiranna') of *Desiring her to burn his Verses*, 'These papers, Chariessa, let thy breath'; and the Madr. 'Fiori, stelle d'Aprile' (*Lira*, parte terza), which Sherburne translated, as we shall see further on, has supplied both *motif* and conceits for *On a Violet in her Breast*, 'See how this Violet, which before'. Lope de Vega's third book of *Arcadia* contains a song of *Doriano a los zarcillos de Lucinda*, 'Si a las orejas te pones', which is closely imitated in Stanley's song, 'Celinda, by what potent art'. The title of *The Night* in the 1647 edn., *Amori notturni*, was evidently suggested by Marino's poem *Amori notturni* in *Lira* (parte seconda); however the two poems run on different lines, apart from the last stanza of Stanley's, where such expressions

[1] Stanley translates stanzas 1 and 4 only.

[2] Cf. chiefly the final line, 'Work mine own fetters and my tomb', with Marino's conclusion: 'Così, lasso, a me stesso/Prigion non sol, ma sepoltura intesso'. *Bombice d'Amore* is also translated by Drummond, 'A Dedale of my Death' (ed. Kastner, I, 17).

[3] See e.g. G. F. Maia Materdona's *Giuoco di neve* in *Lirici marinisti*, ed. Croce, p. 111; A. Bruni's *Giuoco di neve* in *Le tre Grazie*, Roma, Ingrillani [1630], p. 70; P. Zazzaroni's *Giuoco di neve* in *Giardino di poesie*, Verona, Merlo, 1641, p. 53. See also L. Groto, *Rime*, Venezia, Zoppini, 1601, p. 106.

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occur as 'th'envious Morn', 'night, with these joys crown'd, outshine the day', which find parallels in Marino's 'Invido Sol, che questa notte oscura / Era a me più che'l dì lucida e pura'. Tristan's stanzas *L'Incredulité punie* (ed. cit., 172) contain a passage:

> Courant vers un Miroir avec impatience,
> En fit l'experience.
>
> Des feux refléchissants du cristal de ses yeux,
> Embraserent soudain ce coeur audacieux...

to be paralleled in Stanley's *To Chariessa, beholding herself in a Glass*:

> The fires may burn thee from this mirror rise
> By the reflected beams of thine own eyes ;

whereas the following line of the same English poem, 'When painted shadows real flames can cause', together with the line 'The flames shot from a painted fire', in *The Picture*[1], may be a recollection of a conceit to be found in the verses spoken by Amphryso to the portrait, 'Regalo, bien y thesoro', in Lope de Vega's third book of *Arcadia*. Indeed in many of the poems the reminiscences become so intricate, that one may repeat with a different meaning some verses of Shirley in praise of our poet:

> I know not where I am, when I peruse
> Thy learned loves ;

i.e., while dimly remembering to have found somewhere else what one is reading at the moment, one cannot point out a definite source. And in being thus dimly reminiscent of other people's lyres lies the very flavour of minor poetry.

I will add here a few more parallels. The poem *To Chariessa, beholding herself in a Glass*, just now discussed, concludes with a conceit which already occurs in Marino's *Lo Specchio* (*Rime*, ed. 1602, 'Fosti di pianto, e del mio pianto umore'): 'Quanto del cor nel vivo specchio io celo / Miri...[2]'. The final conceit of *The Repulse* ('Not that by this disdain'), 'Now I have not lost the bliss / I ne'er possest', may have been taken from the conclusion of Tasso's poem 'Se tu mi lasci, perfida, tuo danno' (ed. Solerti, II, no. 433): 'Ma il tuo [cuore] già non perd'io / Perchè non fu mai mio'. *The Divorce*, 'Dear, back my wounded heart restore', shows a strong affinity with Tasso's 'Mentre nubi di sdegno' (*ed. cit.*, II, no. 90), the end of which, 'Siatemi, prego, per pietà più cruda', seems also to have been in Stanley's mind when concluding *Delay* ('Delay! Alas, there

[1] The main conceit of this poem derives, of course, from Martial's *Epigr.* I, ep. 109.

[2] In fact the conceit was rather a commonplace one with Italian poets of that time: see for instance Maurizio Moro's *I tre Giardini de' Madrigali*, Venezia, Contarini, 1602, *Giardino* II, pp. 35, 52; G. B. Strozzi's *Madrigali*, Firenze, Sermartelli, 1593, p. 64: and others.

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cannot be'): 'O kill me soon! Thou wilt express / More mercy, ev'n in showing less'. The theme of this latter poem is so common a one, that it is almost needless to point out a possible source in Guarini's Madr. XXIII, 'Voi volete ch'io mora'. No less of a commonplace is Guarini's maxim *Pietà fa bella* (Madr. LXVII; translated by Sherburne, see *infra*) mirrored in the final line of Stanley's *Deposition*: 'That none are fair but who are kind'. Peculiarly Guarini-like is the antithesis *eye* : *breast* which occurs in the opening of the *Song*: 'When I lie burning in thine eye, / Or freezing in thy breast'; in the conclusions of the Donneish *Tomb* ('When, cruel fair one, I am slain'): 'Since by thine eye slain, buried in thy breast'; and of *The Idolater* ('Think not, pale lover, he who dies'): 'Both burnt alike in flames shall lie, / She in thy breast, thou in her eye'. Compare Guarini's Madr. XI ('Può dunque un sogno temerario e vile') *ad fin.*: 'Morir in sogno ne' begli occhi suoi, / Per tornar vivo in quel bel seno poi'; Madr. XXV ('Ardemmo insieme bella donna ed io') *ad fin.*: 'Che l'un ardea nel cor, l'altra nel volto'. The third stanza of the extremely Donneish *Kiss* ('When on thy lips my soul I breathe') elaborates a commonplace conceit in the kiss literature, and Iohannes Secundus—whose *Basia* Stanley translated—and Marino are likely to come to the reader's mind at once: were it not for the obviousness of the conceit and Stanley's comparative freedom in his imitations, which often render uncertain any tracing of a source, one would be tempted to point out in this particular case Voiture's *Stances* 'Ce soir, que vous ayant seulette rencontrée'. But it is not advisable to press a source in such a case of 'public material'. James Shirley's *Kiss* and *Taking leave when his Mistress was to ride* (ed. Gifford, 1823, VI, p. 499) offer instances of the same conceit. For the same reason I will not insist upon the affinity of *Speaking and Kissing* ('The air, which thy smooth voice doth break') with Marino's: 'Quando un molle rubino / Amante anima sugge, / Viene all'uscio vicino / Per fuggir, ma non fugge, / Ch'in vita la sostien quel che la strugge' (*Lira*, parte seconda, *Baci dolci e amorosi*: 'Filli, cor del mio core', third stanza from the end). Another commonplace conceit forms the conclusion of *The Dream* ('That I might ever dream thus, that some power') in the 1647 edn. It occurs for instance in a madrigal of Alessandro Gatti *Al Sonno* ('Placidissimo sonno'), included in Pietro Petracci's *Ghirlanda dell'Aurora*, Venezia, 1609, p. 20. Tasso's *Canzone* to Leonora d'Este, 'Mentre ch'a venerar movon le genti' (*ed. cit.*, III, no. 532) contains (cf. chiefly ll. 21–40 and 71–75) the argumentation expounded in Stanley's *Excuse for wishing her less Fair* ('Why thy passion should it move'). *Celia Singing* ('Roses in breathing forth their scent')

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is probably a reminiscence of Voiture's *Sur une belle voix* ('Lorsque Bélise veut chanter', *ed. cit.*, II, p. 332); compare: '...pour mieux ouir ses accents, / Elle [l'ame] quitte les autres sens / Et se vient toute rendre à celui des oreilles', with 'The music of this heavenly sphere / Would steal each soul out at the ear'; and the string of comparisons in the French poem: 'La belle musique des cieux, etc.', with the same feature in the English one. For all its Donneish flavour (cf. *The Flea*, and *The Primrose* for the 'terrestrial Galaxy'[1]), *The Glow-worm* ('Stay, fairest Chariessa, stay and mark') may have been derived from Voiture's *Pour le Grillon* in *Étrennes de quatre animaux*, etc.: the glow-worm's fate is the same as the cricket's.

Besides the translations of longer poems contained in the 1651 volume of Stanley, viz. *Sylvia's Park*, by Théophile; *Acanthus Complaint*, by Tristan; *Oronta*, by Preti; *Echo*, by Marino; *Love's Embassy*, by Boscan[2]; *The Solitude*, by Góngora; and the prose translation of Mirandula's *Platonic Discourse upon Love*, and of two of Montalvan's 'novelas exemplares' (these latter publ. 1650); a few more French, Spanish and Italian authors are mentioned in Stanley's *Excitations* upon Anacreon, Bion, Moschus, *Cupid Crucified*, *Venus's Vigils*, either on account of their translations of the same poems that Stanley has done into English (as Torelli, Malfatti, Alamanni, de Oddis, de Tarsis, Belleau, Ronsard) or of their paraphrases of them, chiefly Tasso's *Amore fuggitivo* and Marino's *Il rapimento d'Europa*. Of a portion of this latter poem (to be found in *La Sampogna*), i.e. from 'Spaziando sen giva' to 'Porta d'or la corona e d'ostro il manto', Stanley gives a translation in his *Excitations upon Moschus*. Incidentally, here and there Stanley takes the opportunity of translating his favourite poet, Marino, whose Madr. 'Udito ho Citerea' (*Lira*, parte seconda) and *Canzone L'Oro* (*ibid.*: 'O de l'avara gente') thus find their way into Stanley's learned commentaries. Two references may startle the reader: one to Dante in *Excitations upon Moschus*; and the other to St.-Amant's *La Debauche*, a poem Stanley actually translates in his *Excitations upon Anacreon* This latter case

[1] A favourite simile in Donne's school. Cf. Shirley's *Narcissus* (*ed. cit.*, p. 465): '...primroses...Whose pretty mixture in the ground declares / Another Galaxy emboss'd with stars'.

[2] Stanley's Dedication *To the Lady D.*, 'Madam, the blushes I betray', is similar to Boscan's Dedication *A la Duquesa de Soma*, 'A quién daré mis amorosos versos' (*Obras*, ed. W. I. Knapp, Madrid 1875, p. 13). For Stanley's translations of Boscan's *Octava Rima* (i.e. *Love's Embassy*; the Spanish poem being in its turn a translation of Bembo's famous stanzas 'Ne l'odorato e lucido Oriente') and Góngora's *Soledad Primera*, see Mr Henry Thomas' essay on *Three Translators of Góngora and other Spanish Poets during the Seventeenth Century* in *Revue hispanique*, Tome XLVIII (1920), pp. 180 ff. Mr Thomas prints also the originals of the two short poems translated from Montalvan (see above), but is unable to trace the original of the translation from Lope de Vega. The translation of Théophile's *La Maison de Sylvie* begins from the second stanza of Ode I.

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fills me with no little astonishment, since both Stanley and Sherburne seem usually to take notice of St.-Amant only for those among his poems 'dont le chevalier Marin nous a donné l'exemple dans son livre intitulé *La Sampogna*', to quote the words of the French poet[1]. Similar is the case with Théophile and Voiture. Evidently Stanley, when prefacing his translation of *La Debauche* with the remark: 'a piece suiting with the genius of our poet', implies that it did not altogether suit his own genius. Stanley's refined Arcadian temper could not be expected to relish the mischievous and occasionally coarse buoyancy in which, to my mind, the originality of the French poet consists. If he indulged in translating *La Debauche*, we may be sure he did it because he considered that poem a paraphrase of Anacreon, and Anacreon squared very well with Stanley's taste. The only time Stanley, as a follower of Anacreon, on his own account touches the subject of 'wine' is in the partly Donne-inspired *Song* 'Foolish Lover, go and seek': the difference from St.-Amant's much manlier treatment of the same subject (*ed. cit.*, I, p. 135) could hardly be more striking.

Having thus given a rapid survey of Stanley's literary activity in connexion with Romance literatures, we come to speak of his friends and associates. Traces of Romance influence are hardly to be found either in John Hall or William Hammond. We are told that James Shirley published in 1646 his little volume of poems owing to the encouragement he received from Stanley, to whom he had introduced himself when he removed to London on the decline of the King's fortunes. Those productions, however, are little more than instances of a juvenile mind saturated with Donne's verses, and were undoubtedly written previously to Shirley's acquaintance with Stanley and Sherburne. That the relation of Shirley to the group could not have been so intimate as one would be inclined to think it at first, we have evidence in a yet unpublished letter of Edward Sherburne to Anthony à Wood, dated Sept. 12, 1683 (Bodleian Lib., Wood MS. F. 44). By that time Sherburne had come to know of the existence in the Bodleian of Guidobaldo Bonarelli's *Phillis of Scyros...translated into English by J. S. Gent.*, London, 1655, and instantly applied to Wood (letter Aug. 18, 1683, MS. cit., p. 260) in order to get permission to borrow the book from the Library, wishing 'to see how the Traduction might answer the curious Original'. Having been denied the favour, he asked Wood for a transcript of a few passages (letter Aug. 27, 1683, p. 261), and, from reading

[1] St.-Amant occasionally translates a madrigal of the *Lira*, parte terza, 'E labra ha di rubino', in 'Cette fière beauté que mon ame idolastre' (*ed. cit.*, I, p. 270).

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these, conceived the following opinion (letter Sept. 12): 'As to the Translation, I find it farr short of the Original Ingenuity, and the work of a very Artlesse Undertaker, and therefore may wel beare the Name of J. S., whether James Shirley, or other such like, and deserve the Commendacion of J. H. or James Howell. You know the Proverb *Similes habent Labra Lactucas*'.

The poems of another friend and relative of Stanley, Richard Lovelace, show here and there an acquaintance with some of the same Italian poets who were familiar to Stanley and Sherburne: to his imitation of Achillini's *Bellissima Mendica* I shall have to return in the course of this essay.

The most interesting of Stanley's friends, from the point of view of comparative literature, is, without any doubt, Edward Sherburne. An enlarged unpublished version of Stanley's lines to Sherburne (*Caroline Poets*, III, p. 152), evidently written after 1675, to judge from Sherburne's translation of Manilius (publ. in that year) being mentioned in it, is to be found among Sherburne's letters to Wood already referred to. It throws additional light upon the mutual friendship of the two literary men. I transcribe here Stanley's address to Sherburne, with the marginal notes accompanying it in the MS.:

O my Defence and sweetest Ornament!
Whose Flame inspires Me, now my own is spent.
Kind was the Storme, and the Times furious Rage,
Did Both to shelter in one Port* engage.
By Fortune our Acquaintance there begott,
Confirm'd by Choice, up into Friendship shott.
.....

He [Charles I] dead, Thou didst withdraw from thence; an Aire
More innocent choosing with Me* to share;
Begg'ring the Place guilty of Royal Blood,
By bringing from it a Large Stock of Good.
There, thy Retirement suiteing with thy Straine,
French and Italian Poets entertaine,
And least such Strangers should converse alone,
Thou civilly mixd'st with their Songs* thy Owne.
'Till ravishd thence by a Desire to view
The happy Regions where those Lawrells grew....

* Middle Temple

* at Flowre in Northhamptonshire, and Cumberlow Green in Hertfordshire

* Poems and Translations

Sherburne had removed to London after the surrender of Oxford in June 1646, and lived in the Middle Temple with a relative, Thomas Povey. There he first became an intimate friend of Stanley, who also settled down in the same place about that time. After the King's execution the two friends retired to the country, and under the influence of his host, Sherburne took to the study of French and Italian poets. To complete the evidence on this point, there is in the British Museum

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(1063. a. 22) a copy of the 1638 edition (Venezia, Eredi di Gio. Salis) of the *Parte terza* of Marino's *Lira* with the autograph on the frontispiece Edw. Sherburne Ex dono Amicissimi Stanley'. Sherburne travelled afterwards (1654–59) to France, Italy, Hungary, Germany and the Low Countries as tutor to Sir John Coventry, and then he 'did advance and promote *his* Bookish Inclination, by Conference with Learned Persons, when he came to such Places as could afford *him* their desired Converse'. Sherburne's position in relation to the foreign authors under whose influence he came is far simpler than Stanley's. In a word, Sherburne is purely a translator, and the distinction between *Translations* and *Originals* introduced by Chalmers in his reprint of his poems (*The Works of the English Poets*, VI) is a fictitious one, since Sherburne can hardly be credited with having written original poems at all. I give below a list of Sherburne's poems in the order in which they appear in his 1651 volume *Salmacis, Lyrian & Sylvia, Forsaken Lydia, The Rape of Helen, A Comment thereon, With Severall other Poems and Translations* (London, Printed by W. Hunt, for Thomas Dring). The book falls into several sections (*Erotica, Ludicra, Ethica, Sacra*) modelled on Marino's similar division of his *Rime* into *Amorose, Morali, Sacre*, etc. My list is limited to the poems translated from French and Italian authors, with two exceptions, an imitation of Anacreon of which Sherburne does not mention the source, and the translations from Casimire. An asterisk precedes the name of the foreign author whenever Sherburne mentions it:

Sherburne's *Poems*.	*Source*.
Salmacis. Where cleer Pactolus glides through Phrygian Lands	*Girolamo Preti, *Poesie*[1], *La Salmace.* Là, dove il bel Patolo
The Metamorphosis of Lyrian & Sylvia. Under that pleasant Clime, where Nature plac'd	*St.-Amant, *ed. cit.*, I, 63, *La Metamorphose de Lyrian et de Sylvie.* Sherburne translates from the 17th l. from the beginning, 'Sous le plaisant climat des Isles de Fortune', to the 9th before last, 'De peur qu'il ne s'échappe, il l'environne ainsi'.
Forsaken Lydia. In Thunder now the hollow Cannon roar'd	*Marino, *Lira*, parte terza, *Lidia Abbandonata.* Già gli scritti guerrier su i curvi legni
The Sun-rise. Thou youthfull Goddess of the Morn !	St.-Amant, *ed. cit.*, I, 193, *Le Soleil levant.* Jeune deesse au teint vermeil

[1] The edition I use is Venezia, 1667, Appresso Gio. Battista Brigna.

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The Night or, The fair Mourner. This fair, and animated Night	Marino, *op. cit.*, *La bella Vedova.* Questa animata Notte
I Sospiri—Sighs. Sighs! light, warm spirits; in which, Air	Marino, *Fiori di Pindo*...Raccolti all'Aurora (Napoli, Vitali, 1616), *Li Sospiri*[1]. O ben sparsi sospiri, / Spirti tepidi e lievi
The Surprise. There's no dallying with Love	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Amor finto cangiato in vero.* Non si scherzi con Amore
Chloris' Eyes and Breasts. Chloris! on thine Eyes I gaz'd	Marino, *Lira*, parte terza, *Occhi e Mammelle.* Miro i vostr'occhi belli
Love's Arithmetick. By a gentle River laid	Marino, *Lira*, parte seconda, *Numeri amorosi.* Presso un fiume tranquillo
Cœlia weeping, A Dialogue. *Lover*: Say gentle God of Love, in Cœlia's Brest	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. CXX, *Sopra il pianto di Donna crudele*, Dialogo. *Amante*: Amor può stare insieme
The Vow. By my Life I vow	Marino, *Lira*, parte terza, *A Lilla.* Per questa vita giuro
Ice & Fire. Naked Love did to thine Eye	Marino, *Lira*, parte seconda, Madr. LII, *Ghiaccio e foco nell'amata.* Volò ne'tuoi begli occhi
Novo Inamoramento. And yet anew entangled, see	Marino, *Lira*, parte terza, *Novo innamoramento.* Ed ecco pur (chi può fuggirti, Amore?)
Cœlia's Eyes, A Dialogue. *Lover*: Love! tell me; may we Cœlia's Eyes esteem	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. CXIX, *Camilla bella*, Dialogo. *Amante*: Deh dimmi, Amor, se gli occhi di Camilla
The Resemblance. Marble (coy Cœlia!) 'gainst my Pray'rs thou art	Marino, *Lira*, parte seconda, Madr. XII, *Somiglianza tra l'Amante e l'Amata.* Di marmo siete voi
Love once, Love ever. Shall I hopeless then pursue	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Vorrebbe cessar d'amare la S. D. e non può.* Dunque privo di speme e di conforto
The Pendants. Those Aspes of Gold with Gems that shine	Marino, *Lira*, parte terza, *Pendenti in forma di Serpi.* Quegli Aspidi lucenti
The sweet Meat. Thou gav'st me late to eat	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. XVIII, *Mandorla inzuccherata.* Un cibo di fuor dolce, e dentro amaro
Violets in Thaumantia's Bosome[2]. Twice happy Violets! that first had Birth	Marino, *op. cit.*, *Fiori.* Fiori, stelle d'Aprile

[1] I am indebted to Sen. Benedetto Croce for this reference, as well as for that to Antonio Abati, among Ayres' poems. See *infra*.

[2] Cf. also Stanley's *On a Violet in her breast*, which is responsible for the species of the flower in Sherburne's imitation.

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The Dream. Fair shadow ! faithless as my Sun !	Marino, *op. cit.*, *Sogno.* O di par col mio Sole ombra fallace
An old Shepheard to a young Nymph. Scorn me not, Fair, because you see	Anacreon, Εἰς κόρην. Μή με φύγῃς, ὁρῶσα Stanley's version : 'Though my aged head be grey'
Beauty Encreased by Pity[1]. 'Tis true ; thy Beauty (which before)	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. LXII, *Pietà fa bella.* Madonna, udite come
Weeping and Kissing. A Kiss I begg'd ; but, smiling, Shee	Marino, *op. cit.*, *Bacio di Donna piangente*, Trasportato dal Pontano. Lilla, un bacio io ti chiesi
The Dilemma. As poor Strephon (whom hard Fate	Marino, *op. cit.*, *Bacio desiderato*, Trasportato dal Navagero. S'io non ti toglio un bacio
Change defended[2]. Leave, Chloris, leave, prithee no more	(*Source unknown*)
The Microcosme. Man of himself's a little World, but join'd	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. CLX, *L'uomo è picciol mondo.* È l'uomo un picciol mondo
The Defeat. 'Gainst Celinda's Marble Brest	Tristan, *Les Amours* (*ed. cit.*, 181), *Fantaisie.* Un iour Amour sur la verdure
Amore secreto. Content thy self fond Heart ! nor more	Marino, *op. cit.*, *Amor secreto.* Ardi contento, e taci
A Maid in Love with a Youth blind of one Eye. Though a Sable Cloud benight	Marino, *Lira*, parte seconda, Madr. LXXXVI, *Giovane cieco da un occhio amato da una D*[*onna*]. Cinta di un nuvol nero
The broken Faith. Lately by cleer Thames his side	Marino, *op. cit.*, Madr. XLIII, *Fede rotta*[3]. Sovra l'umida arena
Complaint on the Death of Sylvia, to the River. Cleer Brook ! which by thy self art chac'd	St.-Amant, *ed. cit.*, I, 103, *Plainte sur la mort de Sylvie.* Ruisseau qui cours après toy-mesme
A Shepheard inviting a Nymph to his Cottage. Deer ! on yon Mountain stands my humble Cot	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Un Pastore invita la sua Ninfa alla Montagna.* Cinzia, colà tra quelle balze alpine

[1] Sherburne follows Stanley's example in developing Guarini's madrigals.
[2] Cf. Stanley's *Chang'd, yet Constant*, 'Wrong me no more'.
[3] Cf. Lope de Vega, *Arcadia*, Libro Tercero, Leurimo's song : 'Hace la mar de Italia un corto abrigo'. This theme was a very popular one : see also Montemayor's *Diana*, First Part, book i, Sireno's song, last stanza ; Honoré d'Urfé's *Sireine*, ed. 1618, *Retour*, stanzas 213–14 (cf. Walther Fischer's note in *Modern Language Notes*, June 1913) ; Jean de Lingendes, *Oeuvres poétiques*, ed. Griffiths (Soc. des textes franç. modernes), p. 165, 'Fillis, auprès de cet ormeau'.

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On the Picture of Icarus in Wax. What once did unto thee impart	*Marino, *La Galeria* (Venezia, Ciotti, 1636), *Le Sculture*, 49, *Icaro in cera*[1]. La cera, che fatale
On a Marble Statue of Nero, which falling kill'd a Child. This Statue, bloudy Nero, does present	*Marino, *op. cit.*, 56, *Statua di Nerone, che cadendo uccise un fanciullo*[2]. Di marmo è quel Nerone
On Captain Ansa, a bragging Run-away. Whilst timorous Ansa lead his Martial Band	*Mathiae Casimiri Sarbievii, *Lyricorum Libri IV, Epodon Liber Unus Alterq. Epigrammatum*, Antverpiae, Ex Off. Plantiniana, 1632, 252, *De timido Ansa Fulvio.* Dum bellicosus nuper Ansa prandentes
Amphion, or a City well ordered. Forraign Customes from your Land	*Casimiri, *op. cit.*, 202, *Amphion, seu Civitas bene ordinata.* Exteros mores prohibete pulchra
Vertue improv'd by suffering. 'Tis but the Body that blind Fortunes spight	Preti, *op. cit.*, *L'ingiurie della Fortuna risvegliano la Virtù.* S'armata a' danni miei cieca Fortuna
To the Eternall Wisedome; Upon the Distraction of the Times. O Thou Eternall Mind! whose Wisedome sees	Casimiri, *op. cit.*, 188, *Ad Divinam Sapientiam, Cum novi e Germaniâ, Galliâ Italiâque motus bellici nuntiarentur.* O Mens quæ stabili fata regis vice
Draw Me, and I will follow Thee. Through devious Paths without thee, Lord! I run	Casimiri, *op. cit.*, 236, *Trahe me: post te curremus*, Cant. 1. Mi Iesu, sine te per opaca, per invia tendam
If a Man should give all the substance of his House for Love, he would value it as nothing, Cant. 8. Love I'd of Heaven have bought; when He, (this who	Casimiri, *op. cit.*, 227, *Religiosum paupertatis votum, Si dederit homo omnem substantiam domus suae pro dilectione, quasi nihil despiciet eam*, Cant. 8. Venalem nuper coelo mercabar Amorem
And they laid him in a Manger. Happy Cribb! that wert alone	(*Source unknown*)
On the Innocents slain by Herod. Go, blessed Innocents! and freely powre	(*Source unknown*)
Christo smarrito. Sighing, her sad Heart fraught with Fears	Marino, *Lira*, parte terza, *C(h)risto smarrito.* Sospirava, e spargea

[1] Cf. Greek Anthology, Planudean Appendix, ep. 107 (Julianus): Ἴκαρε, κηρὸς μέν σε διώλεσε· νῦν δέ σε κηρῷ. Marino, however, must have had before him the Latin translation by Iohannes Secundus, 'Quae mortis tibi causa fuit, nunc Icare vitam'. That Greek epigram was frequently imitated: see also L. Groto, *Rime* cit., p. 147.

[2] Cf. Callimachus, ep. 8: Στήλην μητρυιῆς, μικρὰν λίθον, ἔστεφε κοῦρος. A Latin translation of it among *Martialis Monerii Epigrammata*, in *Delitiæ Poetarum Gallorum*, II, p. 62.

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Christus Mathaeum & discipulos alloquitur. Leave, leave converted Publican! lay down	(*Source unknown*)
Conscience. Immortal Cerberus! whose griping fangs	Marino, *op. cit.*, *Alla propria coscienza.* Verme immortal, che con secreto dente
And she washed his Feet with Teares, and wiped them with the Hairs of her Head. The proud Ægyptian Queen, her Roman Guest	Marino, *op. cit.*, *Lachrymis coepit rigare pedes eius, et capillis capitis sui tergebat.* In convito pomposo
Good Friday. This Day eternall Love, for me	Marino, *op. cit.*, *Nella Passione.* Oggi l'eterno Amore
Mary Magdalen weeping under the Cross. 'I thirst,' my dear and dying Saviour cries	Casimiri, *op. cit.*, 237, *D. Magdalena sub Cruce flens.* Ah sitio! clamas: absunt his rupibus undæ
On the Receiving of the blessed Sacrament. Then Nourishment our Naturall Food imparts	Marino, *op. cit.*, *Nel Sacramento dell'Eucaristia.* De le vivande umane
The Message. Dear Saviour! that my Love I might make known	Casimiri, *op. cit.*, 237, *Sacri studiosus obsequii cadaver est, Fortis est ut mors dilectio*, Cant. 8. Ut scires, quo, Christe, tui flammarer amore
The Fountain. Stranger, who e'er thou art, that stoop'st to taste.	Marino, *La Galeria, Le Sculture*, 54, *Fontana.* Deh rimira, o mortale

Finally, in his commentary upon Coluthus' *Rape of Helen*, Sherburne, following Stanley's habit in the *Excitations*, inserts a translation of Marino's *Sogno* (*Lira*, parte terza, 'Sognasti d'esser mia').

(*To be concluded.*)

MARIO PRAZ

LIVERPOOL.

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ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH SCHOLARSHIP AND LITERATURE DURING THE ROMANTIC REVIVAL[1].

IV.

AFTER the battle of Waterloo, a number of tendencies are seen to culminate in the output of a mass of literature inspired by an interest in things Italian unsurpassed in the whole range of our history. The rise of modern journalism, by means of which the enthusiasm of individuals was quickly communicated to the many; the advent of the new 'Romantic' school of criticism, so favourable to enlightened studies in Italian; increased intercourse with Italy itself, consequent on the relatively peaceful condition of European affairs after 1815; and finally the reinforcement of the movement in England itself by the services of Italian literary 'émigrés'—these are some of the converging influences which unite and come to a climax between 1815 and 1820.

The work of the new periodical publications is of considerable interest. Those 'big guns,' the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*, were entering on their time of greatest authority, and some service was done by their learned and judicial essays in criticism, in which Italian literature (a theme on which, fortunately, political prejudice could seldom intrude) was now receiving its fair share of attention. A good instance is the *Edinburgh* article (February 1818), by Ugo Foscolo, which did so much for the sale of Cary's Dante. More important on the whole, however, to the vital work of popularisation, were the less formal periodicals of the 'miscellany' type. The best-known of these, perhaps, are the *London Magazine*, in which Hazlitt wrote on Italian art, Cary and others on Italian poetry, and to which Procter, among others, contributed original work of Italian interest; the *Examiner*, the *Indicator*, and the short-lived but interesting *Liberal*, journals edited by Leigh Hunt in which the Italian element was especially prominent; and lastly the *Retrospective Review*, which has a special interest in the present connection as a periodical devoted entirely to critical and historical articles on the earlier literature of Europe[2].

The aim of the *Retrospective Review*, which was founded in 1820 and

[1] Continued from p. 63.

[2] *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* contained nothing of very special importance for our purpose, but like the less known *New Monthly Magazine*, *Knight's Quarterly*, and the *Eclectic Review*, it published not infrequently popular critical and descriptive articles and verse translations or imitations of Italian interest.

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lasted nearly nine years, was announced as being 'to recall the public from an exclusive attention to new books, by making the merit of old ones the subject of critical discussion.' It was a quarterly, and in form resembled the other Reviews, except that the books 'reviewed' were in most cases at least a hundred years old. Little or nothing seems to have been contributed by the better known critics of the day; the chief writers were the editor, Henry Southern, Hartley Coleridge, T. N. Talfourd, and Sir Francis Palgrave[1]. The chief attention was naturally given to English literature, especially less known books of the Renaissance period—Sidney's *Arcadia*, *The Purple Island*, and Coryat's *Crudities*, for example. But articles on foreign literature were also a prominent feature, and on the whole more attention was paid to the Italian than to the French or Spanish authors. There are interesting and sympathetic articles, of the 'illustrative' type, on the *Orlando Furioso*, on the *Arcadia* of Sannazzaro, on Tasso's *Rinaldo*, on Michael Angelo, on the pre-Fairfax translation of Tasso, by Richard Carew (1594), and on similar topics. In most cases generous extracts are given, and very often the writer supplies a verse translation of his own. In the result the *Retrospective Review* did a great deal to spread a knowledge of Italian literature and its relations with English.

In pure criticism as distinguished from the more popular descriptive or 'illustrative' article, the best work was done by a few great writers most of whom published books or gave lectures in addition to contributing to the periodicals. By his activities as a lecturer, more particularly, Coleridge has the right to be considered a pioneer of the new criticism in England, though his admiration for Dante, as for Shakespeare, seems to have derived in part from the example of the Schlegels[2]. However this may be, Coleridge's public lectures, the first series of which was delivered in 1808, were the first in England to recognise the essential unity of the literatures of Europe, and, by frequent discussion of Italian poetry, served to extend the movement considerably. The records of these lectures are woefully deficient, but we may judge of their scope from the notes, particularly of the 1818 course, printed in the *Literary Remains* (1836), and of their effect from

[1] Ugo Foscolo contributed one article, on *Antiquarians and Critics of Italian History* (July 1826, vol. xrv, part i, art. vi).

[2] A. W. Schlegel, in the first of his *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature* delivered in Vienna (1808), declared that Dante excelled his master Virgil. These lectures were first translated in 1815. His brother F. Schlegel's lectures *On the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern*, were translated by J. G. Lockhart in 1818. Other foreign authors who had some influence on the movement in England were Sismondi the Swiss historian and Ginguené, the French author of the *Histoire Littéraire de L'Italie*.

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the testimony of contemporaries. Samuel Rogers, Crabb Robinson, Tom Moore, J. H. Frere and many others caught their taste for Italian poetry in part at least from Coleridge's example.

There is nothing of Coleridge's almost uncanny omniscience about the critical work of Lamb, Leigh Hunt, and Hazlitt, so often associated with their senior. Of the three Hunt did by far the most for Italian studies, but his criticism is mostly of the popular and 'illustrative' type, and will best be considered in connection with his work as a translator. Lamb, who was given to whimsical self-depreciation, often described himself as 'homo unius linguae,' and as completely ignorant of all foreign literature. But in fact he knew a good deal of Latin and some French, and in later life, fired by his friend Cary's enthusiasm for Dante, he acquired enough Italian to 'scramble through the Inferno.' Still, he can scarcely be claimed as an apostle of the movement. Hazlitt also shows less interest in Italian literature than either Coleridge or Leigh Hunt. His sturdy prejudices were all in favour of the native literature, and, though passably well-read in Italian, he does not show much of his famous 'gusto' for any Italian writer except Boccaccio, 'the divine Boccaccio,' as he calls him more than once. His knowledge of Dante seems to have been confined to the *Inferno*, and like Hunt he would never have dreamed of admitting him to an equality with Milton. Hazlitt wrote little on Italian literature; indeed, in his view, the supreme glories of Italy were her painters and sculptors, of whom he was an enthusiastic admirer.

The first great critic, after Coleridge, to direct attention especially to the Italian poets, was himself one of their number—Niccolò Ugo Foscolo (1778–1827). Foscolo was one of the first of many refugees who fled to England from the tyranny of the foreigner—Frenchman or Austrian or Spaniard—in their own country. While still in Italy Foscolo had written most of the imaginative works in virtue of which he stands in the front rank of Italian men of letters, and had become keenly interested in English literature. His finest poem, the 'carme' *I Sepolcri* (1806–7), shows the influence of Young's *Night Thoughts* and of Gray's *Elegy*; and his sentimental romance, the *Ultime Lettere di Jacopo Ortis* (1802), has obvious affinities with Sterne (whose *Sentimental Journey* he translated) as well as with Goethe's *Werther*[1].

Foscolo left Italy in the spring of 1815 after the restoration of the

[1] Cf. essay on Foscolo by F. de Sanctis in *Nuovi Saggi Critici* (1872). Foscolo had also written an essay, *Il Bardo di Tommaso Gray*, and translated parts of *Paradise Lost* into Italian, before coming to England. An English version of the *Ultime Lettere* appeared in 1814.

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Austrian government in Milan, and in 1816 he settled in London and began to make a living by writing articles for the reviews. He was of an extravagant and somewhat irritable disposition, and was often in difficulties over money, but he managed to do a good deal of useful work in literary and textual criticism. He contributed to the *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly*, the *London Magazine*, and others, in all nearly thirty articles, including studies not only of the better known Italians—Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Tasso—but of little read lyric poets like Michael Angelo and Guido Cavalcanti, and also essays on more general lines—'On Poetic Criticism as applicable to Italian Literature,' 'On the Women of Italy,' and on the history of Italian literature. Written by a man of undoubted poetic genius, of strong critical sympathy, of wide reading in his native literature, and with a considerable knowledge also of English poetry, Foscolo's essays did more on the critical side to bring about and maintain a real *rapprochement* between English and Italian literature than the work of any other individual writer[1].

Foscolo's separately published works, though few, are of great interest. In 1823 he issued a volume of four *Essays on Petrarch*—the first sympathetic and genuinely critical study in English of a poet who has seldom had justice done to him in this country. In the appendix he printed, with the originals, some capable translations from Petrarch by his friend Lady Dacre[2]. In 1825 appeared the first instalment of Foscolo's chief contribution to scholarship, his edition, intended to be complete with *apparatus criticus* and commentary, of the *Divina Commedia*. This first volume, however, contained only the preliminary *Discorso sul Testo*, and no more was published before Foscolo's death, at Chiswick in 1827, in poverty and solitude[3]. Some years later another illustrious refugee, the patriot Mazzini, took up the work and completed it from the poet's manuscript remains. The four volumes which appeared in 1842–3 (*La Commedia di Dante Alighieri, illustrata da Ugo Foscolo*) laid the foundations of the modern critical text, and we may feel a certain pride that they were published in London[4].

[1] For a list of Foscolo's articles, see *Ugo Foscolo in Inghilterra*, by F. Viglione (Catania, 1910, p. 319).

[2] These were reprinted privately, with additions, in 1836. There were many translations of parts of Petrarch's lyrical work during this period, e.g. by J. H. Merivale, James Montgomery, Aubrey de Vere the elder, and Leigh Hunt, whose renderings are by far the best. In 1859 Bohn published the first complete translation (by various hands) of the *Canzoniere*, with the life by the poet Campbell previously issued alone in 1841.

[3] In 1871 Foscolo's remains were taken to Italy and buried with national honours in Santa Croce, the Westminster Abbey of Florence.

[4] Mazzini's first and longest stay in England was from 1837 to 1848, and like Foscolo he made his living at this time by journalism while continuing his active work in the cause of Italian freedom which culminated in the Roman Republic of 1849.

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Two other famous Italians who came to England somewhat later than Foscolo may here be mentioned, though much of their work falls after the period we are considering: these are Gabriele Rossetti and Antonio Panizzi. Rossetti (1783–1854), the father of the English poet, holds a place of some eminence in Italian lyrical poetry. As a 'constitutionalist' at Naples, he took part in the revolution of 1820[1], which was crushed in the following year, and was forced to leave Italy, arriving in England in 1824. He was befriended by J. H. Frere, Cary and others, and was appointed Professor of Italian at King's College, London, in 1831. His chief publications in England comprised a series of volumes on the allegory of the *Commedia*, in which he propounded an elaborate and fantastic theory of the 'political and anti-papal' significance of Dante's work[2]; but he did his adopted country greater service in becoming the father of four famous children—Dante Gabriel, poet and painter, Christina Georgina, poetess, Maria Francesca, authoress of *A Shadow of Dante* (1871), and William Michael, critic, editor, and family biographer, who died only a few years ago.

Panizzi (1797–1879) is best known by his many years' work at the British Museum. Born near Modena, he was involved in the conspiracy of 1822 against the ducal government, and fled to England, where he was helped by Roscoe, Foscolo and Lord Brougham. He held the chair of Italian at the newly founded University of London, and also wrote a few articles for the reviews, among them a eulogistic notice of Foscolo's *Discorso* and a severe attack on Rossetti's commentary on Dante. As an officer of the British Museum, which he entered as an assistant in 1831, becoming Principal Librarian in 1856, he did bibliographical and organizing work of the highest value, and the prestige now enjoyed by the national collection is owing in great part to his untiring efforts. As an editor also he did work of the first importance. His monumental edition of the two great poems of Boiardo and Ariosto, published in nine volumes between 1830 and 1834, established the text of their poems, and vindicated once for all the claims of the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo to be judged on its own merits and not, as during three centuries previously, through the sophisticated *rifacimento* of Berni. In later years, also, Panizzi superintended the sumptuous reprint (1858), subsidised by Lord Vernon, of the four earliest editions of the *Commedia*.

[1] The revolution celebrated in Shelley's *Ode to Naples*.

[2] *La Divina Commedia, con Comento Analitico, in sei volumi* (1826–7: only two volumes appeared); *Sullo Spirito Antipapale che produsse la Riforma* (1832); *La Beatrice di Dante* (1842), etc. Cf. *Gabriele Rossetti, A Versified Autobiography*, trans. and ed. by W. M. Rossetti (1901), pp. 65–70.

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V.

We may now pass to what is perhaps the most interesting and important part of our inquiry, the influence of Italy upon the imaginative writers of the early nineteenth century. Speaking very generally, the mass of work which concerns us falls into two divisions, one inspired chiefly by the earlier Italians, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, the other chiefly by Pulci, Ariosto, Tasso, and the other later masters of the narrative poem, romantic, serio-comic, or burlesque. Shelley's work, for example, belongs mainly to the first division; that of J. H. Frere, W. S. Rose, and one or two more, wholly to the second. But the work of many, perhaps most, writers—Leigh Hunt and Byron are instances—falls partly in one and partly in the other division; and so it will be more convenient, while bearing this broad distinction in mind, to adopt an arrangement based rather on chronology and the literary and personal relations of the various writers.

Of the older generation, Wordsworth and his contemporaries, there is not much to be said. Though mostly well acquainted with Italian literature, they drew their main inspiration from other sources. Wordsworth and Scott[1] were agreed in preferring Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso to Dante; like most poets before Shelley, they formed an entirely unjust conception of the *Commedia* by confining their reading to the *Inferno*. Wordsworth liked the Italian lyrical poetry best, and his famous 'Sonnet on the Sonnet' shows some appreciation of the sonnets of Dante, Petrarch, and Tasso. He followed up the translations from Michael Angelo, which have been mentioned, by rendering (about 1809) a number of epitaphs from Chiabrera[2]. Long after, in his *Memorials of a Tour in Italy in 1837*, he published a few occasional poems, of slight merit, on Italian themes.

Southey's tastes were somewhat singular in inclining to Spanish rather than Italian literature, though he had a fair knowledge of the latter. Samuel Rogers, the wealthy 'banker-poet,' in his elegant and cultured if somewhat feeble fashion, was a sincere admirer of the art of Italy, and was a keen collector of Italian pictures, books, and articles of virtù. His *Italy*, a kind of journal in blank verse of his visits in 1815 and 1822, owed, however, some of its popularity to the fine illustrations

[1] Scott owed little to Italy; but there was a considerable debt in the opposite direction. His creation of the historical novel soon had its effect in Italy, and in 1827 appeared Manzoni's famous romance of Lombardy in the seventeenth century, *I Promessi Sposi*. This soon became popular all over Europe, and was translated into English in 1828, 1834, and 1844; there are also several later versions.

[2] His poem on the death of Charles Lamb (1834) was, as he tells us, modelled on Chiabrera.

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by Turner. Coleridge, as we have noticed, brought curiously little of his Italian reading into his poetry; but in *The Garden of Boccaccio* (1828) there is a charming record of the pleasure he found in his later years in re-reading the tales of the 'all-enjoying and all-blending sage.'

It was upon the younger generation of the Romantic poets that the spell of Italy, of her poets, her story-tellers, her artists, her great men, her inspiring yet saddening history, fell most completely. Several of them lived and worked in Italy; and, through the intimate knowledge which they thus gained of Italian life and manners, men like Shelley, Byron, and W. S. Rose were more 'Italianate' (and perhaps more profitably so on the whole) than even the Elizabethan courtier-poets. They were self-appointed ambassadors, of whom we might say, as justly as, later on, Tommaseo said of Mrs Browning, that they 'made of their verse a golden ring linking England and Italy.'

First in point of time comes the work, inspired by the humorous and romantic poems of Italy, which leads up to Byron's greatest work, *Don Juan*. Though Spenser owed something to Ariosto, he did not choose to imitate the Italian poet's vein of courtly irony; and there is little humour of any kind in the *Faerie Queene*. Until the nineteenth century no attempt was made to naturalise in English the Italian type of 'medley' poem, in which romance, light satire, and broad humour were mingled, and of which the *Morgante Maggiore* of Pulci, the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo, and its sequel the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto are the most perfect examples[1]. The steps by which Byron was led to use the octave stanza in *Don Juan*, and to adopt with it something of the style and atmosphere of these great poems of the Quattrocento and Cinquecento, can be clearly traced through some earlier work of much interest.

The earliest English imitator—at any rate since the Elizabethan age[2]—of any of these poets was Richard Wharton, a busy M.P. who, it is worth observing, was a son of Gray's friend Dr Thomas Wharton. In 1804–5 he published two volumes of *Fables: Consisting of select parts from Dante, Berni, Chaucer, and Ariosto. Imitated in English Heroic Verse.* With the exception of two passages from Dante, which are rendered fairly closely, these are tales in verse more or less on the model of Dryden's *Fables*, and like them paraphrase the originals with some freedom. The use of the couplet makes the effect very unlike that

[1] These poems are of course all written in the *ottava rima* (rhyming abababcc), the usual stanza for romantic tales in the earlier Italian poetry.

[2] The *ottava rima* was used by Gay, as already noted (§ II); but this is an isolated instance of little significance.

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of the Italian poems, and there is no sign that Wharton appreciated the comic vein in his exemplars. In fact, it was very much the other way; for in 1812 (being then Secretary to the Treasury) Wharton published *Roncesvalles*, a poem running to about five thousand couplets, and nominally inspired by Berni's witty revision of Boiardo, but devoid of the faintest spark of humour. The declared aim was to 'deduce a moral lay' (whatever that may mean); and the poet bettered his original in one respect at least—the adulation of those in power. He contrives somehow to trace 'the sacred source from which the line Of Brunswick rose' through 'Oggier the Dane' to Charlemagne. No one seems to have read the poem, and we need not be surprised.

Meanwhile a step beyond this feeble beginning had been taken by J. H. Merivale (father of the historian), an acquaintance of Byron. Merivale has the distinction of having resurrected the *ottava rima* in his translations and imitations. His favourite was Pulci, and in 1806 he rendered some passages from the *Morgante* in the original metre, and published them, with a prose narrative linking the fragments, in the *Monthly Magazine*[1]. He followed this up in 1814 with *Orlando in Roncesvalles*, a romantic tale also in *ottava rima*, relating the famous but long-neglected story of the

> dolorosa rotta quando
> Carlo Magno perdè la santa gesta.

Pulci's account was followed closely, some of his stanzas being translated and embodied in the poem; but the humorous element, of which Merivale severely and somewhat foolishly disapproved, was again eliminated, and the poem in fact resembles Scott's tales in verse far more than the *Morgante*. Byron, in his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, had already praised Merivale's translations from Greek, and he thought *Orlando in Roncesvalles* a 'very noble poem.' Few would say as much for it nowadays; but at least Merivale had suggested the possibilities of the *ottava rima* in modern English[2].

The real transplantation of the style and manner of Pulci was accomplished by John Hookham Frere, the translator of Aristophanes,

[1] Byron does not seem to have seen these, and his own version from Pulci, mentioned hereafter, is quite independent. Cf. Byron, *Works*, *Poetry* IV, pp. 271–80 (ed. E. H. Coleridge, 1898 sq.).

[2] Merivale, who was an excellent Italian scholar, also translated some passages from Dante in *terza rima*, scraps from Boccaccio, Petrarch, and Tasso, and (in 1820) two cantos of Forteguerri's mock-heroic *Ricciardetto*; the first canto of the latter was also translated by Lord Glenbervie in 1821, but there is no complete English version. Merivale collected his translations in *Poems Original and Translated*, 2 vols., 1838, 2nd edition 1844. On Merivale's relations with Byron cf. also *Memoir of the Rev. F. Hodgson* (a Cambridge friend of Merivale) by his son, the Rev. J. T. Hodgson (2 vols., 1878), which contains letters from Merivale and Byron.

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in the most charming of his original poems, the enormous title of which is commonly abbreviated to *Whistlecraft*[1]. Frere himself gives an account of the origin of the poem in a letter (May 7, 1818) to his friend Ugo Foscolo:

> In fact [he says] the attempt itself originated in reading Ginguené's account of Pulci (in his *Histoire Littéraire de l'Italie*), in which some extracts are inserted.... I was so struck with them that though it was late at night I could not go to bed till I had translated them, and for a week after could neither think or dream of anything but Pulci[2].

Frere's attempt at recapturing, in a poem completely independent as to story, the spirit of Pulci, was very successful, and no one can read *Whistlecraft* without regretting that the tale of the monks and giants, the knights and the ladies of Carlisle, stops short at the 'specimen' stage. The union of wit and kindly humour, with a very little satire, touched often with a finely poetic imagination, is admirable, and it is not surprising to find that Frere's poem was the direct inspirer of *Beppo*, which was itself an 'easel-study' for *Don Juan*. In October 1817 Byron wrote to his publisher John Murray: 'Mr. Whistlecraft has no greater admirer than myself; I have written a story in 89 stanzas in imitation of him, called "Beppo".'

Finally, we may briefly consider some work by another of the same circle of friends which was not without influence on Byron. William Stewart Rose (1775–1843), a keen student of Italian literature, was more intimate with the poet than either Frere or Merivale, and his burlesque verses set an example of insouciant, conversational, and highly personal wit which is plainly reflected in some of the liveliest stanzas in *Don Juan*. Rose was a well-to-do M.P. and a friend of Sir Walter Scott, who encouraged his Italian studies and dedicated to him the first canto of *Marmion*. From 1814 Rose lived for six or seven years in Italy, seeing a good deal of Byron at Venice. In 1816 he published *The Court and Parliament of Beasts*, an 'adaptation' of Casti's *Gli Animali Parlanti*, a recent satirical poem in the Bernesque vein of humour. The original was treated very freely, its twenty-seven cantos being reduced to seven; moreover the Italian allusions were often replaced by English ones, and to each canto original dedications were added, addressed to Rose's friends Frere, Foscolo, Hallam, Scott and others. The metre is the six-line stanza (rhyming ababcc), but the effect is not unlike the

[1] *Prospectus and Specimen of an Intended National Work, by William and Robert Whistlecraft, of Stowmarket in Suffolk: Intended to comprise the most interesting particulars relating to King Arthur and his Round Table.* The first two cantos appeared in 1817, the third and fourth in 1818. The whole was reprinted in 1818 as *The Monks and Giants: Prospectus*, etc. There was a fourth edition of this by 1821.

[2] *Ugo Foscolo in Inghilterra*, p. 171.

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familiar parts of *Don Juan*, as this stanza, from the verses to Foscolo, indicates:

> Dear Foscolo, to thee my dedication's
> Addressed with reason. Who like thee is able
> To judge betwixt the theme and variations?
> To whom so well can I inscribe my fable
> As thee? since I, upon good proof[1], may sing thee
> *Doctum sermones utriusque linguae.*

The approximation to Byron's manner is even closer in the rhyming letters (in *ottava rima*) which Rose addressed to his friend in 1818. Thus, writing from Albaro, he bemoans his bad entertainment:

> . . . We dine at half-past one or two;
> Not that we've either heart or hope to eat,
> But that we do not know what else to do;
> For when at that long wish'd-for hour we meet,
> We gaze despondingly on roast and stew,
> Exchange sad looks, and curse the carrion-meat,
> The stall which bred it, and the grass which fill'd it,
> The slave who cook'd it, and the knave who kill'd it[2].

Byron received these verses in the spring of 1818; in the autumn *Don Juan* was begun.

The interest of Rose's work is not limited to his part in the making of *Don Juan*, and something may here be said concerning his later writings. Before 1819 he had begun his *magnum opus*, a translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. The first volume of this appeared in 1823; but in the same year he had issued 'as a preface to my first and greatest undertaking,' a short prose summary of the *Orlando Innamorato*, containing some passages translated in verse—the object being to make Ariosto's story, which nominally continues Boiardo's, easier to follow[3]. The Ariosto itself was completed in eight volumes printed, with a learned commentary, between 1823 and 1831, and at once superseded all previous versions, of which the best, Sir John Harrington's (1591), though easy and poetical, is rather a paraphrase than a translation. Rose's version, in the measure of the original, which it follows with some closeness—stanza for stanza, though not line for line—has great merit, and remains the standard translation[4].

(To be concluded.)

R. W. KING.

BANGOR.

[1] Rose adds the note: 'See his accurate translation of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* into Italian.'

[2] Printed in *Byron's Letters and Journals*, ed. Prothero (1900), IV, p. 212.

[3] *The Orlando Innamorato translated into prose from the Italian of Fr. Berni and interspersed with extracts in the same stanza as the Original* (1823). Rose, like every reader before Panizzi's edition of 1830, used Berni's *rifacimento*.

[4] Rose also wrote *Letters from the North of Italy to H. Hallam, Esq.* (1819), of some social and political interest.

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THE SOURCE OF VOLTAIRE'S 'ZAÏRE.'

IT has been the common opinion of historians of French literature and of Voltaire biographers, from the time of Lessing[1] to that of Gustave Lanson[2] and Émile Faguet[3], that Voltaire's *Zaïre* (1732) is little more than an imitation of Shakespeare's *Othello*. Heinrich Morf was the first of modern scholars to point out the striking differences between the two tragedies and the inadmissibility of the current thesis[4]. Richard Arndt, in a Marburg dissertation[5], conclusively proved that *Zaïre* is absolutely different from and hence independent of Shakespeare's play[6]. At the most he admits a slight and *unconscious* influence of *Othello*[7]. His able and skilful argumentation does not appear to have received the attention it deserves, judging from more recent works dealing with the subject, which continue to present the old thesis of *Zaïre* being a weak copy of *Othello*[8].

If the thesis of Arndt be accepted as proved (and there can be no doubt as to its essential correctness), the question arises, What was the

[1] *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, XV (ed. F. Schröter und R. Thiele, Halle, 1877), p. 93: 'Und doch ist *Othello* offenbar das Vorbild des Orosman gewesen. Der eifersüchtige Orosman spielt gegen den eifersüchtigen Othello des Shakespeare eine sehr kahle Figur.'

[2] *Voltaire*, Paris, 1906, p. 97: '...le jaloux Orosmane tuant la tendre Zaïre, transposition gracieuse d'Othello, du Shakespeare en biscuit....'

[3] *Dix-huitième Siècle*, Paris, 1892, p. 253: '*Zaïre* c'est *Othello* avec beaucoup de *Mithridate*.'

[4] *Voltaires und Shaksperes Cäsartragödien*, in *Zeitschr. f. französ. Spr. u. Lit.* (1888). For this study I use the reprint in *Aus Dichtung und Sprache der Romanen*. Erste Reihe. Berlin, 1922, p. 287: 'Man pflegt die 1732 aufgeführte *Zaïre* gewöhnlich als eine Nachbildung des *Othello* aufzufassen. Aber eine Vergleichung der beiden Stücke zeigt, dass diese Auffassung unberechtigt ist. Sie haben kaum etwas miteinander gemein, das über Allgemeinheiten hinausgeht. Die Hauptperson der Voltaire'schen Tragödie ist ein Weib, Zaïre; sie kämpft den Kampf zwischen Glaube und Liebe; die Hauptperson der englischen ist Othello; er kämpft zwischen Liebe und Eifersucht. Voltaire vergleicht sein Stück, eine *tragédie chrétienne*, ausdrücklich mit *Polyeucte* und erklärt die Liebe in diesen beiden Tragödien als ein *ornement*, sodass er folgerichtig eine Zaïre ohne Liebe supponieren kann. Aber ein Othello ohne Liebe! Höchstens mag Voltaire bei der Schöpfung seines verliebten Sultan sich des Mohrs Shaksperes erinnert haben; aber wie gründlich verschieden sind auch diese beiden Gestalten.'

[5] Richard Arndt, *Zur Entstehung von Voltaires Zaïre*, Diss. Marburg, 1906.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 6: 'Die Träger der Haupthandlung, Zaïre und Orosmane, sind ganz und gar dichterische Erfindung.'

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 16–30.

[8] C. H. C. Wright, *A History of French Literature*, New York, 1912, p. 472: 'In *Zaïre*...the jealousy of a new Othello is somewhat subordinated, after the style of French tragedy, to the crisis of love and duty in the heart of the heroine.' G. Lanson, *Histoire de la Littérature française*, Paris, 1912, p. 649: 'il empruntait aux Anglais leur Othello qu'il habillait en Orosmane.' H. Suchier und A. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1913, II, p. 241: 'Die Eifersuchtstragödie *Othello* erscheint in seiner Umgestaltung als *Zaïre*.'

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true source of *Zaïre*? This problem has not as yet approached a satisfactory solution. Arndt supposed the plot to have been taken from English comedy, notably Steele's *The Conscious Lovers*, which was known to Voltaire[1]. He overlooked the fact that the motive of relatives separated from their early childhood and finally recognizing one another under depressing or dangerous circumstances, a motive which forms the basis of Voltaire's play, had a very important part in Italian Renaissance comedies and short stories[2]. Steele probably did influence Voltaire's *Les Originaux*, likewise written in 1732, where, as in Steele's play, two sisters find each other after a long separation. But, aside from these bare outlines, there is no similarity whatever between the English comedy and *Zaïre*. The problem is then as puzzling and elusive as it ever was.

In the analysis of *Zaïre* as distinguished from *Othello*, the following traits may be considered as outstanding and characteristic:

(1) A Mohammedan prince is in love with a Christian slave and desires to marry her.
(2) She finds her brother, from whom she has been separated for a long time.
(3) Brother and sister keep the secret from the sultan.
(4) Their familiarity leads the prince to suspect the disloyalty of the woman.

None of these traits is met with in Shakespeare's *Othello* or Steele's *The Conscious Lovers*. All of them occur in an Italian short story, the work of Giambattista Giraldi, a writer of gruesome tragedies and as gruesome *novelle*, who lived in the second part of the sixteenth century[3]. The tale is the sixth of the eighth day of the *Hecatommithi*, a short-story collection first published in Monteregale, Sicily, in 1565[4]. The work was translated into French[5] and Spanish[6] during the sixteenth century, but not into English until after Voltaire's death[7]. The story in question bears the following rubric: 'Lamprino è preso da' corsali, e

[1] Arndt, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff.
[2] I. Sanesi, *La Commedia*, Milano, 1911, I, p. 365. *Decamerone*, II, 6, 8; Parabosco, *I Diporti*, XIII; Lee, *The Decameron, its Sources and Analogues*, London, 1909, pp. 34 and 39.
[3] Francesco Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, Milano, s. d., p. 428. M. Landau, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle*, Wien, 1875, p. 114.
[4] G. Passano, *I Novellieri italiani in prosa*, Torino, 1878, p. 352.
[5] Premier (et deuxième) volumes des Cent excellentes nouvelles de J. G. Giraldy Cynthien...contenant plusieurs exemples et notables histoires etc. mis d'italien en françois, par Gabr. Chapuys, Paris, 1583 ou 1584.
[6] Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, Madrid, 1905, p. xxiii.
[7] The first English translation, by W. Parr, dates from 1795.

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dato a Selin. Cresce in grado appresso lui. Gli son parate insidie, per farlo malamente morire, da uno, al quale egli molto giovato aveva; e vuole la giustizia divina, che lo ingrato insidiatore è dato alla morte, ch' egli avea fatta apparecchiare a Lamprino, ed egli felice vive.' The contents may be summarized as follows:

The hero, a Christian youth of Corfu, called Lamprino, is captured by a Turkish corsair and sold to Sultan Selim (Selim I, who reigned in the first part of the sixteenth century). Feigning to be a Mussulman, he rises in the favour of the prince, but incurs the ill-will of a courtier whom he has obliged. Selim appoints him chamberlain to his favourite wife, a girl by the name of Tamulia, who is a Christian slave and none other than Lamprino's sister, abducted by pirates the year before Lamprino had fallen into their hands. Like her brother, she feigns adherence to the Mohammedan faith. Upon recognizing each other, the two young people treat each other as brother and sister, but decide to keep the matter secret from the sultan. Lamprino's enemy, Zelimo by name, notices the intimacy of Lamprino and Tamulia, and loses no time to accuse the young man to the prince of having an illicit love-affair with Tamulia. Selim, overcome by jealousy, decides to put the youth to death, and gives order to the master of the imperial lions to throw to the beasts the man that would first come to ask whether the prince's command has been carried out. Lamprino stops on the way to say his prayer; in the meantime Zelimo, who has overheard the order and watched his enemy hurry away upon the sultan's command, impatient for the death of Lamprino, starts out to enquire from the keeper whether the sultan's order has been carried out. As he overtakes the youth, he arrives first and is given to the lions, which immediately tear him to pieces. Lamprino learns the facts of his miraculous escape from death, gets hold of the sultan's swiftest horse, and flees to Christian countries, where he returns to his former faith. When in safety, he informs Selim by letter that Tamulia is his sister and sends back the horse. The sultan dies a short time afterwards. Tamulia writes to her brother, who, after obtaining safe-conduct, goes to Constantinople and leads his sister back to Corfu, where she enters a convent.

As will be seen from this outline, the story is a variant of a widespread motive, best known, perhaps, by Schiller's poem *Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer*, which the late Emmanuel Cosquin thought to be of Oriental origin[1]. Added to this framework we find the Turkish setting and the recognition of brother and sister. Both are peculiar to many

[1] E. Cosquin, *Études Folkloriques*, Paris, 1922, pp. 73–162.

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Italian Renaissance comedies and short stories, as was pointed out above. The story of Giraldi contains then the outstanding features of *Zaïre*, with the following differences:

(1) Voltaire omits the motive of the slandered courtier.

(2) Zaïre's brother is not in the sultan's service.

(3) Zaïre is not the sultan's wife.

(4) The circumstances leading to the recognition are more complicated in the play, and Zaïre has fallen into the hands of the Turks when a baby.

(5) The outcome of the play is tragic, because the sultan vents his hate on the heroine, not on her supposed lover.

Three of these differences can be explained by the requirements of the eighteenth-century French stage. The representation of the story of the slandered page would have been a theatrical monstrosity, the very subject-matter being unsuited for a classical *tragédie* and, moreover, highly repulsive to Voltaire's rationalism. With this omission the plot would have presented a threadbare appearance, hence the necessity of giving more space to features touched upon only lightly by the Italian. This explains the more complicated aspect of the recognition-motive in Voltaire's tragedy. A good deal of the interest of the first part of the work is centred around this recognition. Finally, the tragic outcome was required by the rules of the genre as conceived by Racine and his imitators. The Racinian tradition likewise required that the female character should be the main sufferer; hence it is that Zaïre plays the principal rôle in the play, whereas in the *novella* Lamprino is far more prominent than Tamulia.

A fourth difference is due to other circumstances. Voltaire desired to depict the conflict between Faith and Love; hence the necessity of emphasizing the religious element. Lamprino is at best a shrewd sceptic who remembers his catechism when he finds himself in an uncomfortable situation. Nérestan, on the other hand, is a fanatic, true to the time in which the action is supposed to take place. This explains why he could not be represented as being in the sultan's service, but had to be introduced from outside.

There remains to determine why Zaïre is not yet married to the sultan, whereas Tamulia is the wife of Selim (and, be it said, Desdemona that of Othello). I conjecture that Voltaire made the change in order to furnish a better explanation for Orosmane's jealousy and Zaïre's religious scruples.

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There can be little doubt about the fact that Giraldi's story was the direct source of *Zaïre.* The *Hecatommithi* went through six editions during the sixteenth century[1]. Passano lists one of the seventeenth. Copies of sixteenth-century editions are not very rare even now. Since Voltaire's command of Italian is beyond dispute, there is nothing to oppose the view that Giraldi's Italian text was used by the author of *Zaïre.*

There are, however, some more facts which throw light upon Voltaire's literary workmanship. It will be recalled that according to the commonly accepted opinion Shakespeare's *Othello* is derived from the seventh story of the third day of the *Hecatommithi*[2]. This opinion was current among scholars and men of letters of the eighteenth century. Pope himself states: 'The Story is taken from Cynthio's Novels[3].' Voltaire's intimacy with Pope during his stay in England (1726–29) is well known, and the Frenchman may well have received this information from the English poet. Voltaire was acquainted with *Othello* and could not escape the powerful influence the tragedy had on him[4]. Hunting for a suitable plot for a work of his own, he very naturally turned to the quarry where Shakespeare had found his material, Giraldi's collection of short stories, and he selected the sixth of the eighth day as most suitable for his purposes. He did not think it necessary to make public the manner in which he obtained the subject-matter of *Zaïre,* and, of course, no literary man is even now under such an obligation if he uses the borrowed material as freely and as independently as Voltaire used the story of Giraldi. But the very fact that he knew he had drawn on a story which has nothing in common with *Othello,* fully justified him in his own mind as well as to posterity, in not acknowledging a literary indebtedness to Shakespeare which did not exist.

To sum up, the plot of *Zaïre* goes back to the sixth story of the eighth day of Giraldi's *Hecatommithi.* Voltaire's attention was doubtless called to this work by the fact that it was supposed to have furnished Shakespeare the plot of his *Othello.* The person who informed Voltaire of this supposed dependency of Shakespeare upon Giraldi may well have been Alexander Pope.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

[1] Passano, *op. et loc. cit.*

[2] This opinion is quite erroneous, as I have pointed out in a recent study, *Modern Lang. Notes*, XXXIX, pp. 156–161.

[3] A new Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, ed. by H. H. Furness, vol. VI (*Othello*), Philadelphia, 1886.

[4] *Lettres philosophiques*, XVIIIe lettre.

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SOURCES AND TEXT OF THE MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN POEM 'DIE HOCHZEIT.'

A FULL account of the work published on *Die Hochzeit* is given by A. Waag, *Kleinere deutsche Gedichte des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts*, 2. Aufl., Halle, 1916, and by G. Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, II. Teil, München, 1922. Below an attempt is made to solve some of the many remaining difficulties.

Let us take first the following passage:

uns râtet Ysaias,
daz wir cherigen daz hûs,
ob got dar zuo chome,
daz im dar inne gezeme.
wir schulen got furhten unde minnen. (ll. 572–576.)

Isaiah does not contain this teaching, but it is found in *The Shepherd of Hermas*[1]: 'Only do thou purify thy house; for in a clean house they will dwell[2].' *They* represent 'powers of the Son of God.' The copyist seems to have substituted the well-known *Isaiah* for a possibly unfamiliar and unclearly written *Hermas*. We should, therefore, read, in spite of the rime: 'uns râtet Hermas.' Hermas teaches also: 'Hear me therefore, and fear Him, who is able to do all things[3].' But, of course, *furhten unde minnen*[4] is a regular formula.

It thus becomes a matter of interest to examine the poem to see whether other teachings of Hermas occur in it. Such an examination shows that Hermas has indeed suggested much to the poet. One passage (ll. 441–459) bears much resemblance to the twenty-first chapter of the *Revelation of St John*; and this, at first sight, appears to be its only source. But, as Kraus points out, 'Dass die Steine stärker leuchten als Sonne und andere Gestirne, ist gegen Apoc. 21[5].' Let us consider:

Der ende der sind viere.
daz gesteine ist alsô hêre:
der steine allir iegelîch
treit ein lieht alsô êrlîch...
sô ne liuhte nie sô schône
der sunne noch der mâne...

[1] The quotations are from *The Apostolic Fathers*, edited Lightfoot and Harmer, London, 1891.
[2] Hermas, p. 482. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 439. [4] Waag, p. lxviii. [5] *Ibid.*, p. lxv.

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sô die steine louhtent harte
in der himilischen porte
alliz gemeine.
lebentiz gesteine
daz louhtet dar inne. (ll. 441–457.)

This doctrine is found in Hermas, and, indeed, the whole passage seems to owe more to Hermas than to St John: 'And in the middle of the plain he showed me a great white rock...being four-square...and had a gate hewn out of it....And the gate glistened beyond the brightness of the sun....And around the gate stood twelve virgins. The four then that stood at the corners seemed to me to be more glorious[1].' Kraus remarks, 'Die Vorstellung, die Jerusalem bestehe aus lebenden Steinen, geht auf I. Petri 2, 5 zurück[2].' But Hermas, too, tells us that the *stones* are *apostles and teachers*: 'But these went down alive and again came up alive; whereas the others that had fallen asleep before them went down dead and came up alive, so by their means they were quickened into life[3].' Hermas further explains the preceding passage:

Sô gâhe[nt si harte]
zuo der himelischen porte,
die enphâhit [dâ] der rîche
alle gelîche.
versoumet er daz eine tor,
sô ist er immer dâ vor. (ll. 431–436.)

'This rock...and gate is the Son of God....A man cannot enter into the kingdom of God except by the name of his Son....But the gate is the Son of God, there is this one entrance only to the Lord[4].'

It is Hermas alone that explains why this passage in the poem follows the passage dealing with the parable of the vineyard (ll. 407–430). Hermas shows that all kinds of stones, representing people differing greatly in moral worth, are used in the building. This naturally fits in with the parable which gives to all the same wages, whether the labour has been long or short.

Another difficulty of the poem is the verse (79): 'Ôdîn, prôdîn, lôshait, bôshait.' This was possibly suggested by the evil women that wear the black garments, and cause the downfall of men. Hermas says, '...the names of the women that wear the black garments. Of these also four are more powerful than the rest; the first is Unbelief; the second, Intemperance; the third, Disobedience; the fourth, Deceit[5].' The substance of the whole passage (ll. 65–94), viz., the passing of this world, the need of baptism, repentance, good works, good will, punishment of the ungodly is contained in Hermas.

[1] Hermas, p. 461. [2] Waag, p. lxv. [3] Hermas, p. 472.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 468–469. [5] Hermas, p. 471.

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Again the poet describes how the rich man may enter heaven:

dar mohte der rîche
chomen im selben sælichlîchen,
wolde er die gewinne
teilen durch die minne.
den vrostigen solde er werigen,
den hungerigen nerigen,
er solde den siechen
mit sînem guote suochen,
wîsen den blinten
unde lêren den tumben,
vasten die zîte.... (ll. 486–496.)

Much of this, of course, is in the canonical books, but the parallels from Hermas are not uninteresting:

'Work that which is good, and of thy labours, which God giveth thee, give to all that are in want freely[1].' And, 'They that are rich in this world, unless their riches be cut away, cannot become useful to the Lord[2].' And, 'Ye then that have more than enough, seek out them that are hungry...Instruct one another...Fast therefore, and thou shalt receive what thou askest from the Lord[3].' Further, the general symbiotic relation of rich and poor, which is just touched on in the poem, forms the teaching of the second parable of Hermas.

We now pass on to other difficulties:

Gân wir fur einen foulen hunt,
wir verwinten die nase joch den munt:
alsô schulen wir uns alle
winten von der helle.
diu stinchet wirs danne der hunt,
dâ vor verwinten wir den munt.
diu stenche von der helle,
diu cholet uns alle.
der si beslozzen hât,
der getuo unsir rât.
der wâre gotes sun,
mit sîn selbes zeswon! (ll. 534–545.)

Waag states, 'Kr. vermutet brieflich *ze sîn selbes zeswon* und fügt bei: "Die Guten zur Rechten beim jüngsten Tage," und um den handelt es sich ja bei den 5 Gaben, S. 558 ff.'[4] There seems to be no need to read *ze* for *mit* with Kraus. This whole passage was undoubtedly suggested by certain passages in the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The 'Harrowing of Hell' is described in some detail later in the poem (ll. 985–1050). The words *foul* and *stenche* are clearly based on the following passage from the *Gospel of Nicodemus*: 'Et nunc, spurcissime et foetidissime infere, aperi portas tuas ut intret rex gloriae[5].' These very

[1] Hermas, p. 422.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 414.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 416–417.
[4] Waag, p. lxviii.
[5] Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1853. Latin A version, p. 377.

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words are used in the Old English translation: 'Ac nu [þu] fule and þu stinchende helle, geopene rađe þine gaten[1].' The last verse *mit sîn selbes zeswon* was suggested by: 'et tenens dexteram Adae ascendit ab inferis: et omnes sancti secuti sunt eum[2].' The meaning is 'just as Christ drew Adam from hell by His right hand, may He save us by His right hand.' The passage *der si beslozzen hât* clearly refers to the 'Harrowing of Hell'; later in the poem we read that Christ took the good people out of hell (ll. 1035–1040), and then:

die helle beslôz er:
die ander dâ liez er.
Daz was ein schôniu hervart,
dô diu helle beroubet wart. (ll. 1041–1044.)

Another passage in the poem reads:

H[oy], wie leide im dô geschach,
dô got in d[ie] h[ell]e s[pra]ch
ze dem allêrsten man,
den er [bilden be]gan!
benamen er in dô nante.
der [vîant in] wol erchante. (ll. 1017–1022.)

Waag[3] rejects Karajan's reading *spranch* in l. 1018, and adopts 'sprach,' the suggestion of Schröder and Kraus. There seems to be no doubt about *sprach*. The *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Latin A version) reads: 'Et cum haec ad invicem loquerentur Satan princeps et inferus subito facta est vox ut tonitruum et spiritualis clamor Tollite portas principes vestras...[4].' That this was understood to be the voice of Christ is shown by the reading of the Latin B version: 'Et audita est vox filii patris altissimi tanquam vox tonitrui magni[5].' In the verse *benamen er in dô nante, er* refers to Christ and *in* to Adam. The Latin A version reads 'Tenens autem dominus manum dexteram Adae dixit ad eum Pax tibi[6],' but in the B version Christ 'names' him: 'Tunc dominus Jesus...aiebat illi Pax tibi Adam.' The suggestion *der vîant in* does not harmonize with the account in the Gospel. Probably *Dauid* is the reading, since it is David who seems most certain as to the identity of Christ.

This passage (ll. 1017–1022) is a remarkable condensation of a long passage in the Gospel. It is interesting to note that the Old English translation of the Gospel, which in the main is closer to the Latin A version than to the B version, also follows B as far as 'Pax tibi Adam'

[1] Hulme, *The Old English Gospel of Nicodemus* in *Modern Philology*, Chicago, 1904, 1, p. 605.
[2] Tischendorf, p. 382.
[3] Waag, p. lxxvii.
[4] Tischendorf, p. 376.
[5] Cf. also Priebsch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England*, II, p. 220, ll. 42 ff.
[6] Tischendorf, p. 382.

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is concerned. This suggests the existence of a version, not yet found, closely related to A, but also containing elements of B.

> Ir [schult] mîniu wort tragen...
> die christenheit si lêren. (ll. 945–948.)

To the passages quoted by Kraus[1] in support of *christlicher Glaube* as the meaning of *christenheit* we may add some from a Middle High German life of St Stephan:

> Ich glaub gar wol dy christenhait.
> So gelobt er da christenhait.
> vnd glaubten gern dy christenhait[2].

To the passages quoted by Kraus[3] in defence of *er lôste* against Schröder's *er nam* in:

> [er lôste] si eben alle
> mit gewalte von der helle. (ll. 1037–1038.)

we can add from St Stephan:

> mich lost da sein raine hant
> damit er dy helle prach[4].

In the passage:

> an daz chrouzze er dô geflouch,
> dâ er den tievil ane betrouch,
> der sich in daz paradîsum want
> dâ er einen boum vant
> dar inne zeinem angen,
> geltch einem slangen. (ll. 959–964.)

Kraus[5] proposes *zeinem anger* (*in medio paradisi*, Gen. 3, 3). Quite apart from the question of rime the reading *angen* (*Fischangel*) is to be retained, cp. *Ezzolied* (ll. 259–262):

> der tievel ginite an daz fleisc:
> der angel was diu gotheit.
> nu ist ez wol irgangen:
> dâ an wart er gevangen.

Both *Die Hochzeit* and *Ezzos Gesang* are based on the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and are, therefore, similar.

> von holze huob sich der tôt,
> von holze gevîl er, gote lop.
> der tievel ginite etc. (*Ezzolied*, ll. 257–259.)

and:

> von dem tôde starp der tôt,
> diu helle wart beroubet. (*Ibid.*, ll. 347–348.)

With these passages compare:

> an daz chrouzze er dô geflouch,
> dâ er den tievil ane betrouch,...

[1] Waag, p. lxxv.
[2] See R. Priebsch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England*, Band 1, pp. 40 and 113. (MS. Phill. 11854.) The passages are from MS. pp. 9. r. b, 11. r. a, 15. r. b.
[3] Waag, p. lxxvii. [4] MS. p. 6. r. b. [5] Waag, p. lxxv.

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dâ zebrach er den ban
an dem aller êrsten man...
dar an enphien[ch si] den tôt...
daz [wart dô] all[iz] an dem hêren chrouzze widirtân.
(*Hochzeit*, ll. 959–976.)

These passages are clearly based on: 'Qui per lignum et diabolum et mortem damnati fuisti, modo videte per lignum damnatum diabolum et mortem[1].' The idea is, Satan destroyed man by the tree, and was himself destroyed by the tree. The hook that caught man caught Satan later, 'For 'tis the sport to have the enginer Hoist with his own petar.' The two poems, in fact, explain one another.

Ich wæne, daz ist der w[ille :
daz er die] sêle bevelle. (ll. 647–648.)

Schröder remarks 'Auch mir nicht ganz klar,' and Roediger finds the solution 'wenn man den *willen* dem *muot* der vorangehenden Zeilen gleichsetzt[2].'

daz er mit den beinen dar gât,
dâ der êwart stât. (ll. 659–660.)

Roediger remarks, 'Aber ist denn das wunderliche *mit den beinen dar gât* in Ordnung? Vielleicht *mit weinen*[3]?'

These two passages become clear if studied in their context. There are three kinds of repentant sinners. The best confesses and does penance as soon as the sin has been committed (ll. 679–691). The worst sinner (ll. 623–654) waits until he is on his death-bed (or what he thinks is his death-bed) before repenting (l. 630): 'biz er bî dem bettebret gelît.' When he recovers he does not do the penance he promised (ll. 643–646). The middle kind (ll. 655–678) does not go to the priest as soon as his sin is committed, nor does he wait until he is on his death-bed. Thus *mit den beinen* makes good sense.

The worst sinner makes promises to the priest and may deceive him. But he cannot deceive God. The important point in repentance is the *wille*. If the sinner is sincere in his intention to do penance he obtains God's pardon even though he should die before he is able to do the penance intended.

That this is the dogma of M.H.G. religious poets finds support in the M.H.G. *Life of St Stephan*. Here we are distinctly told when the sinner who sincerely repents and dies before he can do penance:

das im dy sel doch genyst
Got so gar genedig ist
ob dy pus nicht geschicht
das er wol an dem willen sicht[4] etc.

[1] Tischendorf, p. 381. Quoted also by Kraus.
[2] Waag, p. lxx.
[3] Waag, p. lxx.
[4] MS., p. 30. r. b.

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This doctrine occurs in another part of the same poem[1].

Er fuor] zuo der helle,
er brach die chô[le] a[lle.
die] ture sich entsluzzen,
die grintil d[annen] schuzzen. (ll. 987–990.)

Schröder reads *chôle* basing it on 'fregit omne martyrium[2],' but this does not explain the rest of the passage. We read in Nicodemus: 'Et dixit inferus ad sua impia officia. Claudite portas crudeles aereas et vectes ferreos supponite et fortiter resistite...[3].'

But all these precautions were in vain. Christ entered. We can read *chôle* if we assume that the poet is misquoting the passage from memory, that somehow the adjective *crudeles* has been converted in his memory to a noun (*? crudelia*).

A. C. Dunstan.

London.

[1] MS., p. 10. v. a. [2] Waag, p. lxxvi. [3] Tischendorf, p. 397.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

'Beowulf,' ll. 223–4:

þā wæs sund liden
eoletes æt ende.

All the editors follow Thorpe in reading *sundlida* for *sund liden*, or retain the MS. reading *liden* without defending it. Thorpe's proposal is based on his objection to a passive meaning for the past participle *liden*. It is true that no other passage in Old English will throw light on *liden*—if we omit the *upliden* of the *Codex Exoniensis*[1] as being also unclear—but we need not go outside West Germanic for the solution of the difficulty. The Old High German *Freisinger Paternoster*[2] reads: *Sed libera nos a malo. Uzzan kaneri unsih fona allēm suntōn, kalitanēm enti antuuartēm enti cumftīchēm. āmen*, viz. 'from all sins, past, present, and future.' The O.H.G. *kalitanēm* (cp. its parallel *cumftīchēm*) has obviously become possible as a mere adjective meaning 'past, finished, over.' There are also two passages from the Old Saxon *Heliand*[3] which support the reading *liden*:

flēsk is uns antfallen, fel unscōni,
is unca lud giliðen, līk gidrusnod. (ll. 153–4.)

Thuo uuelda hie thar ēna meri līðan,
thie godes suno. (ll. 2233–4.)

It may be noticed that O.E. *līðan* is used to translate Latin *navigare*, which, though intransitive, is also found with an accusative in poetry[4] and rhetorical prose. The explanation of an accusative governed by *līðan* may be that originally it was combined with an 'accusative of extent,' from which a real direct object was developed. Owing to the fact that the nominative and accusative of most nouns have the same form the accusative could be confused with the nominative, and a passive use developed, e.g. *meri was giliðen*. It is, of course, possible that *sund* may mean 'voyage[5]' as well as 'sea,' and the O.H.G. and O.S. passages quoted above will support the reading *liden* in either case.

Metrical statistics are also in favour of reading *sund liden*, and not *sundlida*. The former is type 67, and the latter type 64 of Kaluza's

[1] Thorpe's edition, p. 416, l. 13.
[2] Braune's *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, no. 8.
[3] The passages from the *Heliand* were kindly supplied by Professor R. Priebsch.
[4] E.g. *aequor*, Verg. *Aen.* I, 67.
[5] It is not possible to quote passages where this meaning is certain, but this meaning seems to suit *sundes æt ende*, *Whale*, l. 15.

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ninety divisions[1]. In the first thousand lines of *Beowulf* type 64 occurs only 23 times, whilst type 67 occurs 61 times in the second half line. This should be contrasted with the poet's practice for the first half line, where type 64 occurs 50 times, and type 67 only 25 times. The poet obviously prefers type 67 in the second half line, and type 64 in the first half line.

The problem of *eoletes* really stands quite apart from that of *liden*. We may regard it as an unknown word, or as a scribal error. Sedgefield[2], who reads *sundlida*, proposes to read *eatoles*, 'terrible (sea).' There are two objections to his proposal. There is no other passage in O.E. where *atol* is used 'absolutely' with this meaning, and the word will not suit the context. We are told that the voyage had been an easy one: *gode þancedon, þæs þe him ȳð-lāde ēaðe wurdon* (ll. 227–8). The passage quoted by Sedgefield in support of his proposal, *atol ȳða geswing*, l. 848, is not a good parallel, for here the poet is intent on a repulsive picture, all blood and sea-water. We can adopt Sedgefield's suggestion only if we assume that the poet is using the word *eatoles* conventionally, without 'having his eye on the object,' and thus contradicting the 'easy voyage.' But this assumption is ruled out, since it implies a general use of *atol* in this way, and no other instance can be found.

We must regard *eoletes* as an unknown word. The genitive seems to be a scribal error. The reading is possibly *eolet* [*wæs*] *æt ende*. The O.E. *Judith*, l. 272, shows us how the genitive can be incorrectly copied for the nominative, and provides the explanation: *þā wæs hira tīres æt ende*, for *tīr æt ende*. The fact is that *æt ende* is usually found with a preceding genitive with the meaning 'at the end,' whilst the meaning 'at an end,' *swefn wæs æt ende, Daniel*, l. 523—is rarer.

If we read the passage:

> þā wæs sund liden
> eolet æt ende,

we have the perfect parallels *sund* : *eolet*, and *liden* : *æt ende*.

A. C. Dunstan.

London.

'Lenvoy de Chaucer a Scogan.'

> Yet, Scogan, thenke on Tullius kindenesse,
> Minne thy frend, ther it may fructifye!
> Far-wel, and lok thou never eft Love defye!

There appears to be doubt as to what exactly is meant by this reference to Cicero. Skeat's note (*Works of Chaucer*, vol. I, 1894, p. 558)

[1] Kaluza, *Englische Metrik*, §§ 62 and 81.
[2] *Modern Language Review*, XVIII, iv, pp. 471–2.

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reads: 'Perhaps, says Koch, there is an allusion to Cicero's *Epist.* vi *ad Cæcinam*. For myself, I think he alludes to his *De Amicitia*; see note to *Rom. Rose*, 5286.' This second note on:

> And whilom of this amitee[1]
> Spak Tullius in a ditee

refers us to 'Cicero, *De Amicitia*, capp. xiii, xvii.'

I do not think that Chaucer here had in mind any Latin work. In fact, the whole Scogan piece is directly dependent on the *Rose*. Perhaps this has not been sufficiently recognized. For I notice that Skeat, in his note to line 28 (Cupid) on the arrow(s) that hurt and cure, collates a similar reference in the *Parlement of Foules*, but ignores in both cases the clear connexion with the passage in the *Roman* describing the arrow called Biau-Semblant (cf. *Romaunt* 1885 ff.). And in Fansler's *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose* I find no mention of the Scogan poem whatever; and I understand him to regard Chaucer's descriptions of Cupid, elsewhere than in the *Legend* prologue, as having nothing to do with the *Roman* (p. 72 n.).

Dodd (*Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower*, pp. 103–4), however, shows that the poem cannot be rightly interpreted except as a play on the 'termes' of courtly love, the theory of which found culminant expression in the *Roman*. He describes its theme as 'the blasphemy of Chaucer's friend Scogan against the divinities of love.' In it Chaucer tells us how both he and his friend are too old to be punished by the arrows of desire, but that Cupid may revenge himself in other ways: the consequences may be desperate. Scogan may declare that Chaucer though old still affects the love-poet; Chaucer in all seriousness replies that he has lost his youthful skill in verse. And all that he has written will not avail. One must do what one can while young. The Envoy follows, opening with a reference to Scogan's position at court, contrasted with the author's deserted state, and concluding with the lines quoted above.

Thoughts of 'loves termes' and of old age commingled would, I suggest, naturally turn Chaucer's mind to the different orders of love as described by Reason in the *Roman*. There is sexual love (cf. *Romaunt* 4703 ff.) and the 'love of friendship' (5193 ff.). For both descriptions 'Tullius' (4882, 5286) is drawn on. Both types of love are reviewed and justified from a moral standpoint; the one in its attention to its 'fruit' (5031), i.e. the procreation of children, rather than to the mere 'pley of love' (4876); the other in its freedom from

[1] This is Skeat's emended reading for both MSS. 'vnyte.' But may not 'unitee' be correct? It corresponds well with Chaucer's word 'kindnesse.'

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sensual delight, and concentration on virtue. Cicero says, we are told, 'In a boke he made of Age' (*Romaunt* 4884, *Roman*, ed. Langlois, 4430) that sexual love is often mere lust, which properly belongs to youth (cf. *De Sen.* c. 12). But Age can restrain Youth from such folly, though Youth does not value Age's friendship, nor its repentance, but prefers Delight which does not abide. Age's dwelling ('court') is desolate. The god of this love makes a man 'pale and lene,' and to his own 'profit' the lover will turn him out. The second section, on friendship, begins:

> Love ther is in sondry wise,...
> For som love leful is and good.

Reason then speaks of the ways in which one friend should help another. For example,

> if his freend, thurgh any gate,
> Wol compleyne of his povertee,
> He shulde not byde so long, til he
> Of his helping him requere,

and concludes:

> This love to vertu al attendith.

The test of love in either case is whether or not it is 'fructifying,' 'profitable.' (Cf. the conjunction of these words in the *Boeth.* I, pr. i.)

A comparison of *Scogan* with these passages in the *Romaunt* suggests to me (1) that possibly Chaucer is thinking throughout of the more material 'fruit' of poetry, playing, as he is fond of doing, on the technical terms. Love cannot make Scogan 'pale and lene' (in the words of the *Romaunt*) by inflicting him with desire:

> He wol nat with his arwes been y-wroken
> On thee, ne me, ne noon of our figure.

Scogan and Chaucer are too old for any save the more 'fruitful' kind of love. At the same time the god of love can, if a court poet is rash enough openly to declare his infidelity, reduce the 'fruits' or profits of their common 'craft.'

> Than shul we for our labour han no mede. (33)

For such a poet must profess obedience to Love: it is a real part of his art: his 'ryme' and 'pley' are one. At any rate this interpretation eases the transitions in the poem, for Chaucer proceeds to admit the failure of his own muse to earn any 'meed,' and then, in the Envoy, to state his reliance on his friend, who still possesses the advantage of a place at court, and who can, therefore, if he is careful, glean something for them both.

(It may be held, as Professor Moore Smith has suggested to me, that in line 33 Chaucer is thinking chiefly of himself. But the emphasis in

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both stanzas 4 and 5 seems to be on the plural, and the question arises: What meed of love is risked by *old* men, who cannot feel desire, but who are yet likely to speed in love?)

In any case, this collation of Chaucer's poem with the *Romaunt* makes it almost certain (2) that, in the lines of the Envoy under discussion, the reference to Cicero is to the authority on love quoted in the *Rose*. 'Yet, Scogan,' they say, 'for all the difference in our present estates, think of the love ("kindenesse" is "love," as in line 665 of the *Legend*) described by Tullius; be mindful of your friend, in ways which may bear "fruit." See that you never again break any of Love's rules.' For the obligations of friendship have been included in these rules.

'Fructifye' is Chaucer's *verbum sapienti*.

R. C. GOFFIN.

GAUHATI, ASSAM.

FENNOR AND DABORNE AT YOUGHAL IN 1618.

From the researches of Grosart and W. J. Lawrence it is probable that Shakespeare paid a visit to Ireland, while it is absolutely certain that three English dramatic companies performed at Youghal, Co. Cork, between the years 1615–25. One of these companies was 'the Prince's Players' (Feb. 1615–16); the second was an unnamed company (1619); and the third was 'the King's Players' (1625). In addition to these three, I have now to record the presence of an English player and an English dramatist at Youghal in 1618—namely Fennor and Daborne.

A recent search through the *Lismore Papers*, under date of 1618, reveals the fact that the noble diarist, Baron Boyle (afterwards the great Earl of Cork), records a gratuity to an English actor, the famous Hocus Pocus. The exact entry in the Earl of Cork's Diary reads as follows:

'1618. June 14. I gave to Mr Ffennor, the King's Jester, a hackney, with bridle and saddle.'

Now, Mr Fennor, 'the King's Jester' is to be identified with William Fennor, who styled himself the 'King's riming Poet,' in 1614. In 1616 Fennor published a rare book, *Fennor's Descriptions, or A True Relation of Certaine and Divers Speeches, spoken before the King's and Queen's most excellent Majesties, the Prince his Highness, and the Lady Elizabeth's Grace*, dubbing himself 'His Majesties Servant.' This was followed by *Compter's Common-Wealth*, in 1617—also an extremely rare work. In the following year Fennor came to Youghal.

In 1618 Youghal was an important port, and the new owner of it,

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Baron Boyle, was a patron of music and the drama. The quondam luckless owner of Youghal, Sir Walter Raleigh, paid a visit to Boyle at Youghal in the summer of 1617, and was given a present of 32 gallons of Irish whiskey to cheer him on his last ill-fated voyage.

It is not assuming too much to picture Fennor going on a provincial tour, in 1618, *via* Barnstaple, and giving a performance at Youghal, or it may have been merely a miscellaneous entertainment, for the amusement of Lord Boyle. Anyhow, Boyle's appreciation was liberal as is evident from his gift of 'a hackney, with bridle and saddle' to Fennor; and Fennor's presence in Youghal in June, 1618, is doubly interesting by reason of the fact that one of the Fellows of Youghal Collegiate Church (founded by the Earl of Desmond in 1464) at that date was Robert Daborne, the well-known hack dramatist and collaborator with Field and Massinger, who had turned preacher.

Previous accounts of Daborne are elusive as to his doings in the years 1616–19, but it seems certain that he was ordained in 1616, and was appointed Fellow of Youghal College through the influence of Boyle, who acquired the College by chicanery from the son and daughter of the Warden. In 1616 Dean Boyle was Warden, and Baron Boyle found a tool in Robert Daborne with a view of securing his signature to the sequestration of the endowments of the College, signed on February 25, 1616–17. Boyle got the deeds forged to his own use, as is evident from his Diary, under date of April 29, 1636: 'Learning that the Lord Deputy would assuredly censure me for forging the deed made of the College of Youghal to Sir Lawrence Parsons, to my use, and fine me £30,000.....offered the Deputy a fine of £10,000 or even £15,000.' Daborne was Fellow of Youghal College from 1616 to 1619, and, in the latter year, through Lord Boyle's influence, was promoted to the Chancellorship of Waterford, on December 30. He had been presented to four perpetual curacies the day before. He became prebendary of Disert and Kilmoleran on March 17, 1619–20, and Dean of Lismore by patent on June 14, 1622. It is of interest to add that, in 1622, Boyle made a present of 'a fair large gelding' to Dean Daborne, in discharge of the rent due from the Deanery of Lismore, and he offered Sir Edward Villiers £200 'if he will procure Daborne the Archbishopric of Cashel' (*Lismore Papers*). Dean Daborne died at Tallow, near Lismore, on March 23, 1627–8, and was buried in the chancel of Lismore Cathedral, on March 28, as we learn from the *Lismore Papers*.

W. H. Grattan Flood.

Enniscorthy, Ireland.

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Milton's Ormus.

The 'wealth of Ormus and of Ind,' celebrated in Milton's description of Satan's throne[1], has moved various editors to annotation. Todd, who in 1809 summarized the earlier criticism of Milton, quotes a note by Pearce to the effect that diamonds, of which the throne appears to be made, constituted 'a principal part of the wealth of India, where they are found, and of the island of Ormus in the Persian Gulf which is a mart for them[2].' From this general statement, recent critics have varied but slightly: Browne and Bradley echo Pearce[3]; Moody remarks that Ormus, 'now Hormus,' is an 'island in the Persian Gulf; in the seventeenth century a rich emporium of the East India trade[4].' Verity offers a scattered list of quotations, gleaned from poets such as Tasso and Marvell and from travellers such as Webb and Coryat, that clearly demonstrate the existence, during the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, of a tradition, in Europe and especially in England, to the effect that Ormus was one of the most opulent nations of the East, a land to be spoken of in the same terms as contemporary Persia under the great Shah Abbas or India under the Mogul emperors[5]. It is possible to add very materially to Verity's list of references, especially from travel-books; and even as late as the 1660's we are told that the bars of the windows and doors were, or at least had been, 'all gilt[6].' This mass of tradition seems to have furnished Milton with an example of gorgeousness apt for comparison with Satan's exalted throne.

To the geographical student, both the tradition itself and Milton's reference at first seem incongruous. Ormus is a barren island situated in the strait of that name at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and about twelve miles from the coast of Persia. Its circumference appears variously as fifteen[7] to thirty[8] miles. Herbert described it in 1626 as having a harbour at each end and a hill in the middle with a salt and a sulphur mine. All contemporary travellers agree that there is no fresh water on it and no vegetation[9]. In the Gulf near by are some

[1] *Paradise Lost*, II, 2.

[2] *Milton's Poetical Works*, ed. Todd, London, 1809, II, p. 373 n.

[3] *English Poems by Milton*, ed. Browne, revised by Bradley, Oxford, 1906, I, p. 327.

[4] *Milton's Complete Poems*, ed. Moody, Boston, copr. 1899, p. 396. I have not observed the spelling with an H in any modern geography.

[5] *Paradise Lost*, ed. Verity, Cambridge, 1921, p. 400. Verity lists the quotations without comment.

[6] Harris, *Voyages*, London, 1705, II, p. 346. The other references will appear *passim*.

[7] Herbert's *Travels*, in Harris, *op. cit.*, I, p. 426.

[8] Salbank's *Voyage*, Harris, *op. cit.*, I, p. 99.

[9] Cf. Fitch's *Voyage*, Harris, *op. cit.*, I, p. 280 (second version). Cf. I, p. 207. 'Smith' seems to be a misprint. Salbank remarks that Ormus is 'certainly the driest island in the world.' This remark, however, together with others in Salbank, seems to be quoted

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pearl fisheries, but the chief of these are situated at some distance off the famous island of Bahrein. The climate and general condition of Ormus, in short, seem to be similar to those of the arid coast of Arabia to the west and south.

From geography one must turn to political and economic history for an explanation of 'the wealth of Ormus,' and two rather striking facts appear even from a casual survey of sixteenth and seventeenth century conditions: the greatness of the island—for it had a period of splendour—was due entirely to the Portuguese and not to any Oriental potentate; and, secondly, this splendour of Ormus had long since sunk into decay when Milton was writing *Paradise Lost.*

The Kingdom of Ormus seems to have been founded in 1312, and to have enjoyed for some two hundred years the usual vicissitudes of Oriental despotism[1]. The Portuguese first conquered the island and its adjacent dependencies about 1502[2]; but, this subjection proving impermanent, Albuquerque repeated the conquest in 1507[3]; and for over a century they 'altogether governed[4]' a series of puppet-kings, and made the capital, which had previously been but 'ill built[5],' into a metropolis 'so elegant for Buildings, so populous for Inhabitants and singular for Trade, that it allured Merchants and Travellers to it from all Parts of the World[6].' Fitch, who visited it in 1583, found it the seat of affluence and luxury, its women 'the most extravagant perhaps in the whole Eastern World[7]'; and Herbert describes the houses as 'exceedingly well furnished with gilded Leather and *India* and *China* Rarities: The Bazar is rich and beautiful, the Churches splendid within and the Castles...so well fortified...that none exceeds it in all the East.'

This opulence arose from the colonial policy of the Portuguese, which was so directed as to make them masters not only of the commerce between Europe and the Orient, but also of the local trade within the Orient itself. Since very ancient times, India and the countries to the

verbatim and without credit, from Fredericke's *Voyages* (*Asiatic Miscellany*, Calcutta, 1785, p. 162, and also earlier editions) which were made eleven years previously. The value of Salbank's statements, therefore, seems dubious.

[1] For a sketch of this history, see Sir Thomas Herbert's *Voyage*, Harris, *op. cit.*, I, p. 426 (misnumbered p. 431). *The New Inter. Ency.* says that the town was founded in the thirteenth century; but it appears as Harmoza or as Harmuzd in some early maps. The question is a difficult one and not germane to the present study.

[2] Harris, *op. cit.*, I, p. 11.

[3] Herbert, *loc. cit.*

[4] Fitch, *Voyage*, in Harris, *op. cit.*, I, p. 207. Cf. Fredericke, Harris, I, p. 276.

[5] Tavernier, *Travels*, Harris, *op. cit.*, II, p. 846.

[6] Herbert, *loc. cit.*

[7] Fitch, *loc. cit.*; Salbank, Tavernier and others agree.

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east of it had always carried on a large business with Persia and the West, but, because of the mountains, deserts and wild Afghan tribes that lay between, only two routes of trade were possible: one by land through Candahar into the Punjab, and one by sea from the Persian Gulf to the mouths of the Indus or the Malabar coast[1]. During the early sixteenth century, the wars incident to the fall of the dynasty of Lodi and the establishment of the Great Moguls had left the Afghans free to pillage the caravans that crossed their country; and consequently the way by water became commercially more advantageous. This way, however, the Portuguese controlled, for their fortifications at Ormus dominated the narrow strait that forms the only entrance to the Persian Gulf, and their galleons swept the Arabian Sea so that no ship might sail between Persia and India without their special licence[2]. Thus Ormus became the emporium for all the trade between India and the Near East; and in 1615 Captain Peyton writes: 'In short, next to Goa [the capital of the Portuguese viceroy], 'tis certainly the best Post they are possessed of in all the East[3].' Horses, cattle, wheat, rice, dates and pearls were shipped to India; and in return came cargoes of spices, drugs and gold[4]. The Portuguese established their Oriental mint at Ormus[5]; and, although fresh fruit and vegetables and even water had to be brought from the mainland[6], the city grew magnificent and 'exceeding rich.'

The island was strategic not only in a commercial but in a military sense: it held the key to the adjacent coasts of Persia and Arabia, and, even more important, dominated the old route from Europe and the Syrian ports down the Euphrates and through the Persian Gulf to the Indies. Since da Gama's discovery of a way to India entirely by sea, the route through Mesopotamia had fallen into comparative disuse; but, for travellers who were lightly burdened, it was still the shortest way. Ormus, therefore, served as a station where undesirable persons, especially the English and other commercial rivals, could be arrested and sent prisoner to Goa. This, in fact, was the fate of Fitch in 1583[7] and of Salbank in 1609[8]; and, when in 1615 Sir Robert Sherley was trying to

[1] Harris, *op. cit.*, II, p. 347.

[2] See various voyagers: Harris, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 99, 141, 147 and 207. Fredericke (*Asiatic Misc.*, p. 163) declared in 1598: '...the Moors cannot trade, neither sail into those seas without the licence [*sic*] of the Viceroy of the King of Portugal, otherwise they are taken, and make good prizes.' The maritime power of the Portuguese over the Arabs and the Hindus, even on their own coasts, is a striking illustration of the efficiency and extent of their authority in the East.

[3] Harris, *op. cit.*, I, p. 155. [4] Fitch, *loc. cit.* [5] Harris, *op. cit.*, I, p. 155.

[6] Harris, *op. cit.*, I, p. 99, etc. [7] Harris, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 207, 280.

[8] Harris, *op. cit.*, I, p. 99.

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reach the Persian Court as English ambassador, he found it necessary, after having circumnavigated Africa, to land in India and so take the long overland route across Afghanistan[1].

The Oriental power of Portugal was, however, destined to rapid decay. In 1580 Spain conquered the mother-country, held it for sixty years, and dragged it down in her own decadence. The Mogul emperors, moreover, grown firmer on their thrones, were exasperated by the Portuguese importunities, and so lent an ear to the English East India Company, which started to send out fleets of merchantmen shortly after 1600[2]. The Persians also, under the great Shah Abbas, had grown restive under the economic yoke of Portugal[3], and in 1614 made an abortive effort to capture Ormus[4]. A few years later they concluded an offensive alliance with the English, by which both were to conquer the island, divide it between them, and England should receive certain tariff privileges at the adjacent Persian port of Gamroon. In April, 1622, after a siege of some months, the city was taken and sacked[5]; but, because the English joined in, or perhaps instigated, the looting, the Persians refused to give them any part of the island; and four years after the sack, Herbert describes Ormus as 'the most disconsolate Place in the World, which was latterly the Glory of the East[6].'

The Persians demolished the walls[7], and as far as possible transferred the commercial and political greatness of Ormus to the continental port of Gamroon[8], which they fortified and renamed Bender (i.e. Port) Abbas in honour of the Shah[9]. De Mandelslo, who visited the region in 1638, notes that Bender had been 'raised upon the Ruins of Ormus[10]'; and

[1] Harris, *op. cit.*, I, p. 148. In 1603, Mildenhall went to India entirely by the overland route across Persia and Afghanistan, apparently because it was unsafe to take ship in the Persian Gulf. Harris, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 48 *et seq.*

[2] Harris, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 57, 140, etc. About 1600 the Candahar route seems to have come once more into extensive use. Harris, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 147–148.

[3] How far the actual trading was done at Ormus and how far it was merely a military capital is hard to say. Tavernier (Harris, *op. cit.*, II, p. 346) says that most of the actual trading was done at Bender Abbas; but Tavernier is too late a witness to be quite trustworthy, and earlier authorities imply that Ormus was the trade-centre.

[4] Harris, *op. cit.*, I, p. 145.

[5] Herbert, *Travels*, Harris, I, p. 426. This contains a detailed discussion of the alliance and the siege. It is interesting incidentally to note that Baffin, after whom Baffin Bay is named, was killed on January 23, 1622, in the Anglo-Persian attack on Kishm, which was preparatory to the taking of Ormus. See Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, *Notes from a Diary kept chiefly in Southern India, 1881–1886*, p. 134. I owe this reference to the courtesy of C. L. Chandler, Esq., of Philadelphia.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Harris, *op. cit.*, II, p. 118.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, p. 346.

[9] *Ibid.*, I, p. 427 and II, p. 346.

[10] *Ibid.*, II, p. 118. Obviously Bender Abbas could never become as great as was Ormus. The Persians lacked the energy, the maritime power and the Indian possessions to enforce the commercial monopoly that made Ormus great. Their success in nullifying all British sovereignty in 1622 seems to have had far-reaching results; for, had England obtained a foothold at Ormus, as she later did on the Island of Bombay, Persia, as well as India, might have been the scene of the colonial exploits of Clive and Warren Hastings.

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about 1660, Tavernier found that except for the old fort, which the Persians still maintained, all the former glory of the island had departed[1]. A rapid survey of later maps and voyages seems to show that Ormus has never been re-built[2]; and to-day the name appears to refer only to the island and the strait in which it lies.

The greatness of Ormus, erected upon the political strategy and the commercial monopoly of the Portuguese, lasted for over a century, to perish suddenly at the hands of the Persians and the English in 1622, some forty years before Milton wrote *Paradise Lost*; and Moody's statement of the greatness of Ormus in the seventeenth century is certainly somewhat misleading. Whether Milton knew that his reference was historical rather than actual would be difficult to ascertain and irrelevant to the literary effect he intended; but from his *Commonplace Book*[3] and from the bibliography at the end of his *History of Muscovy*, we know that he perused travel-books; and furthermore, his linking of Ormus with India—although this may have been merely for the alliteration—suggests that he knew the commercial relation between them, and perhaps also the main historical facts concerning the island kingdom. In any case, it is possible, perhaps only possible, that he took his comparison of Satan's diamond[4] throne with the 'wealth of Ormus' from an Arabian proverb quoted in de Mandelslo's *Voyages*: 'If the World were a Ring Ormus ought to be considered as the Diamond in it[5].'

JOHN W. DRAPER.

ORONO, MAINE, U.S.A.

SAINTE-BEUVE'S VISIT TO ENGLAND IN 1828.

In his book on Sainte-Beuve, Léon Séché regretted the loss of the letters which the critic wrote to Hugo during his visit to England: 'Que sont devenues les lettres où il notait au jour le jour ses impressions de voyage et les particularités des monuments qui l'arrêtaient? Je crains qu'elles n'aient été détruites avec tant d'autres de la même époque; en tout cas, la réponse que Victor Hugo fit à deux d'entre elles, le 17 septembre 1828, permet d'apprécier l'importance de leur perte[6].' In the absence of definite information, he suggests that, while in

[1] Harris, *op. cit.*, II, p. 347.
[2] See the maps in Harris (1705) and *Transactions of the Society of Bengal*, London, 1799, II, Fourth Discourse.
[3] Hanford dates Milton's reading of Purchas 'probably before 1644.' *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. America*, XXXVI, p. 275.
[4] Cf. Pearce, *loc. cit.*
[5] De Mandelslo, *loc. cit.*
[6] Léon Séché, *Études d'Histoire Romantique: Sainte-Beuve, son esprit, ses idées*, Paris, 1904, p. 86.

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England, Sainte-Beuve travelled as far as the Lake District: 'Il n'y fit d'ailleurs qu'un séjour de quelques semaines, le temps de visiter Oxford, Cambridge, Canterbury, et de faire le tour des beaux lacs dont l'eau et le ciel si particuliers forment l'atmosphère unique de la poésie lakiste.' On the authority of this passage, Mr Maxwell Austin Smith, in his recent work *L'influence des Lakistes sur les Romantiques français* (Paris, 1920), assumes not only that Sainte-Beuve visited Oxford, Cambridge, Canterbury and the Lakes, but also that admiration for the Lake poets was the chief motive of his visit. He suggests that Sainte-Beuve may even have met some of them: 'Le "Tableau" avait à peine paru, que le jeune critique semblait reprendre son intention de tirer profit de l'école lakiste pour sa lutte contre les attaches du néo-classicisme en France. Il poussa sa résolution jusqu'à s'embarquer vers cette date pour l'Angleterre...' (p. 80). 'Si nous ne savons pas si le jeune voyageur a pu s'entretenir comme Pichot avec les Lakistes en personne, il n'est pas douteux, au moins, que sa visite aux beaux paysages du Westmoreland et du Cumberland a stimulé encore Sainte-Beuve à imiter la poésie des lacs' (p. 82).

Almost immediately after the publication of Séché's book, two of the letters of which he regretted the loss were found and published by M. Gustave Simon[1], and these, together with another letter published in 1911 by M. G. Sangnier[2], throw an interesting light on Sainte-Beuve's sojourn in England. There are two other references in letters addressed to his friend l'abbé Barbe[3], but these are very slight, and add nothing to the information contained in the three letters already mentioned.

In the two letters written from England, Sainte-Beuve pours out to Hugo his impressions of all he has seen in this country so different from France—the life of the country clergyman, the charming countryside of Tubney, the little village near Oxford where he stayed most of the time, Oxford itself with its colleges, churches and libraries, London, where he spent a disappointing fortnight, because the theatres, libraries and galleries were closed, Southampton, Winchester, Salisbury, Stonehenge; but there is no mention of the Lake District, nor of the Lake poets. This alone would not disprove Séché's suggestion, as there may have been other letters which have been lost. It is more significant that, seven years later, in 1835, Sainte-Beuve wrote to Labitte, who was about to cross the Channel for the first time, a letter full of his own

[1] *Revue de Paris*, Dec. 15, 1904.
[2] *Lettres inédites de Sainte-Beuve à Charles Labitte*, p. 14.
[3] *Nouvelle Correspondance*, pp. 9 and 11, letters dated 1828 and Jan. 3, 1829.

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recollections of England, but containing no suggestion that he had ever visited the Lakes[1]. There is, moreover, a difference in tone between the two letters, one of 1828 and one of 1835, in which he describes the countryside of Oxford; whereas in the earlier one there is no mention of the English poets, in the later one he urges his friend to read 'ces poètes délicieux, même ceux du dix-huitième siècle comme Gray, Beattie, Goldsmith, Collins, Cowper, précurseurs classiques des Crabbe et des Wordsworth,' and the whole description is coloured by reminiscences of Wordsworth, Cowper, Gray and Crabbe.

Sainte-Beuve considered English poetry to be 'la plus riche de l'Europe moderne[2],' and of the English poets he loved Wordsworth most of all. Several passages in his critical works and in his letters show that he was proud of the part he had played in introducing the Lake poets to French readers[3]. One reference is especially significant: in a note to his article on Maurice de Guérin[4], he says, speaking of the correspondence between Wordsworth and La Morvonnais: 'Je suis bien sûr au moins de la correspondance, car j'y ai vu avec une surprise reconnaissante que mon nom était connu de Wordsworth.' That the critic of the *Lundis* should be 'gratefully surprised' that his name was known to Wordsworth seems to prove conclusively that he had never met him.

The absence of any reference in Sainte-Beuve's writings to a visit to the Lakes would be difficult to explain had he ever been there, and still more extraordinary had he met there any of the poets to whom he paid lifelong homage. Séché does not give any evidence to support his suggestion, which, plausible enough before the appearance of the 1828 and 1835 letters, now seems to be without foundation; and Mr Smith has exaggerated the interest Sainte-Beuve then had in the English poets when he makes it the motive of his visit to England.

E. Margaret Phillips.

Aberystwyth.

Arthurian Matter in the 'Mare amoroso.'

Il Mare amoroso is a curious poem of 336 lines, perhaps the earliest example of blank verse in Italian, which Monaci defined as 'a kind of repertory of the similes which were in fashion with the lyrical poets of the old school.' A large number of such images and allusions are brought

[1] *Lettres à Labitte*, p. 14, letter of September 5, 1835.
[2] *Correspondance*, vol. II, p. 44, letter of Dec. 17, 1865.
[3] See, for example, *Nouveaux Lundis*, vol. II, p. 266, 1862, and *Corres.* vol. I, pp. 273–274, letter of March 26, 1861.
[4] *Causeries du Lundi*, vol. XV, pp. 27–28, Oct. 1860.

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together and woven into an epistle of love, either to supply a useful collection for the would-be poet or possibly with a satirical intention[1]. The date of the poem is uncertain, but it is more usually assigned to the latter part of the Duecento, though it may be in reality later, bearing in fact somewhat the same relation to the lyrical poetry of the thirteenth century as that extraordinary and fascinating composition, to which Rajna gave the title of *Il cantare dei cantari*, does to the narrative poems of the fourteenth[2]. I am here only concerned with the similes drawn from the 'materia di Bretagna.'

To prove his fidelity to his lady, the poet would be prepared to undertake one of the exploits of Lancelot:

> E sse non fosse anchora conquistata
> la valle di *Falsamanti* di Morghana,
> io la chonquisterei per Lancialotto;
> ché assai vi sono più leale amante
> che ll'ermellino a la sua bianchezza. (*vv.* 32–36.)

I have here ventured upon an obvious emendation of the text: 'Falsamanti' for 'Falsamonti.' The 'Val des faux Amants,' or 'Val-sans-retour,' is an adventure to be achieved only by a perfectly loyal lover; the others fall into the power of Morgan le Fay and her paramour; Lancelot alone entered the valley, slew its guardian, and by virtue of his constancy liberated the prisoners[3].

Nevertheless, the poet is very jealous in his love:

> Ed io vorrei bene, s'esser potesse,
> che voi pareste a tutta l'altra gente,
> e ssichome paria la pulzella laida. (*vv.* 210–212.)

The allusion recalls the episode of 'la pucièle laide,' the 'loathly maiden,' in the continuation of the *Perceval* of Chrétien de Troyes by Wauchier de Denain (also in the prose *Perceval*). Perceval meets a knight, Sir Biaus Mauvais, with a most hideous damsel:

> Et si vos di sans nule falle
> que c'est la plus laide riens née
> qui onques fust d'ious esgardée;

who, her lover declares, 'seems to me so beautiful that there is no dame or damsel in the world who in beauty can equal her.' At Arthur's court, her hideousness inspires general amazement and the jests of Sir Kay, but her knight settles with her at the court and loves her like his life:

> De lui ne vos voel conte faire,
> ne mais por contenir l'afaire,

[1] *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli*, pp. 319–326.
[2] *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, II (1878).
[3] Cf. H. O. Sommer, *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, IV, pp. 116–124; F. Lot, *Étude sur le Lancelot en prose*, pp. 68, 315–316.

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vous di que puis fu la pucièle
si avenans et si très bièle
c'on en parla par la contrée ;
Je ne sai s'ele fu faée[1].

The context in our Italian poem seems to suggest this, rather than the episode in Chrétien himself of the 'loathly messenger' who rebukes Perceval for his silence at the Graal Castle; an episode which, as far as concerns the hero not asking the fateful question, was not unknown in early Italian literature, as it is utilised by Guittone d'Arezzo[2]. But here the point of the damsel's apparent ugliness is to protect her lover from jealousy, and it is not impossible that the allusion may be, not to the *Perceval*, but to the romance of *Palamède*. Lac is met bringing a lady of whom Danayn says: 'C'est bien la plus laide damoiselle et la plus hideuse que je oncques veisse en tot mon age.' And, in another episode, Hermeux de Rugel has a damsel with him who is so 'laide' that no knight would envy him her possession: 'She hates me with all her heart, and I love her so much, God help me, that I never loved damsel more. There is not in all this country any one so beautiful for whom I would change her[3].'

But our poet continues to unfold his desires:

E sse potesse avere una barchetta
tal, chon fu quella che donò Merlino
a la valente donna d'Avalona,
ch'andassi sanza remi e sanza vela
altressì ben per terra chome per aqua ;
e io sapessi fare una bevanda
tal chente fu quella che beve Tristaino e Isotta,
a bere ven daria cielatamente una fiata
per lo vostro chuore d'una sentenza
e d'un volere chol mio intendimento....
Poi intrerei chon voi in quella barchetta
e mai non finirei d'andar per mare,
infin ch'i'mi vedrei oltre quel braccio
che fie chiamato il braccio di Saufì per tutta gente,
ch'à scritto in su la mano : nimo ci passi,
per ciò che di qua mai non torna chi di là passa.
Poi mi starei sichuro sanza ranchura
in giocho e in sollazzo disiato. (*vv.* 213–222, 227–234.)

[1] *Perceval le Gallois*, ed. Potvin, *vv.* 25, 384–6; 25, 739–44. Cf. the prose *Perceval*, ed. Miss Jessie L. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, pp. 44 ff., and her chapter on the 'Loathly Lady.'

[2] *Rime di Fra Guittone d'Arezzo*, ed. Pellegrini, p. 341 (canz. 'Amor tant' altamente'). The subject of the Holy Graal in Italian literature presents peculiar features with which I propose to deal in a subsequent article.

[3] Quoted by Rajna, *Fonti dell' Orlando Furioso*, 2nd ed., pp. 317–319. In the final instalment of his *Materia epica nella lirica italiana delle Origini* (*Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, LXXXV, pp. 80–81), Ramiro Ortiz suggests that 'laida' is a proper name, Lais appearing with Circe and Medea in a Latin mediaeval poem, the *Comoedia Lydiae*. I understand the lines as meaning that the poet would have his lady appear as ugly as the 'loathly damsel' to everybody except himself.

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A rich combination of romantic motives is here: the enchanted boat, the magic love potion, and with the two the poet, a Ulysses of love, voyaging with his lady over unknown seas beyond the columns of Hercules[1]. The episode, ultimately from Thomas, of the drinking of the love potion by Tristram and Iseult appears at a very early date in Italian lyrical poetry, in the *discordo*, 'Donna, audite como,' which passes under the name of 'lo Re Giovanni,' or John of Brienne[2]. But the enchanted boat is obviously not the ship that was bringing those two lovers from Ireland to Cornwall. Rajna has found its ultimate source in another motive of the prose *Tristan*, in 'la nef de joie et de deport,' which conveys Tristram and Iseult from Cornwall to the 'Island of the Fountain': 'Ainssi s'en vont li dui amant parmi la mer liez et joianz a grant joie et a grant solaz. Il ne demandent plus el monde; il ne quierent autre compaignie[3].' It has been sent by Mabon le Noir, but was originally made by Merlin for the daughter of the king of Northumberland and her lover. But 'la valente donna d'Avalona' is obviously Morgan le Fay, and Rajna, while tentatively suggesting some confusion with Viviana, can find no source for our poet's statement that the boat was given to her by Merlin. I would hazard the hypothesis that we may have here a contamination of the *Tristan* with *Floriant et Florete*, where (though Merlin is not mentioned in the matter) Morgan has a similar boat which she gives to Floriant:

> Puis vous dirai que vous ferez:
> dedens une nef enterrez
> que je vous ferai amener;
> mès ne vous estuet riens douter,
> vent ne tempeste ne orage:
> car ele est de si bone ovrage
> quar ele ne puet empirier,
> verser, fendre ne despecier;
> quar ele est toute d'ybenus.....
> La nef est fete en tel maniere
> que avant, encoste et arriere,
> ensi com vous commanderez,
> s'en ira là où vous vorrez[4].

[1] Saufì, or Saphis, was supposed to be the Saracen name for the place 'dove Ercule segnò i suoi riguardi, Acciò che l'uom più oltre non si metta' (*Inf.* XXVI, 108–109). Cf. F. Torraca, *Un accenno del 'Mare amoroso'* (*Studi di Storia Letteraria*, pp. 58–59).

[2] Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 71. Cf. M. Casella, in *Bull. d. Soc. ital. dantesca*, n. s., XIX, pp. 278–279.

[3] *Dante e i romanzi della Tavola Rotonda*, in *Nuova Antologia*, June 1, 1920, pp. 242–243. Cf. Löseth, *Le roman en prose de Tristan*, §§ 323–335. The 'nef de joie et de deport' appears—without the complication of the love potion and without any allusion to the 'donna d'Avalona'—in a sonnet of Dante, *Guido, i' vorrei che tu e Lapo ed io* (*Rime*, testo critico, ed. Barbi, LII; *Oxford Dante*, ed. Toynbee, son. XXXII). The sonnet is probably earlier than the *Mare amoroso*, but a comparison between the two makes it sufficiently clear that Dante's 'buono incantatore' is no other than Merlin.

[4] *Floriant et Florete* (ed. F. Michel), *vv.* 790–798, 802–805. The poem probably dates from the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Cf. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, II, p. 254.

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Finally on the poet's tomb he would have an inscription that he has died for love:

> ché per amor son morto in amarore,
> sichom è morto Nadriano e Chaedino. (*vv.* 333–334.)

'Chaedino' is obviously Kahedin (Ghedino), the brother-in-law of Tristram, who died of love for Iseult, after giving her harper his last lay in her honour[1]. Said Sir Palamede to Sir Tristram (to quote our own Malory): 'Well I wot it shall befall me as for her love as befell to the noble knight Sir Kehydius, that died for the love of La Beale Isoud.' But who is 'Nadriano'? One thinks naturally of the Emperor Hadrian, but there seems no legend of his dying for love, and it would be far-fetched to suppose some perverted version of the death of Antinous. Ramiro Ortiz observes that the association with Ghedino recalls the 'ciclo bretone,' and tentatively suggests the substitution of 'Tristano' for 'Nadriano[2].' We can, I think, retain 'Nadriano' without leaving the Arthurian cycle. Adriano, or Landriano, is the name under which in the *Tavola ritonda* we meet a well-known figure of the prose *Tristan*: Driant, one of the sons of Pellenore. Like his brother Lamorat (Amorotto, Lamoratto), he falls at the hands of the sons of King Lot in the feud between the two houses[3]. He may here be confused with Lamorat, whose love for the Queen of Orkney was one of the causes that led to his murder.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

GOETHE AND GESSNER.

In the course of a seminar class on *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* one of my students (Miss M. Pike) pointed out to me a passage from Gessner's *Idyllen* which bears a curious resemblance to Werther's letter of May 10. As this resemblance has not to my knowledge been discussed before[4], it may be well to quote both passages in full:

[1] Löseth, *op. cit.*, § 100.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 56–58. There is only one known manuscript of the *Mare amoroso*, and it is not the original. With 'Nadriano' for 'Adriano,' cf. 'Nanfosse' (Donno Alfonso), in Brunetto Latini, *Tesoretto*, 134.

[3] Cf. Löseth, *op. cit.*, § 307; *Tavola ritonda*, LXXIX, LXXXIX. In Malory (*Morte Darthur*, xx, viii), Sir Driant is killed in Lancelot's rescue of Guenevere from the fire.

[4] H. Wölfflin, *Salomon Gessner*. Frauenfeld, 1889, I find, quotes the passage from Gessner and adds in a footnote: 'Die Stelle enthält eine Vorahnung des zweiten Wertherbriefes.'

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GESSNER[1].

Umarme mich, Daphne! umarme mich! O was für Freude durchströmt mich! Wie herrlich ist alles um uns her! Welche unerschöpfliche Quelle von Entzüken! Von der belebenden Sonne bis zur kleinsten Pflanze sind alles Wunder! O wie reisst das Entzüken mich hin! *Wenn* ich vom hohen Hügel die weit ausgebreitete Gegend übersehe, oder, *wenn* ich *ins Gras hingestrekt, die manigfaltigen Blumen und Kräuter betrachte* und *ihre kleinen Bewohner*; oder *wenn* ich in nächtlichen Stunden den gestirnten Himmel, *wenn* ich den Wechsel der Jahrs-zeiten, oder *den Wachsthum der unzählbaren Gewächse.....wenn* ich die Wunder betrachte, *dann* schwellt mir die Brust, *Gedanken drängen sich dann auf; ich kann sie nicht entwikeln; dann wein' ich und sinke hin, und stammle mein Erstaunen dem, der die Erde schuf! O Daphne!* nichts gleicht dem Entzüken, es sey denn das Entzüken, von dir geliebt zu seyn.

GOETHE[2].

Ich bin so allein und freue mich so meines Lebens, in dieser Gegend, die für solche Seelen geschaffen ist, wie die meine..... *Wenn* das liebe Thal um mich dampft, und die hohe Sonne an der Oberfläche der undurchdringlichen Finsternis meines Waldes ruht, und nur einzelne Strahlen sich in das innere Heiligthum stehlen, und *ich dann im hohen Grase* am fallenden Bache liege, und *näher an der Erde tausend mannigfaltige Gräsgen mir merkwürdig werden. Wenn ich das Wimmeln der kleinen Welt zwischen Halmen, die unzähligen unergründlichen Gestalten, all der Würmgen, der Mückgen*, näher an meinem Herzen fühle, und fühle die Gegenwart des Allmächtigen, der uns all nach seinem Bilde schuf, das Wehen *des Alliebenden, der uns in ewiger Wonne schwebend trägt und erhält, Mein Freund, wenn's* denn um meine Augen dämmert, und die Welt um mich her und der Himmel ganz in meiner Seele ruht, wie die Gestalt einer Geliebten, *dann* sehn ich mich oft und denke: *ach könntest du das wieder ausdrücken*, könntest du dem Papier das einhauchen, was so voll, so warm in dir lebt, dasz es würde der Spiegel deiner Seele, wie deine Seele ist der Spiegel des unendlichen Gottes. *Mein Freund—Aber ich gehe darüber zu Grunde, ich erliege unter der Gewalt der Herrlichkeit dieser Erscheinungen.*

I have italicised the words which especially invite comparison; also the conjunctions *wenn, dann* which give to the passages their structural similarity. The differences are no less obvious. In spite of a very real feeling for nature in Gessner the situation is the product of reflection rather than of emotion; it is multiple, not simple, since day and night, the changes of the seasons, all enter into the poet's consciousness; 'thoughts crowd in upon him, which he cannot develop'; and in the last lines the whole passage is allowed to degenerate into a mere compliment to the poet's mistress. Goethe's passage is filled with the throbbing pantheism of Storm and Stress; it is made to reflect an unique experience and its effect is not marred by the introduction of any conventional element.

[1] Sal. Gessner's *Schriften*, IIIter Theil. Zürich, bey Orell. Gessner Füssli und Comp., 1770, *Damon, Daphne*, p. 45.

[2] *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*. Leipzig in der Weygandschen Buchhandlung, 1774. 10 Mai.

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In the same volume a later idyll, *Die Gegend im Gras*, contains several passages which, without showing any close verbal or structural affinity to Werther's letter of May 10, yet recall both this and the letter of August 18 by their loving observation of 'das Kleinleben in der Natur':

Izt sey das Gras um mich her meine Gegend. Diese bewundernswürdige Welt im kleinen, von unendlich mannigfaltiger Schönheit; unendliche Arten Gewächse; Millionen verschiedne Bewohner; theils fliegen von Blumen zu Blumen, theils kriechen und laufen umher, in Labyrinthen des Grases; unendlich mannigfaltig an Bildung und Schönheit, findt jeder hier seine Nahrung, jeder seine Freuden; Mitbürger dieser Erde, jeder in seiner Art vollkommen und gut![1]

Fliegende Würmchen verfolgen sich unten im Gras; bald verliert sie mein Aug im grünen Schatten, dann schwärmen sie wieder im Sonnen-Schein, oder sie fliegen zu Schaaren empor, und tanzen höher in der glänzenden Luft[2].

After this Gessner returns to the butterflies and zephyrs beloved of the anacreontic poets, and ends in a long-winded moralizing strain quite foreign to Goethe:

O wie schön bist du, Natur! In deiner kleinsten Verzierung, wie schön! Die reinesten Freuden misset der, der nachlässig deine Schönheiten vorüber geht, dessen Gemüth durch tobende Leidenschaften und falsche Freuden verderbt, der reinesten Freuden unfähig ist...etc.[3]

Previous to 1772 we have few data concerning Goethe's acquaintance with Gessner. The mention of Gessner's name, together with that of other well-known German writers, in a letter to his sister of Sept. 27, 1766[4] and again to Friederike Oeser on Feb. 13, 1769[5] need not presuppose an intimate knowledge of his works. In April 1772[6], however, Goethe read to his friends at Darmstadt the first part of his ode *Der Wanderer*, which, as Kutscher[7] and Eugen Wolff[8] have recognized, probably owes something of its setting to Gessner's idyll *Daphnis und Micon*[9]. Since this idyll only appeared in Volume V of Sal. Gessner's *Schriften* 'zur Ostermesse 1772[10],' Goethe must have obtained a copy immediately after publication, possibly through Leuchsenring[11]. Gessner himself despatches a copy to Gleim, who was clamouring for it, on

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 142.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 144.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 148.
[4] Goethe's *Briefe*, *W.A.*, i, p. 71.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 190, 197.
[6] Eugen Wolff, *Der junge Goethe. Goethes Gedichte in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Oldenburg, 1907, p. 499.
[7] A. Kutscher, *Das Naturgefühl in Goethes Lyrik bis zur Ausgabe der Schriften*, 1789, Leipzig, 1904, p. 63.
[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 492.
[9] Sal. Gessner's *Schriften*, v^er^ Theil, 1772, p. 16.
[10] See E. Bodemann, *Zimmermann, Leben und Briefe an denselben*. Hannover, 1878, p. 198.
[11] Merck an Höpfner, Darmstadt, Frühjahr 1772: 'Dazu kommt mein Freund Leuchsenring der von Zürich und Bern zurück ist und die wichtigsten Literatur- und Menschen-Neuigkeiten mitbringt.'

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April 18, 1772[1]. If Kutscher's view is accepted, we have here the first evidence of productive intellectual contact with Gessner on the part of Goethe.

Goethe's attitude to the Swiss poet was soon to be clearly stated. On August 25, 1772, appeared his review of *Moralische Erzählungen und Idyllen von Diderot und Gessner*, 1772, in the *Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen*[2]. The translations from Diderot, which are included in this volume, are not discussed by Goethe, who ends his review of Gessner's contribution to this volume, with the promise, never redeemed, 'von Diderots mor. Erzähl. nächstens.'

After having suggested that works such as these idylls should not be approached in the spirit of Lessing's *Laokoon*, he proceeds:

> Wir kennen die Empfindungen, die aus der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft in die Einsamkeit führen, aufs Land, wo wir dann nur zum Besuch sind, nur wie bey einer Visite die schöne Seite der Wohnung sehn, und ach! nur *sehn*, der geringste Antheil, den wir an einer Sache nehmen können! Und so ist es Gessnern gegangen. Mit dem empfindlichsten Auge für die Schönheiten der Natur, das heist für schöne *Massen*, *Formen* und *Farben* hat er reitzende Gegenden durchwandelt, in seiner Einbildungskraft zusammen gesetzt, verschönert, und so standen paradiesische Landschaften vor seiner Seele....Wer einen Mahlerblick in die Welt hat, wird mit inniger Freude vor seinen Gegenden verweilen, ein herrliches Ganze steigt vor unsern Augen auf, und dann das Detail, wie bestimmt, Steine, Gräschen. Wir glauben, alles schon einmal gemahlt gesehen zu haben, oder wir möchtens mahlen.

As for the human figures introduced into the idylls, Goethe thinks them unsatisfactory on artistic grounds, and thus agrees in condemning them with Herder, whose *Fragmente*, containing the juxtaposition of Gessner and Theocritus[3], he had read for the first time two months previously[4]

He concludes:

> Einzelne Stellen sind vortreflich, und die kleinen Gedichte machen jedes ein niedliches Ganze. Hingegen die Gröszern; so treflich das Detail seyn mag, so wenig zu läugnen ist, dasz es zu gewissen Zwecken wohl geordnet ist, so miszt ihr doch überall den Geist, der die Theile so verwebt, dasz jeder ein wesentliches Stück vom Ganzen wird.... Und von der Schweitzer Idylle[5] habt ihr kein Wort gesagt!...Wie lebendig läszt sich an diesem kleinen Stücke fühlen, was Gessner uns seyn könnte, wenn er nicht durch ein zu abstraktes und ekles Gefühl physikalischer und moralischer Schönheit wäre in das Land der Ideen geleitet worden, woher er uns nur halbes Interesse, Traumgenusz herüber zaubert.

If now the passages from Gessner and *Werther* quoted above be compared in the light of this review, it will be seen that Goethe, while following and surpassing Gessner in his minute observation of nature, avoids all the faults to which he has called attention. His own landscapes are not products of mere visual observation, stepping-stones to

[1] W. Körte, *Briefe deutscher Gelehrten*, I, p. 403, II, p. 67.
[2] B. Seuffert, *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des* 18. *Jahrhunderts*, I. Folge, Nr. 7, p. 446.
[3] *Werke*, ed. Suphan, I, p. 337.
[4] Goethe's *Briefe*, *W.A.*, ii, p. 17.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

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the 'land of ideas,' nor do they lack that inner cohesion, which weaves them into an organic whole.

In view of this corroborative evidence it seems difficult not to admit that Goethe had Gessner in mind when he wrote the Werther-letters in question, and indeed, that we may see in them a deliberate improvement on Gessner; the well-known fact that Kestner at his first meeting with Goethe found the poet 'im Grase unter einem Baume auf dem Rücken liegen'[1] no more precludes the scene depicted in *Werther* from containing a literary reminiscence, than the detection of this literary reminiscence destroys the 'Unmittelbarkeit und Lebenswahrheit' which critics have ever noted in the letter of May 10.

There is another passage in *Werther*, in which one might suspect the robust young 'Stürmer und Dränger' of working up with deliberate brusqueness and a dash of democratic realism one of Gessner's choicest creations:

GESSNER[2].	WERTHER[3].
Jüngst fand ich am Brunnen sie; einen schweren Krug hatte sie mit Wasser gefüllt. Lasz mich die dir zu schwere Last des Kruges nach deiner Hütte tragen. So stammelt ich: Wie bist du gütig, so sprach sie. Zitternd nahm ich den Krug, und blöde, und seufzend, den Blick zur Erde geschlagen, gieng ich an Daphnens Seite, und durft ihr nicht sagen, dasz ich sie liebe, mehr als die Biene den Frühling liebt.	Letzthin kam ich zum Brunnen, und fand ein junges Dienstmädgen, das ihr Gefäsz auf die unterste Treppe gesetzt hatte und sich umsah, ob keine Kamerädin kommen wollte, ihr's auf den Kopf zu helfen. Ich stieg hinunter und sah sie an. Soll ich Ihr helfen, Jungfer? sagt ich. Sie ward roth über und über. O nein Herr! sagte sie. Ohne Umstände. Sie legt ihren Kringen zurechte, und ich half ihr. Sie dankte und stieg hinauf.

I do not think, however, that the point can be pressed[4].

An objection which might well be raised against my attempt to establish a connection between the passages in question is that the idylls by Gessner from which I have quoted, both occur in the first group of *Idyllen*, published in 1756 and reprinted in 1770 as Sal. Gessner's *Schriften*, III^er^ Theil, while the specific criticisms in the *Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen* (I have only quoted one) refer exclusively to the second group, published in 1772. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that Goethe, before reviewing the new *Idyllen*, took the opportunity of reading or re-reading the first group.

W. E. DELP.

LONDON.

[1] A. Kestner, *Goethe und Werther*, Stuttgart, 1854, p. 36.
[2] *Op. cit.*, V^er^ Theil, *Daphne, Chloe*, p. 9. [3] 15. Mai.
[4] It is perhaps worth recalling also that Goethe in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (*Werke*, XXVIII, p. 156) especially remembers Jerusalem, whose suicide supplied him with the artistic conclusion to his own experiences and thus caused the literary conception of *Werther*, as an admirer and collector of Gessner's etchings. As his mind dwelt on the sufferings of Jerusalem, may not an echo of Gessner have been re-awakened?

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REVIEWS.

The Finn Episode in Beowulf. By R. A. Williams. Cambridge: University Press. 1924. vi + 164 pp. 10*s*.

This 'essay,' as Dr Williams calls it, owes its inception to Boer's theory that there was a historical connection between the Nibelungen Saga and the Finn Saga, and its main object is to reconstruct the latter saga, supplementing its 'fragmentary content' from the second part of the *Nibelungenlied*, which undoubtedly, in the story of Attila and the Burgundian princes, shows a strong resemblance to the story of Finn and Hnæf. Whether we are convinced by Professor Williams' very ingenious and clever reasoning or not, we must be grateful to him for his fresh and exhaustive examination of the subject, based on a minute study of the text of *Beowulf*, ll. 1063–1152, and on a full knowledge of the literature which this 'episode' has evoked. The style of the essay is so lively and engaging, the arguments so plausible that any spirit of scepticism that may lurk in the reader's mind is almost ashamed to make itself heard after probing the structure of the fair edifice.

We may say at once that while Dr Williams makes some good points and even throws fresh light on some of the problems and ambiguities of the 'episode,' he fails to convince us of the truth of most of his main contentions. That the *wealaf* mentioned in *Beowulf*, ll. 1081 and 1098, refers to Hnæf's treasure rather than to a body of men, whether Finn's or Hnæf's, is certainly a novel point of view, and Dr Williams makes much use of it in seeking to elucidate the course of events. Yet in the only two other instances where *wealaf* occurs, viz. *Boeth.* Metra 1, 22, and Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 133, l. 13, it means 'wretched survivors' and refers to persons. We have here space to refer to only a few of Professor Williams' interpretations of the *Beowulf* text. It is unlikely that *healgamen mænan* in ll. 1066, 7 means 'to tell a tale of hall-play,' i.e. of the fight in Finn's hall; surely it means 'to announce, i.e. to introduce, the entertainment.' Again, we think Dr Williams is wrong in translating *Finnes eaferum*, l. 1068, 'with the sons of Finn,' on the analogy of *þreate* used for *mid þreate*, etc. In l. 1079, Dr Williams retains the MS. reading *he* and takes it to refer to Finn, though Finn has not been mentioned; obviously *he* is a mistake for *heo* and refers to *Hoces dohtor*. But this would not suit Dr Williams' view that the words *þær he ær mæste heold worolde wynne* refer to Finn's hall, the scene of the fight. The puzzling word *eotenas* is rendered 'giants,' and regarded as a nickname of the Danes, the ingenious theory being put forward that Hnæf and his men earned the name by taking the *wealaf*

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or treasure from its owners, the giants. Accordingly Dr Williams interprets *þæs wæron mid eotenum ecge cuðe*, l. 1145, as referring to Hnæf's sword, with which the Danes were familiar. But would not Finn's men have still more reason to remember its terrible edge? In ll. 1151–2, *þa wæs heal hroden feonda feorum*, Professor Williams finds difficulty in taking *feorum*, 'lives,' as a bold equivalent for 'dead bodies,' though *feorh* elsewhere has this meaning, and contrary to his usual conservative attitude, he emends *hroden* to *broden*, translating 'then was the hall wreathed with a living chain of enemies'! His discussion of the meaning of *bregdan* here is a good example of his manipulation, one might almost say his massage, of O.E. words and their meanings. He himself shows a consciousness of having overstrained this particular patient as he remarks, p. 108, 'I admit that I am here postulating for the poet a somewhat violent *tour de force* in thus squeezing the last resource out of an expression not ordinarily so used.' Why the poet? The whole of Dr Williams' essay is a veritable *tour de force*, a structure with a connective tissue of 'squeezed' words. But 'a hypothesis is a hobby-horse on which I am just as fond of riding as anyone else' (p. 143), so we conclude by congratulating Dr Williams on his candour no less than on the 'sleuth'-like ingenuity and logical subtlety displayed in this brilliant effort at reconstructing the Finn Saga.

W. J. Sedgefield.

Manchester.

Mediaeval Romance in England: a Study of the Sources and Analogues of the Non-Cyclic Metrical Romances. By Laura A. Hibbard. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. 1924. viii + 342 pp. $3.50.

Miss Hibbard brings together many hitherto scattered facts and theories, arranges them, and often adds her own important comments. The book which she has thus made will supersede, for the study of the ground which it covers, Miss Billings' *Guide to the M.E. Metrical Romances*, Professor Schofield's *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, and Professor Wells' *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*. Miss Hibbard, since her range of subject is comparatively narrow, is able to extend the chronological limits of her study to include such romances as *Roswall and Lilian* and *Sir Eger Sir Gryme and Sir Graysteel*. Of each romance, she mentions the versions and sketches the origins; of the English version or versions she briefly discusses the MSS., date, dialect, and authorship. At the end of each section is a bibliography which includes all the MSS. and editions, but only the more recent or important studies. Few persons read foot-notes; but those who do not read Miss Hibbard's will miss some of the best things in her book. *Mediaeval Romance* has an index particularly valuable for its references to folk-lore themes. I have repeatedly tested this index, and find very little to add to it; indeed, it is so good, that I am not easy in mentioning any apparent omissions, lest their subjects appear

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elsewhere; in other words, the only fault of the index is that there are not enough cross-references. The following heads are, perhaps, wanting in any form: *Fruit out of season*, 78 n. 2; *Dead men as soldiers*, 113; *Single or island fight*, 132 n.; *Defence of ford*, 317. While I am upon details, I may say that Miss Hibbard should have referred (p. 102, n. 8) to Smyly's edition of the Romance of *Waldef* in *Hermathena* xli (1919) 240 ff.; and (p. 199) to Sisam's edition of *Sir Orfeo* in *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose* (1921). Misprints are few; I have seen the following: p. 73, l. 11, for *Robinson* read *Robson*; p. 91, for *Su rey-, Su reyjar*, read *Suðrey, Suðreyjar*; p. 113, *E.* Bradley should, I think, be *H.* Bradley, and Littlehale should be Littledale; p. 101, *triology* is perhaps deliberate.

It is worth while to say, of the adder springing from the cross (*Chevalere Assigne*, p. 243), that according to Woodward and Burnet's *Heraldry* (1892) i, p. 162, a cross guivrée or gringolée (i.e. with two adders' heads springing from the end of each limb), is borne by Von Uffele of Flanders, by Merckelbach, by Hagen, and by Othegraven; and to these Parker's *Glossary of Terms used in Heraldry* (1894) adds the Breton families Kaer and Montfort.

I have not seen Adam's edition of *Torrent of Portyngale*, and do not know whether Professor York Powell is likely to have taken the notion from it; but in his copy of Halliwell's edition, he has noted that most of the stanzas are of twelve lines, though some seem to be of nine. He thought the poem Northern; and I should certainly so far modify Adam's theory, as reported by Miss Hibbard, as to say that the original dialect was at least *North*-East Midland. Miss Hibbard has dealt sensibly and shortly with the endless controversies about the origins and variants of the stories; her references to the representation of them in mediaeval art (e.g. pp. 131, 242, 308), and to similar matter in the Latin chronicles (e.g. under *Guy of Warwick*, *The Earl of Toulouse*, and *Havelok the Dane*), are most useful and suggestive. I wish she had had time and space to include in her book a short general introduction; and some account of Wade, Weland, Unwen, and such tales as are told by Map, by Gervase of Tilbury, William of Malmesbury, and others. But there are many reasons why these things could not, or should not, be included.

Miss Hibbard's book, then, is both useful and interesting to all lovers of Middle English or of Folk-Lore.

CYRIL BRETT.
CARDIFF.

The New Shakespeare. Edited by SIR A. QUILLER-COUCH and J. DOVER WILSON. Vol. VIII. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream.* Cambridge: University Press. 1924. Foolscap 8vo. xxii + 176 pp. 6*s*.

A Midsummer-Night's Dream is a fantastic play, and I cannot help thinking that it gets fantastic treatment from Professor Wilson. I have much admiration for the patient research with which he gathers and analyses every shred of literary and bibliographical evidence which may

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suggest rewriting by Shakespeare; but, here as elsewhere, I am left with the conviction that in the ardour of the chase he has over-run the scent. *M. N. D.* has generally been regarded in recent years as a play of 1594 or 1595, probably written for some great wedding, which can only be conjecturally identified. This theory fits in well enough with certain datable allusions in the play, and with a conception of Shakespeare's stylistic development, which involves a definite period of experiment in lyrical drama, following upon the composition of his poems, and including, besides *M. N. D.*, the lyrical comedy of *L. L. L.*, the lyrical tragedy of *R. J.*, and the lyrical history of *R. II.* Professor Wilson does not deny a *M. N. D.* of 1594, but he believes this to have been a revision of a primary *M. N. D.* of 1592 'or earlier,' and itself to have formed a basis for a later revision of 1598, represented by the text now left to us. Let us speak of the *A*-, *B*- and *C*-versions. If I understand Professor Wilson aright, the main structure of plot was the same throughout, and indeed it is so closely articulated, that it would be difficult to break it up. The two revisions, therefore, were affairs of rewriting scenes, no doubt with changes of detail, even as regards incident, but more or less in their present alignment. *A* may or may not have been for a wedding; it survives, apart from much-rehandled passages, only in the lover episodes, with their 'crude' psychology and 'stiff and antithetical' verse, which 'undoubtedly belong to a very early period in Shakespeare's career.' *B* is accepted as hymeneal, although Professor Wilson does not think that Elizabeth was sufficiently flattered to make it likely that she was present. I do not agree with him about the flattery, but of course this is no proof of her presence. To *B* belong the clown-scenes, with the interlude and its setting, and the greater part of the fairy-scenes, including the quarrel of Titania and Oberon and the amours of Titania and Bottom. *C* was also hymeneal, but afterwards placed on the public stage. It involved considerable modifications in the fairy-scenes, a rewritten opening to the last act, and the insertion of the fairy-mask at the close. Before I consider how far there has been any revision at all, let me say that Professor Wilson's suggestion of the wedding in 1598 of the Earl of Southampton and Elizabeth Vernon as a possible occasion for *C* does not seem to me at all plausible. He says himself that it 'is attended with certain chronological difficulties, which cannot be gone into here.' Is it hypercritical to say that, if the suggestion was to be made, the chronological difficulties ought to have been gone into? One is, I suppose, that it suits some minor details of Professor Wilson's argument to put the wedding performance in the spring rather than the autumn of 1598, and that Southampton's marriage is usually supposed to have taken place after his hurried return from abroad on learning that Elizabeth Vernon's pregnancy had been discovered, in the late August of that year. I am not quite convinced that this dating is right. It is at least possible to argue that, whatever the gossips thought at the end of August, the marriage actually took place about the end of January or beginning of February. A child was born early in November. On 2 February (*Sidney Papers*, II, 88) Rowland

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White, likely to be well informed about the Essex circle, reports to Robert Sidney, that 'yt is secretly sayd that my Lord Southampton shalbe married to his faire Mistress.' On the discovery, Elizabeth Vernon said that the Earl would 'justifie it.' In September Lord Cobham (*Hatfield MSS*, VIII, 355) informs Southampton that, although blamed by the queen for clandestinely marrying one of her maids, he is cleared of 'dishonour.' But, whether in January or August, the marriage was a desperately secret affair, not revealed by Southampton to the queen until September, when she had already found it out; and it is incredible that it should have been advertised by a hymeneal pageant. Oddly enough, Southampton was one of those (*Sidney Papers*, II, 86) who in January entertained Sir Robert Cecil before his departure to France 'with plaies and banquets.' But you do not keep a secret by hinting it to a Secretary.

And now for the two revisions. The first, *A* (1592) into *B* (1594), is the simpler problem. Professor Wilson has three reasons. He thinks that, while I. 1 and IV. 1 belong substantially to *A*, certain awkwardnesses in the introduction of Hippolyta suggest that she was an afterthought, connected in some obscure way with the indication in I, 1, 2 of a four-day period for the action, which is not consistent with the time-analysis. I do not suppose that he would lay much stress on this, especially as he accepts Hippolyta as part of his *A* sub-stratum of V, 1. I am rather surprised that he did not put the supposed change in 1598, and relate it to Southampton's four-day visit to England in August. Secondly, he finds a reference to the death of Robert Greene (3 Sept. 1592) in the show offered to Theseus of

> The thrice three Muses mourning for the death
> Of learning, late deceased in beggary.

and rejected because

> That is some satire, keen and critical,
> Not sorting with a nuptial ceremony.

This is, he thinks, Shakespeare's delicate way of intimating that he is not going to answer Greene's attack on him in *A Groatsworth of Wit*. I pass the sentimental gloss. If there is a reference to Greene, I am not clear that it would have been out of date in 1594. But there may be no such reference at all. Whether poor Greene's double M.A. would entitle him to stand as a representative of learning in courtly eyes, I do not know. But obviously the adumbrated show need have dealt with nothing but the hard fate of abstract learning in the Elizabethan world, the theme of Spenser's *Tears of the Muses*. Such 'moral' shows were by no means obsolete in Elizabethan entertainments; witness the dialogue by Sir John Davies in 1602 of *A Wife, a Widow, and a Maid*. Professor Wilson's case for his first revision must therefore, I think, stand or fall mainly on his belief that the lover scenes in the play belong to an earlier stage of Shakespeare's verse than the fairy scenes of 1594. On this any judgment must be largely subjective. My own, for what it is worth, is against him. The two sets of scenes have common metrical

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characteristics; the free use of rhyme, not in my view a feature of Shakespeare's earliest verse; the occasional use of alternating rhyme; the abrupt transitions from rhyme to blank verse; the sparsity of feminine endings. Nor, in passing from one set to the other, am I conscious of any greater break of gauge than follows naturally from Shakespeare's habitual adaptation of his stylistic handling to his subject-matter. The fairy scenes are more freely and imaginatively written; they deal with fairies. The lover scenes are more 'stiff and antithetical'; they deal with conventional lovers, posed in the antitheses of a quadrangle.

The second revision, *B* (1594)—*C* (1598) is a more difficult question. Here, up to a point, I g[illegible]ith Professor Wilson. He has made a valuable 'bibliographical' cont[illegible]ution by calling attention to the persistent mislining by the printer o[illegible]ges in v, l. 1–84, which suggests that these passages were taken [illegible]cramped marginal alterations in the copy. I agree that this w[illegible]y so, although I do not think that the slightly greater proportion[illegible]ine endings and of *enjambements* in the 29 added lines are any evidence that they were written much later than the 55 original lines. You cannot safely apply statistical metrical tests to such small sections of verse. I agree again that the fairy-mask of v, l. 378–429 and the epilogue of 430–445 are probably duplicate endings to the play, although, unlike Professor Wilson, I take the epilogue, which stands last in the print and therefore (*pace* Professor Wilson's bibliographical learning) probably stood last in the copy, to be the later. And if I seek a plausible cause for these alterations, I find it quite clearly in the likelihood that a play originally written for a private wedding would require, in order to adapt it to the public stage, some elimination of intimate personal allusions, as well as of an ending which was in the domestic rather than the theatrical manner. I do not know when this adaptation took place, but I see no reason to suppose that it was necessarily as late as 1598. And now I definitely part company with Professor Wilson. I cannot attach much importance to his suggestion, adapted from Mr Richmond Noble, that about 1598 Shakespeare suddenly found at his disposal a choir of children, able to sing and act and dance, and used them both for the fairy-mask and in imitation thereof for the *Merry Wives*. So far as the private performance is concerned, there would probably have been no difficulty in 1594–5 about getting mask-performers from the Chapel Royal or from some great household. If Elizabeth Vere was the bride, her father's household could supply them. So too (*Hatfield MSS*, VI, 68) could that of her uncle, Sir Robert Cecil. They would not be available for the theatre, and this gives another reason for supposing that the epilogue replaced the mask. For Peaseblossom and his fellows there would be plenty of apprentices to serve. If Dr Greg is right, the Admiral's could muster ten boys for 1 *Tamar Cam*. Presumably the lullaby in II, 2 need not require many voices. Professor Wilson's preference for the mask as the second ending is connected with a belief that there has not only been more revision in the last act than I have admitted, but also revision

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in the fairy scenes throughout. The sprite is called *Puck* in a stage-direction and in a speech-prefix of the mask, and *Robin* in the speech-prefix of the epilogue. This variation of nomenclature runs throughout the scenes. There are 13 *Puck*-speeches with 106 lines and 20 *Robin*-speeches with 101 lines. According to Professor Wilson, *Puck* is a generic name, and *Robin* a personal name, and he has a theory, which he has also applied to other plays, that it was Shakespeare's habit in revising plays to save himself trouble by substituting generic for personal names in stage-directions and speech-prefixes. Thus he suggests that we get *Constable* and *Headborough* and even *Kempe* and *Cowley* for *Dogberry* and *Verges* in *Much Ado*, because Shakespeare 'could not be bothered to recall the names of the characters'—a singular lapse of memory. I do not believe that Shakespeare's off-handedness was governed by any such principle, or in any way limited to cases of revision. However, Professor Wilson thinks that in *M. N. D.* all the *Puck*-speeches belong to the revision of 1598, and that, as they generally appear in some relation to the 'little western flower,' this revision was motived, so far as Acts I–IV are concerned, by a desire to substitute the juice of this flower as a love-charm for some other love-juice to which there are references without mention of a 'flower' in the remaining *Robin*-speeches. And he very sagely adds, 'If it be asked why he should go to all this trouble to effect an alteration of such seeming unimportance, the answer is that we cannot tell why until we know exactly what he meant by "the little western flower."' I am afraid that this is far too filmy a speculation for me. *Puck* may be generic and *Robin* personal, but so far as I can see the alternative names are used with complete indifference in stage-directions, speech-prefixes, and dialogue. The longest of the *Puck*-speeches (III, 2. 6–34) is not about the flower at all. Professor Wilson says that this is an exception due to some need for abridgment of the speech at the time of the revision. It is, however, nearly the longest speech of the play and shows no sign of abridgment. I see no inconsistency between *Puck's* flower-juice and *Robin's* 'love-juice'; 'juice,' when used elsewhere in the plays, which is not often, is always a vegetable extract. As a matter of fact there is one reference to the flower by Oberon (IV, 1. 78) in a scene where *Robin* and not *Puck* appears. Professor Wilson suggests an insertion, but there is really no reason for it, except to maintain the integrity of his theory. The fantastic rhyming here, to which he points, is frequent in the fairy scenes. And indeed, but for the nomenclature, the *Puck*-speeches and the *Robin*-speeches seem to me all of a piece. There is no stylistic difference to indicate a four-year interval in composition. The curious shifts between rhyme-couplets, blank verse, and trochaics are common to both speakers. Professor Wilson finds revision also in the later part of Act V, where *Theseus* and *Hippolyta* give place in speech-prefixes to *Duke* and *Duchess*, but for some reason he does not apply his doctrine to the variations between *Bottom* and *Clown* and between *Titania* and *Queen*.

The interest of this edition is not confined to its attempts at disintegration. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch is as readable as usual. The Quarto

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is so good a text as not to leave Professor Wilson much scope for his skill in relating emendations to the assumed nature of Shakespeare's script, but his notes on such points are always worth consideration. I am not sure that, because the 'luscious woodbine' of II, 1. 251 is probably honeysuckle, it is necessary in IV, 1. 47 to emend

> So doth the woodbine the sweet honeysuckle
> Gently entwist;

by substituting 'bindweed,' with the ingenious explanation that Shakespeare 'framed his *d* like *e* and his *e*'s like *o*'s,' and that the compositor read 'bine wood' and thought it an error for 'wood bine.' My impression is that to the Elizabethans 'woodbine' was generic for 'creeper.' Sir John Davies (*Wife, Widow and Maid*) has

> And what are wiues, but woodbines which decay
> The stately Oakes by which themselues aspire.

He must mean ivy. If so 'woodbine' may mean 'honeysuckle' in II, 1. 251, but 'traveller's joy,' as it often does, in IV, 1. 47. I am aggrieved that neither Professor Wilson nor Mr Harold Child, in his notes on the stage-history of the play, considers my suggestion (*Elizabethan Stage*, III, 279; IV, 118) that the 'play of Robin goode-fellow,' given by the King's men before James at Hampton Court on 1 January 1604, was *M. N. D.*

E. K. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

Shakespeare-Grammatik. Von W. FRANZ. Dritte verbesserte Auflage. (*Germanische Bibliothek*, 1. Abt., 1. Reihe. 12 Bd.) Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1924. xxxiv + 640 pp. 14 M. 50.

With the second edition of his book, fifteen years ago, Professor Franz gave to the world not only a scientific statement of the characteristic features of Shakespearean English, but at the same time the introduction *par excellence* to the study of the growth of living Modern English. Those who have made that book their companion will not regret that the new edition offers its new matter in the form of an Appendix and so leaves the now familiar text untouched.

The value of this new matter is not to be measured by its quantity. Although occupying less than forty pages of print, it embodies all the important results of the last fifteen years' research on the matter with which it deals; and the extent of this research may perhaps be glimpsed from the fact that the list of specialist articles and treatises made use of in the earlier edition has had to be increased by over twenty-five per cent.

Professor Franz's judgment on linguistic matters carries weight among specialists; by setting forth his views in this clear and concise form he has also merited the thanks of numerous scholars who are outside the ranks of the grammarians.

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The following comments may give some idea of the scope of the new section:

§ 17*a* shows clearly and at a glance the most striking differences between Elizabethan and present-day punctuation. It should be noted that the use of the comma to mark a pause before an emphatic word-group has not disappeared entirely from Modern English.

§ 189 adds to the list of flexionless words in *-s*. The instance however of *voice* (*Cor.* IV. i. 118) is doubtful. Surely Brutus is using the singular, in reference to the voice of the Hydra as a unit; and there is then effective contrast in the use of the plural by Coriolanus, to denote the separate yappings of the many mouths.

§ 207*a* draws attention to the sarcastic employment of Abstracts in Elizabethan English.

§ 217*a* gives an interesting account of the Absolute use of the Comparative. One could wish space had permitted the inclusion of Dubislav's Old and Middle English examples, in order to disprove the latinism theory of origin.

§ 307*a*. That *inhabit* in *Macbeth* III. iv. 195 is obviously equivalent to *unhabit* one would venture to doubt, even if more evidence is forthcoming, for the interpretation 'lose my usual bearing.' If the late Latin meaning 'to wear' be rejected, there is no lack of support for the meaning 'to dwell' (viz. in the desert).

§ 330. That the form *that* still preserves many of the functional values of the old particle *þe* which it replaced, has lately been made clear by Kruisinga (*English Studies*, Oct. 1924).

§ 597. Professor Franz's explanation of the cause of the generalizing of the *do*-forms in Negation receives support from Ben Jonson's common usage of *not* plus Simple Verb, e.g. 'I not profess it' (*not* + Simple Vb., 14 instances; Vb. + *not*, 2 instances; *do* + *not* + Vb., 3 instances.—From Mr S. Potter's London M.A. Thesis (unprinted) on *Mood in Ben Jonson's Comedies*).

§ 597*a*. Here good use has been made of Miss Hildegard Harz's suggestive treatise *Die Umschreibung mit 'do' in Shakespeares Prosa*.

§ 628*a* is a valuable summary of the development of Intransitive out of Transitive and Reflexive Verbs in English.

§ 634. Professor Franz is in agreement with Deutschbein and Akerlund in accepting Sweet's explanation of the A.S. construction *be* + Pres. Partic. But all the examples given by Mätzner and Wülfing seem to me to express rather Durative Aspect. Certainly the long passage cited by Wülfing (*Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, § 398) from Orosius (12, 21) would seem to warrant this scholar's comment: 'Hier ist der Unterschied zwischen den einfachen und den umschreibenden Formen sehr deutlich, jene sind für die plötzlichen, diese für die dauernden Thätigkeiten verwendet.' There is also clearly Durative Aspect, and not emphasis, in many of the instances quoted by Gerike (*Das Partizipium Präsentis bei Chaucer*, pp. 34–36). It would therefore appear that non-connexion between the A.S. and the modern construction has yet to be proved.

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§ 680*a* deals with the fixed word-order of the Dependent Clause since the fifteenth century.

§§ 688–95 give an interesting account of Blends, showing the favourable soil which Early New English provided for the growth of new creations. Analogy once more takes its rightful place in scientific linguistics.

§ 691*b*. Is not the Scottish construction 'fond to' rather due to the influence of 'eager to,' 'glad to'?

Other interesting matters on which light is thrown are Postpositions (§ 544*a*); Conjunction plus Participle Group (§ 563*a*); the Plural treatment of Collectives (§ 674); the Postfixed Qualifier (§ 685).

By no means the least valuable thing in Professor Franz's new edition is his insistence throughout on the part played by Rhythm in the development of Modern English. He shows the influence of rhythm on word-form, e.g. on the form of the Infinitive (§ 651) and of the Adverb (§§ 244 and 705); on word-order, e.g. the Split Infinitive (§ 701); on word-selection (§§ 698, 704, 705); and on syntax (§ 704). He emphasizes that the freedom of stress and word-order, which gave so much ease to Elizabethan rhythm, was the reflexion of freedom in the living language, and not therefore merely 'poetic licence.' Especially interesting are his observations on the Modern English avoidance of the juxtaposition of two heavy stresses (§§ 699, 700, 703).

I have noticed two slight errors. Two lines from the bottom of § 701 the reference should be to § 651, not 551. Before the last word of § 703 the word 'fakultativ' might perhaps have been inserted.

We still permit our students to dabble in philology without a knowledge of German. But I know a man who has thought it well worth his while to learn German in order to be able to study the second edition of Franz's *Shakespeare-Grammatik*: may the third edition win over many other English students to his position!

J. H. G. Grattan.

London.

A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne. By Evelyn M. Simpson. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1924. viii + 367 pp. 15*s*.

Donne's prose works are so hard to come at that Mrs Percy Simpson's analysis of their contents and of the relation they severally bear to Donne's mental and spiritual development will be found very useful by many students of our seventeenth century literature. After a sketch of the Dean's life, and chapters on Donne as a man of letters, a theologian and a philosopher and mystic, she deals in turn with his *Juvenilia*, *Biathanatos*, *Pseudo-Martyr*, *Ignatius his Conclave*, *Essays in Divinity*, *Devotions*, *Sermons*, and *Letters*. An Appendix is given to an unpublished sermon, another to a chronological arrangement of the sermons, a third to two prose-works falsely attributed to Donne. It is needless to say that Mrs Simpson's work is throughout thoughtful and scholarly. It

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owes much, of course, to the work of Sir Edmund Gosse, Professor Grierson, Miss M. P. Ramsay, and Dr Geoffrey Keynes, but Mrs Simpson has no fear of dissenting from her predecessors when their conclusions do not commend themselves to her judgement. This especially applies to the case of Sir Edmund Gosse. It is very satisfactory to find that Mrs Simpson, as against Gosse, clears Donne of having taken an active part in the proceedings of Lady Essex against her husband in 1613 which resulted in her second marriage to the royal favourite, Somerset. A different Donne was here in question[1]. Unfortunately it cannot be denied that the greater Donne wrote an epithalamion on the marriage. Mrs Simpson also differs from Sir Edmund in putting Donne's religious conversion two years before the death of his wife, and about the time of Donne's ordination. How far such things can be dated is an open question.

The outstanding feature of the book is its publication for the first time of a series of letters which, though unsigned, were clearly written by Donne to Sir Henry Wotton and others between August 1597, when Donne was starting on the Islands Voyage, and 1615. None of Donne's prose-letters hitherto published are antecedent to his marriage in 1601. These letters had been copied into a MS. book which belonged to the late G. H. Finch, Esq., of Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland. The book has lately been destroyed by fire. Fortunately, however, Mr Pearsall Smith had transcribed the letters, and he has put his transcripts at Mrs Simpson's service. The letters leave one wishing that Donne had written less elaborately and had told us more about his life. But they are still of extreme interest.

Mrs Simpson still maintains (pp. 11, 43, 54) that the 'Hymn to God my God in my Sickness' was written, as Walton says, on Donne's death-bed, and not in December 1623 as stated on a copy which belonged to Sir Julius Caesar. She had not of course seen the weighty arguments for the earlier date advanced by Mr Sparrow in this *Review*, vol. XIX, p. 462. But she does not seem to be aware that Professor Grierson, in his *Metaphysical Poetry* (1921), p. 229, had already accepted the earlier date ('Walton wrongly assigns its composition to Donne's last illness in 1630'). The probabilities seem to be entirely against Mrs Simpson's view.

It is desirable, I think, that sixteenth and seventeenth-century dates between 1st Jan. and 24th March (inclusive) should always be given in a double notation. Mrs Simpson is not consistent in this point, e.g. (p. 14)

[1] Mrs Simpson says (p. 31) that 'Dr Jessopp's article in the *D.N.B.* pointed out this confusion some years ago, but Mr Gosse disregards this evidence.' Mr Mario Praz of the University of Liverpool informs me that on the contrary 'Dr Jessopp started the confusion, *D.N.B.* xv, p. 221 (see Beeching, *Religio Laici*, 1902, p. 100) and was followed by Gosse. The error was pointed out in the review of Gosse's *Life* in the *Athenæum*, Nov. 11, 1899, and in Mr Arthur Vincent's note in the same, Dec. 16, 1899. Miss Ramsay insists on the correction in her *Doctrines médiévales*, etc., but the error has been frequently repeated, e.g. in Fausset's *John Donne*, pp. 210–13. Recent reviewers of Mrs Simpson's book (e.g. *Times Lit. Sup.*, Dec. 25, 1924, and *Criterion*, Jan. 1925) give Mrs Simpson credit for having been the first to put things right.'

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'1575 (old style),' (p. 28) 'Feb. 1609,' (p. 30) Feb. 161$\frac{2}{3}$, (p. 42) 'the spring of 163$\frac{9}{1}$.'

On p. 202, l. 5 from bottom, there seems no reason for changing 'our' to 'her'; on p. 263 'the more unimportant' means presumably 'the more important'; on p. 269, l. 13, 'forming' should perhaps be 'pruning'; on p. 316, l. 7, 'coyne' should perhaps be 'combyne' ('cōbyne'). It is stated on p. 339 that 'assatum' should be 'assum.' The verb 'assare' is however, I believe, found in Apuleius, and the Cambridge play *Lælia* (written perhaps by 1547) has, III, 1, 30, 'assatæ carnis'; v, 1, 9, 'assata carne.'

Unless the work of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, is to be permanently ignored, it is time that writers ceased to speak of George Herbert as 'Herbert.' When one reads 'the metaphysical strain admired and imitated by Herbert, Vaughan, and Crashaw' (p. 41) one is entitled to ask the writer: 'Which Herbert do you mean?'

The opening sentence of letter 30, p. 315, might perhaps have been better illustrated by the proverb 'Violentum non est diuturnum,' which was clearly in Donne's mind.

There are a few misprints which may perhaps be corrected in future issues: p. 66, l. 5, 'relent' ('reluct'); p. 95, 'Galvin' ('Calvin'); p. 119, 'Calvanistic'; p. 163, 'Macabees'; p. 183, 'intresesting'; p. 187, 'might *will* be.' On p. 339, l. 13, we should probably read 'wiser than the Church.'

SHEFFIELD. G. C. MOORE SMITH.

ARTURO FARINELLI. *Byron e il Byronismo: Sei Discorsi.* Bologna: N. Zanichelli. 1924. 8vo. xi + 206 pp. L. 13.50.

The English reader may fail to do justice to this small volume unless he bears in mind that it is a collection of orations addressed to an Italian audience. To this is due the sustained rhetorical note, and the great amount of paraphrase and exposition of Byron's work. The earlier chapters which outline Byron's chief characteristics are more suited to a foreign audience than to one more intimately acquainted with the original. The final oration, which surveys Byron's influence on European literature, is the most interesting to English readers. Unfortunately Professor Farinelli is obliged by limitations of time to compress this wide subject into a few pages. Hence we find but the briefest summary of material which has in part been treated on a larger scale in Edmond Estève's *Byron et le Romantisme français*, Antonio Porta's *Byronismo italiano*, Max Simhart's *Lord Byrons Einfluss auf die italienische Literatur*, Otto Weddingen's *Lord Byrons Einfluss auf die europäischen Literaturen der Neuzeit*, and in such individual studies as P. H. Churchman's *Byron and Espronceda*.

Professor Farinelli rightly finds the origins of the Byronic spirit far back in the eighteenth century:

> In fondo, questa gran tristezza, lo strazio della mente, e la passione del cuore, che mai si placa e non si soddisfa, erano retaggio di altri romantici che precorsero

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le disperate inquietudini di Lord Byron. Le ritroviamo nell' Young, nel Rousseau, nella Stael, nello Chateaubriand. Il fierissimo poeta sorbiva l' amaro, voluttuosamente, da ogni fonte.

Nevertheless, in tracing 'influences,' sufficient allowance is not made for the general temper of the age, so that the reader is apt to exaggerate the initiative of Byron, to see the 'Byronic hero,' as a being entirely of Byron's own creation.

Necessariamente, says the author, il poeta è mosso, per distruggere il gran tedio, e togliersi al minacciato stagnare e illanguidire, a immaginare un' attività mutevole, il passaggio d' una lotta all' altra; e si creerà, tumultuosi, violenti, audaci, spavaldi, ribelli, titani i suoi croi.

But the 'Byronic hero' which Europe for a time adored was no sudden creation of Byron's. He was the climax of a movement long since begun. Young had enjoyed the reputation of writing his *Night Thoughts* by the light of a candle set in a human skull almost three quarters of a century before Byron drank out of his famous skull-cup, and the 'Medmenham monks' long preceded those of Newstead, while, as Antonio Porta states in *Byronismo italiano*, Mrs Radcliffe's tales of terror played their part. Indeed Sir Walter Scott was a potent 'influence' in this field, as F. W. M. Draper points out in his recent *Rise and Fall of the French Romantic Drama*.

Lord Byron, he says, provided the romantics with a ready-made hero who stepped slightly vulgarised from the romances into the dramas. At the same time it must not be forgotten that certain of Scott's characters are as 'Byronic' as Byron's own heroes. Such are, for example, Ravenswood in *The Bride of Lammermoor* and George Staunton in *The Heart of Midlothian*.

Philip Churchman too, in his study of Byron and Espronceda, is exceedingly cautious in his attempt to estimate Byron's influence: 'What diviner's rod,' he says, 'can separate those ideas that must be ascribed to a given "influence," from those due rather to the *Zeitgeist* of the romantic revolt?' But the best summary of the question is given by Edmond Estève in the following passage:

Le lyrisme passionné de Rousseau, l'aristocratique ennui de Chateaubriand, les aspirations libertaires de Schiller, la tristesse de Young, l'ironie sarcastique de Voltaire, l'inquiétude philosophique de Goethe, se juxtaposent, se mêlent ou se combinent, modifiés par une sensibilité originale dans ce composé d'irritante saveur. Byron n'est pas un novateur, encore moins un précurseur. Il vient à la suite. Loin qu'il soit le point de départ d'une évolution littéraire, il en marque brillamment le terme. Il a reçu plus qu'il n'a donné. Son œuvre est une sorte de *compendium* ou de bréviaire du romantisme.

Doubtless Professor Farinelli would agree with this. The misconception which he creates is due to the compression of his work which entails the omission of necessary qualifications and details.

Despite the limitations of space imposed, everywhere we find evidence of wide knowledge and just criticism, and we are grateful to Professor Farinelli for momentarily reviving that 'first fine careless rapture' of enthusiasm which thrilled Byron's contemporaries. There are many misprints in the English quotations given.

OSWALD DOUGHTY.

LONDON.

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Glossaire des Patois de la Suisse Romande. Élaboré avec le concours de nombreux auxiliaires et rédigé par L. GAUCHAT, J. JEANJAQUET, E. TAPPOLET, avec la collaboration de E. MURET. Fascicule I (A–Abord). Neuchâtel: V. Attinger. 1924. 64 pp. 6 fr.

The *Glossaire des Patois de la Suisse Romande* is a work of far greater importance than might be inferred from the title. It should appeal not only to those interested in Franco-Provençal and the patois of French Switzerland, but to all students of Romance Philology. Recent investigations have shown that language is of the nature of a fluid which in successive tides spreads over the country. The current follows the natural lines of communication, submerges first the cities, the fertile plains and the more densely populated districts. Inhospitable and secluded valleys and mountainous districts, difficult of access, sometimes escape altogether or receive but the fringe of the incoming tide. Modes of speech, which elsewhere have long since been obliterated and superseded, live on in these sheltered corners. Switzerland seems to have been specially equipped by nature to act as a refuge for the flotsam and jetsam of the linguistic ocean. Even the onrush of Latin, which in Gaul so thoroughly overwhelmed the older languages, appears to have left in Switzerland much *débris* of Celtic and pre-Roman material, which it was wise to collect while most of the dialects were yet alive; for some are dead already and all are threatened with extinction at no very distant future.

In order to deal successfully with material so abundant and varied, something more was required than perseverance and enthusiasm, the sole qualifications of many *patoisants.* The present editors are all of them highly trained scholars who have devoted their lives to the study of philology. The plan was first conceived by Prof. Gauchat, a distinguished pupil of Morf and Gilliéron. At an early stage he secured the collaboration of two enthusiastic colleagues, Professors Jeanjaquet and Tappolet, and later that of Prof. Muret. These scholars laboured earnestly and without ostentation. Many a large dictionary has been partially marred because publication was attempted before the material had been fully gathered and surveyed. It is, of course, in the nature of things that, in a publication spread over many years, the editors should continue to gain experience and to add to their knowledge, and that the last volumes should be richer and more trustworthy than the first. This defect is very evident even in so excellent a work as the *New English Dictionary.* In order to reduce it to the minimum Prof. Gauchat and his colleagues wisely refrained from rushing into print. With a patience and a self-effacement which compels our admiration, they devoted twenty-five years to the preliminary work of exploration. Assisted by numerous collaborators, they investigated the *patois* of 222 localities, gathering an abundant harvest. Not content with that, they examined all the available literature both old and new and searched many of the local archives. Finally a thorough study was made of place and family names. A description of these sources fills two stout volumes of Biblio-

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graphy[1] which are a necessary complement to the Glossary. The latter will deal with over 50,000 words, about half of which have parallel forms in modern standard French. Of the remaining 25,000, some are found in Old French texts, some survive in other French dialects, but many are not recorded elsewhere and appear to represent survivals of Celtic and other pre-Roman elements. For each word the various spellings are given with indications of the respective areas. The meaning is elucidated, and for that purpose phrases, proverbs and old saws are freely quoted which afford a glimpse at the mentality of the people, and interesting notices are added on trades, implements, customs and traditions in which the student of history and folklore will find much to glean. A discrete use of diagrams, maps and sketches makes for greater lucidity. A glance at the first fascicule now before us will convince even the casual reader not only of the thoroughness, insight and method with which the task is being performed, but also of the value of the Glossary in supplementing and completing the information of existing dictionaries, notably those by Ducange, Godefroy, Raynouard and Levy. The work, which is subsidised by the Swiss government, is offered in subscription in parts of 64 pp. at the price of 6 Swiss francs each. Two parts only will be issued in the first year, but it is hoped to speed up the publication, if there is a satisfactory response. Application should be made to the publisher, Victor Attinger, Neuchâtel (Switzerland).

PAUL STUDER.

OXFORD.

PIERRE VILLEY. *Les Grands Écrivains du XVIe siècle. Évolution des Œuvres et Invention des formes littéraires.* Tome I. Marot et Rabelais. (*Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance*, Nouvelle Série, Tome XI.) Paris: É. Champion. 1923. 8vo. xvii + 431 pp. 25 fr.

En parlant de son *Tableau historique et critique de la poésie française et du théâtre français au XVIe siècle*, Sainte-Beuve disait à la fin de la préface de sa seconde édition: 'J'ai beaucoup revu, beaucoup vérifié, quant aux faits de détail et aux particularités dont ce genre d'ouvrage abonde; j'ai dû m'arrêter. Une correction plus minutieuse et poussée plus avant serait, si j'ose dire, dans l'intérêt de mon amour-propre plutôt que dans celui de la question littéraire elle-même. Le peu d'utilité que ce livre peut avoir, le petit nombre de vues nouvelles qu'il met en lumière, il les porte suffisamment ainsi. Qu'on en profite donc et qu'on fasse mieux!'

Certes 'on' en a profité, la renommée de la littérature française du XVIe siècle surtout. Et si, depuis quatre-vingts ans et plus que ces lignes sont écrites, *on* n'a prétendu à faire mieux, *on* a du moins visé à faire plus et différemment. L'impulsion donnée par le *Tableau* aux études sur le XVIe siècle s'est propagée de part en part et l'on ne

[1] Cf. *Bibliographie linguistique de la Suisse Romande*, 1912–20, reviewed in these columns: *Mod. Lang. Rev.* xv (1920), p. 448.

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compte plus que difficilement le nombre des travaux de toutes dimensions et de tous calibres qui, depuis près de cent ans (la première édition du *Tableau* est de 1828), ont été consacrés à la littérature de la Renaissance, le nombre des points de vue auxquels on l'a examinée, le nombre de 'méthodes' que lui a appliquées la critique littéraire, cet 'éternellement féminin' qui n'hésite point à se refaire une nouvelle jeunesse et un nouveau visage, dès qu'elle voit apparaître les rides néfastes.

Chacune des méthodes qu'on a employées a d'ailleurs eu du bon. Celle de M. P. Villey vaut, comme les autres, surtout par l'homme qui la manie. Et comme M. Villey est maître dans ce domaine du XVIe siècle, on peut s'attendre, malgré les exigences parfois singulièrement tyranniques de sa 'critique,' à trouver dans ce nouveau *Tableau* une œuvre de premier ordre.

La marche que suit M. Villey consiste à établir une chronologie rigoureusement exacte des œuvres, à éclairer celles-ci par une étude aussi précise que possible des événements, à scruter les habitudes de travail des écrivains, en s'attachant presque exclusivement à ceux de premier ordre, à déterminer les influences qu'ils ont subies, à mettre en relief leurs réactions contre ces influences—ce qui constitue un mode très efficace de dégager leur originalité—à examiner enfin leurs 'destinées posthumes,' c'est à dire l'influence qu'ils ont exercée à leur tour tant en France qu'à l'étranger.

Ce plan M. Villey entend l'appliquer à toute la littérature vraiment représentative du XVIe siècle et il nous donne dès maintenant le premier tome de ce grand ouvrage, tome consacré uniquement à Marot et à Rabelais.

Il faut tout d'abord lui savoir gré de faire une dernière fois justice des clichés et les légendes dont ces deux écrivains ont été victimes pendant des générations. Il n'y a pas longtemps on croyait avoir caractérisé Marot en le traitant de 'gentil poète,' et en signalant son 'badinage,' 'élégant' pour Boileau, 'naïf' pour Laharpe, 'charmant' pour Voltaire. Que d'autres traits composent cette intéressante physionomie! C'est un poète éminemment français par ses qualités d'esprit et de sensibilité, remarquable par sa maîtrise dans les petits genres, où plus d'une fois il atteint la perfection, qui a subi à un très haut degré l'influence de l'esprit de cour et de la poésie italienne, digne d'être considéré comme un des artisans de la renaissance poétique française, rappelant par quelques-uns de ses accents Villon et Ronsard—au XVIIIe siècle certains critiques le préfèrent au 'chantre vendômois'—un poète enfin dont 'les pièces où se joue son drame personnel, qui est en même temps le drame d'une époque, continueront de se faire lire pour la sincérité de leur émotion et pour les grands conflits d'idées dont elles nous apportent l'écho.'

Rabelais n'est plus d'une part l'ivrogne invétéré tel qu'on se le représente encore trop souvent; le paria, fils d'un pauvre cabaretier de Chinon, ni d'autre part le prophète aux idées singulièrement audacieuses et avancées, aux thèses s'annonçant déjà comme 'révolutionnaires,'

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image de Rabelais, profondément ancrée dans l'esprit populaire, d'ailleurs déjà soupçonnée fausse par Sainte-Beuve qui écrivait en 1828: 'Ce Rabelais grotesquement idéal et poétique pourrait bien n'être pas plus le vrai Rabelais que nos Homère et nos Ésope de convention ne sont véritablement Ésope et Homère.' Non, Rabelais appartient à une famille des plus aisées. Son père est riche et possède de nombreuses propriétés. Rabelais n'a pas ébloui son siècle par la profondeur et l'originalité de la pensée; il n'a pas dépassé son âge par la hardiesse de ses conceptions. C'est un homme avide de savoir, doué d'un amour ardent pour l'étude de l'antiquité, et qui se met peu à peu au courant de la science de son temps. C'est le type de l'érudit du XVIe siècle: incapable de se dégager de l'autorité des anciens, il a été presque absolument insensible à l'esprit nouveau qui a inspiré nombre de ses contemporains; au point de vue littéraire enfin, c'est surtout par son génie de conteur et par la perfection de son art qu'il mérite d'être retenu. La mise au point de toutes les questions concernant Marot et Rabelais n'est ni moins personnelle, ni moins complète que celle de leurs portraits. On s'en rendra compte en lisant les chapitres consacrés à la constitution des formes littéraires qui au XVIe siècle remplacèrent celles du moyen âge, à l'évolution de la poétique de Marot, aux caractéristiques de chacun des livres de Pantagruel et de Gargantua et à l'art de Rabelais.

Les réflexions ajoutées par M. Villey sur la pénétration très lente des découvertes scientifiques et géographiques dans la littérature proprement dite du XVIe siècle, et sur les caractères qui distinguent la Renaissance du moyen âge n'offrent pas grande nouveauté; mais elles valaient la peine d'être répétées et elles ne manqueront pas de frapper et peut-être même de surprendre encore plus d'un lecteur.

L'ouvrage se termine par trois tables relatives à la chronologie des œuvres, de la vie et de la bibliographie de Marot, et par une table donnant la 'chronologie de Rabelais.'

Tel qu'il est ce premier tome constitue un guide indispensable à toute personne s'intéressant par goût ou profession à la littérature de la Renaissance en général, à Marot et à Rabelais en particulier. Nous rendrons compte du deuxième tome dès que nous l'aurons reçu.

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

The French Romantics' Knowledge of English Literature, 1820–1848 (*Bibl. de la Revue de littérature comparée*, XI). By ERIC PARTRIDGE. Paris: É. Champion. 8vo. 370 pp. 40 fr.

Mr Eric Partridge has enriched the comparative study of French and English literature with a monograph of great value of a somewhat unusual kind. He has learnt from M. Baldensperger and the other Paris masters to appreciate the problems which still await the student of comparative literature; but he has had the courage to attack them by a method of his own. We are not often reminded, in his pages, of

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the beautiful bridges which M. Baldensperger and his disciples have built between England, France, and Germany[1]. But we find, in impressive number and massiveness, the piles which bridges at once so beautiful and so solid as theirs presuppose. This is not to say that Mr Partridge's work is unfinished, but that he has laid down definite limits for it and closely observed them. His contract is, so to say, for the foundations only. But so many people begin with the coping-stone! That English, side by side with German, literature was one of the stimulating sources of French Romanticism is of course well understood; particularly since Texte, long ago, traced the genesis and history of this revolt against the purely nationalist tradition. For most people, however, this influence hardly goes beyond Byron, Scott, and Shakespeare. Even the literary histories sketch this matter very cursorily, especially where an influence evoked by Romanticism subsided or vanished with its decline. It is Mr Partridge's great merit to have set himself to examine this influence, in its whole compass, at the source, that is, in the evidence of contemporary letters, criticisms, reviews, reported conversations, memoirs, but especially, where they are available, in the utterances of the several Romantics themselves. Mr Partridge stresses the virtues of this procedure and contrasts his 'objective' method with the 'subjective' ways of ordinary literary criticism. That is not unjust, but it is incomplete. His method gets rid of the 'subjective' judgment of the modern critic, who, if he is competent, has based it upon a catholic survey of the evidence, tested and sifted, as now available for us, in order to appeal to the 'objective' utterances of contemporaries. But these utterances, though objective in the sense that they are independent of ours, are obviously not objective in reference to the ultimate facts, but rather a bewildering multiplicity of subjectivities, each on the whole more personal, incidental, casual, momentary, partial, than the weighed and balanced judgment of the latterday critic. Mr Partridge is well aware of this, and much of the value of his investigation lies in his indication of the reaction of political and other kinds of bias (as of the Anglophils Guizot and Chasles) upon the direction and intensity of literary taste, and of the distribution of English tastes in different social classes.

The examination of the Romantic period proper (defined as the interval between 1820 and 1848) is preceded by a chapter of sixty pages on 'the approaches.' The war made English books difficult to procure, but had surprisingly little effect upon the desire to read them. Byron was translated in the year of Elba, two years after the first cantos of *Childe Harold* made him famous. Byron and Scott, a later critic recorded, were the two English writers for whose sake France 'forgave Waterloo.' It is more surprising that Milton was in these war years widely read, and even put above Shakespeare, to whose odd mixture of genius and barbarism good taste was still imperfectly reconciled. But Chateau-

[1] Baldensperger, *Goethe en France*; *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'influence de Shakespeare en France*; Carré, *Goethe en Angleterre*.

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briand's brilliant pages on *Paradise Lost* in the *Génie du Christianisme* (1802), had effectually given Milton classic rank in France; choice passages from it were published in verse-translation in the year of the contemplated invasion of England, and the Abbé Delille was recommended to Napoleon for a prize on the strength of a translation of it in full. But it was only after 1820 that the seed sown by Mme de Staël and Chateaubriand came fully to harvest. In dealing with his now vast and intricate subject-matter, Mr Partridge adopts a plan which fairly secures him against omitting any important part or aspect of it, but at the cost of touching a good deal of it more than once. He is concerned to do justice to both literatures; his book has therefore two focuses, and his views of the same area as surveyed first from one and then from the other naturally have much in common. The chapter on 'General Influence' passes in review, in some ninety crowded pages, the fortunes of our chief authors, from Chaucer to Tennyson and Browning, in Romantic France. This is followed by a series of chapters, on the Poetry, Drama, Novel, History, Philosophy, of France, in so far as they were modified or stimulated by the English influence. And here, it need hardly be said, there was abundance of 'cross-fertilization': Shakespeare and Scott were of yet more moment for history than for drama or novel. It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to Mr Partridge's immense reading in a host of forgotten or obscure periodicals, as well as in famous books, or to the very considerable organizing power which has brought his masses of fact into ordered and informing sequence. With these solid qualities, we need not complain that his book is not particularly well written. Some men would have invited us to condone their absence by putting style in their place. But he might avoid such slipshod colloquialisms as: 'they thought a lot of the English people,' or '— was paid more attention than —.'

C. H. Herford.

Manchester.

The Orlando Furioso and its Predecessor. By the Rev. E. W. Edwards. Cambridge: University Press. 1924. 8vo. vii + 175 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This book is so charming in external appearance and so full of zest in its tone that a reviewer feels as clumsy in dealing with it as a giant would in handling a piece of delicate china. It would be such a pity to break it, and yet break it must, for the slightest pressure will reveal its fragile texture. One wonders for whom Mr Edwards intended his work to be written. Not for uninformed readers, for they would be puzzled by the frequent references to minor characters of the Renaissance and to modern scholars whom only a budding specialist would know and recognize. Not for scholars, who would frown at some inaccuracies in fact and at the structure of a book which is provided with an index of names, but makes no direct reference to the works which have been principally used by its author. Was he thinking of general readers

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sensitive enough to be fired by his own enthusiasm, and so untrammelled by the habit of precision as not to notice that his lightness of touch is due to other causes besides his wish to eschew pedantic scholarship? This must be the right guess, and, if it is, Mr Edwards must be an optimist, and I sincerely hope that his optimism be rewarded, for his book is pleasant to read, sufficiently well informed and full of a zest that is occasionally infectious. But scholars must grumble. Without turning to the catalogue of the British Museum, I observe that Ariosto's *Satire* were translated by the Rev. H[o]rt[o]n and Temple Henry Croker and printed in London in 1759 for A. Millar in the Strand; it could be argued that such rendering is deserving of scant praise, but, whatever its quality, it contradicts Mr Edwards' statement in the preface that there are no English translations of the *Satire*. On p. 2 Mr Edwards quotes de Sanctis' dictum 'that, as an artist, Ariosto is Dante's superior,' but he omits to explain what de Sanctis meant by 'artist' as opposed to 'poet,' and thus might easily mislead his readers. On p. 11 he recalls that Isabella d'Este maintained in a half serious controversy that Rinaldo was far superior to Orlando, but he omits reminding his readers that the Estes claimed Rinaldo as one of their ancestors. On p. 45 he traces the motive of Boiardo's religious beginnings and endings of his cantos to the necessity of thus conciliating 'the goodwill of the priests, an indispensable requisite to popular success.' And he seems to be quite unaware of the practice of minstrels and 'cantimbanchi,' and of their dependence on the models set by the authors of mediaeval legends of saints. It may be doubted whether Mr Edwards (p. 70) was well advised in recognizing 'national (English) features in Astolfo's humour, self-confidence and bluff independence.' Despite his wish to avoid pedantic foot-notes, he could with advantage have called his readers' attention to works which are well known to him such as Professor Gardner's, whose name, however, only occurs once (p. 68), and not in the index.

But such strictures, the list of which could be increased, are minutiae, and Mr Edwards rightly may claim that there is enough that is charming and informative in his book, for him to look upon them with equanimity; and, after all, it would better express the impression which this little volume produces if one called attention to some excellent passages such as the felicitous parallel between Ariosto and Giorgione.

C. Foligno.

Oxford.

Spanish Grail Fragments. Volume I: Texts. By Karl Pietsch. Chicago: University Press. 1924. xxxvii + 89 pp. With Volume II (now in Press). $5.00.

Since the date of the last reference to Spanish Arthurian romances by this *Review* three important contributions have been made to that subject. An annotated catalogue of texts and publications form one section of the late Professor J. D. Bruce's *Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht. 1923. 2 vols.), but

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what is said of the Grail-Trilogy of the Pseudo-Boron and the *Contes del Brait Merlin* (Pt. III, chs. vii and viii) is necessarily based in part on the Spanish and Portuguese evidence. In the *Revista de Filología Española*, XI (1924), pp. 282–297, Sr. P. Bohigas Balaguer discusses 'El *Lanzarote* español del manuscrito 9611 de la Biblioteca Nacional,' with particular reference to Wechssler's theory of a cyclic romance by the Pseudo-Boron in which a *Lancelot* entered along with the Grail Trilogy, and Brugger's further guess that the Spanish *Lanzarote* might represent the lost *Lancelot*. Sr. Bohigas Balaguer concludes that the Spanish manuscript formed no part of the supposed cycle. It is well that this should be said: but the theories of Wechssler have been so thoroughly discredited by the researches of Pauphilet, F. Lot, Bruce and Sommer as hardly to be any longer a basis for discussion. There is, in this article, a rather better account of the contents of *Lanzarote* than is elsewhere accessible, and it concludes with the full text of the enigmatic Tristan chapters. Incidentally, the *Lanzarote* does make an allusion to the *Baladro del Sabio Merlin*, viz., on fol. 310 v°, where the account of the Dolorous Stroke is based on the story of Balin.

With the *Spanish Grail Fragments*, the University of Chicago Press open a new series of 'Modern Philology Monographs,' printed in the same clear and generous manner as their journals of Modern and Classical Philology. In 1897, at the suggestion of Baist, Professor Karl Pietsch transcribed parts of MS. 2–G–5 of the Royal Palace Library at Madrid. To *Modern Philology*, XI, in 1913, he contributed a classification of Castilian versions of the Second and Third Parts of Pseudo-Boron's Trilogy, and to same review, in 1915–16 (vol. XIII), he forwarded a couple of unfinished articles on the language of the fragments, adding (vol. XVIII), in 1920–21, two more concerning the non-Arthurian matter of MS. 2–G–5. The present work, first executed in German, was delayed from 1922 till last year, and is now issued by the cooperation of Messrs Nitze, Nykl, Northup, and others. The first volume is available; but a second, said to contain 'the most extensive commentary that has yet been published on a single Old Spanish text,' is still impending. The reader of Professor Pietsch's Introduction is supposed to bear in mind the whole course of this research. There is no fresh account of the manuscript, the former classification of the Merlin and Quest sections is now extended to those concerning Joseph of Arimathea, embracing for the first time the evidence of the Portuguese Grail manuscripts; and the two linguistic articles are given a conclusion in 'further evidence for the language of G and D.' There is even an addendum ('further evidence of the priority of the Spanish *Josep*') to these addenda. Linguistically, Professor Pietsch's concern with 'certain Portuguese words and particularities of Portuguese syntax' (*Mod. Phil.* XI, p. 17) has ended in the assertion that MS. 2–G–5 is written in a mixed language of which the 'fundamental basis was Castilian with which existed a strong infusion of Portuguese-Galician and Leonese elements' (p. xvi). This later view reconciles the evidence of linguistics with that of literary history.

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In literary history these excerpts from the romances of Joseph of Arimathea, Merlin and the Quest of the Grail have the interest of presenting, what one finds nowhere else, all three parts of the Trilogy of the Pseudo-Boron. The Second and Third are well known, but by means of the First we can hope to identify the *Joseph Abarimathia* which preluded the Trilogy. Hitherto the discussion has seemed to be governed by Klob's report that MS. 2–G–5 differed in contents from Alcobaça MS. 643, *Liuro de Josep Abaramatia*, which Juan Sanchez, schoolmaster of Astorga, caused to be made (*mandou fazer*) in 1313. Professor Pietsch, however, who appears to have seen both manuscripts, declares they are identical so far as they go. He gives no formal proof, but he alleges two Portuguese blunders which might be due to the phonology of Old Leonese, and more conclusively he points to Klob's own notes (where we had all missed it!) for the name of the original Spanish translator, Friar Juan Bivas, already known from ch. 52 of his translation of the Pseudo-Boron Quest. But we doubt whether the author is so happy when he gives 1313 as the date of the original translation, 'at least of the *Joseph Abarimatia*.' The second Prologue of the *Baladro del Sabio Merlin* (1498), though mauled by its latest editor, seems to us to be genuine at bottom. It is addressed to a king, not a schoolmaster, and we hope to give reasons elsewhere for thinking this king was Sancho IV, and the date about 1291. The Prophecies attached to the edition of the *Merlin* 1535 show at least two early redactions, one favourable to D. Juan Manuel's policies, and the other definitely royalist (in favour of Alfonso XI and the Regent Maria de Molina). Therefore, we doubt whether there was a direct relation between Juan Bivas and Schoolmaster Sanchez, but that what the latter 'caused to be made' in 1313 was either a Spanish redaction (probably under the influence of D. Juan Manuel and his brother-in-law D. Alfonso de Portugal), or a Portuguese translation from the original by Juan Bivas. The First Part of Pseudo-Boron's Trilogy now appears to have been a simple transcription of the Vulgate *Estoire del Saint Graal* (which is itself attributed to Robert de Boron). We are not told what treatment was given to the episode of Brulans' Dolorous Stroke, which contradicts that of Balin le Sauvage, and it is clearly desirable that some competent account should be given of the Portuguese manuscript which alone contains the whole Branch. The Spanish fragment shows a preference for Sommer's later variant readings (e.g., *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, I, p. 20, n. 10, p. 30, n. 5, p. 47, n. 6). It covers the Vulgate from I, p. 12, l. 30 to p. 46, l. 17 and p. 47, l. 4 to p. 48, l. 30, with headings sandwiched between for the matter of I, pp. 46–66. The scribe is an abbreviator who occasionally omits details; and he or his predecessors bungle the names ('Barfano' for 'de Cafarnaon,' 'Polo' and 'Mays' for 'Apolin' and 'Martys,' 'al rrey Damasco' for 'au roi de Damas,' 'Betatira' for 'Betanie,' and even 'canes' for 'sarrasins' and 'diziseis' for '.lxv.').

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

MANCHESTER.

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Rother. Herausgegeben von JAN DE VRIES. (*Germanische Bibliothek*, II, *Untersuchungen und Texte*, xiii.) Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1922. 8vo. cxv + 129 pp.

The 'Spielmannsepos,' or as de Vries prefers to call it, the 'novellistische Epos' (p. cxiv) of *Rother* has, ever since van der Hagen and Büsching printed it in 1808 from a copy made by Tieck of the then Vatican, and now again Heidelberg MS. (H), been an object of lively interest, but at the same time a difficult problem to scholars. The difficulties which the poem presents are by no means restricted to the critical reconstruction of the text, for the greater part of which this manuscript has remained our only and a very unreliable basis. The origin of the 'Heldensaga' which is embodied in it, the original home of the German poem, the different stages of its composition and the discrimination of interpolations; further, the relation of the epic to the Norse story of Osantrix and Milias in the *Vilkinasaga*—these and other questions have given rise to a considerable and varied literature. Thus de Vries' task, for which his earlier articles, 'Het Epos van Koning Rother' (*Tijdschr. voor Nederl. Taal en Letterkunde*, xxxix, pp. 1–74), 'Rother en Wolfdietrich' (*Neophilologus*, v, pp. 21–29), and 'Die Brautwerbungssagen' (*Germ.-roman. Monatsschrift*, ix, pp. 330 ff.) serve as prolegomena, is a difficult and thorny one; and this intrinsic difficulty of the subject must be kept in mind, if we come to the conclusion that, in spite of his earnest and sometimes ingenious attempts to solve the various problems, de Vries has not succeeded in saying the last word.

On pp. 3–88 he reprints H (the Heidelberg codex), N (the Nürnberg fragment), E (the Ermlitzer fragment, a part of the same MS. as N), M (the Munich fragment) and B (the Berlin, formerly Arnswaldt's, fragment). As these fragments are short, it would, it seems to me, have been more convenient for the reader to print them in their places opposite H. The peculiarly mixed linguistic condition of the principal MS. has so far deterred every editor of the poem from attempting to establish a critical text. Nor has de Vries ventured to do so. He follows H on the whole closely, his deviations (cp. p. xvii) consisting in the main of corrections of obvious scribal errors, and the indication of corrupt passages, superfluous words and letters, and lacunae, points which are often discussed at some length in the notes (pp. 103–124), or in the notes under the text. Modern punctuation has been introduced, which, in spite of the corrections on p. 129, still remains questionable or wrong in several places. We do not take exception to this presentation of the text as a makeshift—the alternative, a diplomatic (verbal) reprint of the MS., would have still more taxed the patience of the reader—but we should have liked to see one or two well-selected pages of the MS. added in facsimile. These would probably have given a clearer idea of the scribal peculiarities than the detailed description in Chapter I (pp. ix—xiii), and also enabled us to form an idea of the approximate

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date of the MS., of which, as far as I can see, de Vries says nothing[1]. The description of the MSS. is followed in Chapters II and III by a lengthy discussion of the language of H, and of the metre and rhyme-technique of the poem, on which matters de Vries closely adheres to views expressed elsewhere by his teacher, R. C. Boer. With regard to the language of H (and also of the earlier stages), the conclusions de Vries arrives at on p. xxxv show by their complicated and hypothetical character his own perplexity. So much seems clear: the scribe of H, possibly a Low Franconian, tried, on the whole, to copy his exemplar faithfully; but he is clumsy; the word-picture does not flow easily from his pen and his attempts are often futile, resulting in mere word-monstrosities. Occasional misreadings, such as *z* for *h* (e.g. *iz* for *ih*), corrected in some places to *ch*, *hc* (e.g. *doz* < *doh* > *doch*), tend to show that the scribe of the exemplar—or of some previous manuscript stage—hailed from Bavaria; for there *z* frequently assumed an *h*-like shape in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and an unthinking scribe might easily take an *h*, especially if written with a tag, for the *z* to which he was accustomed. But how certain linguistic corruptions and scribal alterations are to be recognised has been taught us, not by de Vries, but by E. Schröder, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, xlviii, p. 363.

The lack of a sound linguistic basis is also to be seen in de Vries' attempts to solve the problems connected with the history of the poem. He devotes the larger half of his introduction to the consideration of this matter in which he evidently feels himself more at home than in examining the text. Building partly on the findings of predecessors, such as A. Edzardi, Wiegand, Bühring, and more especially Boer and Frantzen, partly on his own studies embodied in the articles quoted above, he sets up a theory (Chapter IV), which is briefly as follows. The *Rother* epic consists of two distinct parts: R I to l. 2987, and R II from 2988 to the end, the latter being a repetition of the Brautwerbungs-motive of R I, added by another poet under the influence of the *Salomo-saga*. Here and also in R I the hand of a third person is noticeable, a Spielmann (A), who created the figure of Graf Arnold, and interpolated a number of passages which the editor has no hesitation in discriminating (p. lvi). Still another interpolator, a Bavarian Spielmann (B) with strong sympathies for court and society, added the references to Bavarian noble families and to the Carolingians; he introduced Wolfrat and Pippin into the poem. The passages which de Vries thinks are to be attributed to him will be found in a note on p. lx. Finally the poem came into the hands of a cleric who is responsible for the *moniage* of Rother and his queen, and for a number of pious passages and fantastic descriptions of ornaments (p. lxiii). In spite of the ingenuity employed by de Vries and others—amongst them F. Pogatscher, who calls the

[1] To judge by the small facsimiles in G. Könnecke's *Bilderatlas*, p. 21, H is in my opinion hardly older than 1220–30. The date is usually given as 'still twelfth century,' and Könnecke's 'Ende des XIII. Jahrhunderts' is probably a misprint. A comparison of this facsimile with de Vries' text makes me a little suspicious of the absolute correctness of the latter.

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'Sprachmelodie' to his aid—I feel most sceptical of a method which destroys the inner unity of a mediaeval poem, the author of which is unknown to us, as well as the circumstances of his life and his creative ability. All I am willing to concede is the existence of a short lay of *Rother*, containing in the main R I the *Rother* story proper; but there is no really convincing proof, as far as I can see, why R II, as well as the Bavarian and pseudo-historical allusions—which afford an excellent opportunity of bringing home the truth of the story (ll. 3479 ff.. 4788 ff.)—and even the pious flavour, might not be the work of one and the same man, who was most likely a Spielmann[1], and that this Spielmann brought the lay—not necessarily his own creation—from the Rhine to Bavaria at a time when book-epics by the clerics were coming into fashion. This, I think, would be sufficient reason for the Spielmann, whose chief interest was his pocket, to follow on the same lines. He extended the lay into a short epic (R I), and when success crowned his first effort, he composed R II as a continuation fashioned according to well-known patterns (*Salomosaga*, etc.). The Bavarian nobility, before whom he recited his verses, had to be flattered, concessions to be made to their and the clergy's piety. This explains the semi-historical passages referred to, the religious flavour and notably the *moniage* of Rother, and the *vanitas vanitatum* attitude to the worldly life. Moreover, we might think of the author having possibly two versions, one adapted for a higher audience, the other for a lower, and when the story came to be written down, traces of both remained. That there were later interpolations of a less important kind cannot, of course, be denied; but I hold that our text represents in substance the form which the Rhenish Spielmann, living in Bavaria, ultimately gave to the epic himself. It is by no means an entirely homogeneous and perfect work, and never was. One should not be too rash in condemning particular episodes as unreasonable. De Vries (p. lxiv) and, before him, Pogatscher, raise strong objections to the council scene in ll. 45–101, but the difficulty disappears if we turn to the somewhat similar scene in ll. 556 ff. There Rother asks his men to take council: 'Sie giengen zo samene sprechen (for MS. sprachen) vor die kameren,' i.e. they went from the king's chamber to another place, probably an adjacent room. After having arrived at a decision, they return to inform the king of it (ll. 580 ff.). A similar situation is to be assumed in ll. 57 ff.: 'Die thuren volc degene, die giengen zo samene, die wisen alt herren'; and, although not expressly stated, it may be inferred from the above parallel that after the council meeting, at which Lupolt plays an important part, a deputation of the 'wîse, alt herren' goes to Rother. The king first addresses ('Also der kuning do uir nam den rat, der was getan,' 84 f.) 'ein marcgraue, der heiz Herman,' as being probably the highest personage present (cp. also l. 104), and asks him who should be sent as messenger to king Constantin. When Lupolt, who has apparently remained with the others 'in einer

[1] H. Naumann, *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, ii (1924), pp. 777 ff., sees in the *Rother* poet a cleric. His arguments do not convince me.

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kemenate' (cp. l. 101), i.e. the council chamber, is recommended by Herman, Rother sends for him (ll. 100 f.). It is thus the abrupt style of the passage, which occurs early in the epic, that is at fault, not its sense.

Chapter V (pp. lxxviii–cxii) deals with the relation of the epic to the two redactions (V^1 and V^2) of the Osantrix story in the *Vilkinasaga*, which de Vries reprints in his appendix (pp. 90–100). He derives V^1 from a short Low German lay of Oserich's (Osantrix's) wooing of Oda, passages from which he even ventures, following Frantzen, to reconstruct (pp. lxxx ff.); V^2 he regards as based on a remodelled form of this lay, an extended poem of perhaps North Franconian origin, which also became the source of a second North Franconian text (R^v). Here the names of Rother and Constantin are substituted for Oserich (Osantrix) and Milias, and the locality of the poem is entirely changed (cp. the tree, p. cxiv). With Bühring, Boer and Frantzen, de Vries is convinced of the originality and priority of the *Oserichsaga*, in which force, not cunning, is the impelling motive; further, he regards the name Rother and his association with Bari as secondary, an afterthought of the North Franconian poet (R^v), who happened to know the 'Brautfahrt' story told of the Lombard Authari by Paulus Diaconus; his attention was drawn to contemporary events in southern Italy, King Lothar's war against Roger of Apulia. The great difficulty of establishing the priority of the *Oserichsaga* lies in the episode of the shoes. De Vries is admittedly ingenious in his attempt to get over it; but the fact remains that it is an integral part of the story of Rother's wooing, and only an accessory and inessential motive in V^2, while it is missing altogether in V^1. De Vries has made the best of an intricate problem which in the present state of our knowledge, hardly admits of solution; but it appears to me very unlikely that, as late as the twelfth century, a Spielmann should have read the Authari story in Paulus Diaconus, or learned of it in some popular form, and then straightway, under the impression of Roger's defeat by Lothar, changed the Oserich of his source into Rother (cp. p. xciii). Why take into consideration the Authari story at all, which, in reality, has little in common with that of Rother? Why should it not have been one of closer resemblance told of Rothari himself? That such a story has not come down to us is no proof that there never was one. What do we know of the prototype of Orendel (Lombardic 'Auriwandalo'), the hero of another German Spielmann's epic, or of the saga originally associated with this figure? We do know that Lombard heroes and their sagas were familiar north of the Alps. The figures and names of Herman and Herlint, which de Vries disposes of too lightly (pp. lxv, lxvi, lxxix, lxxxv, xciii) make one think of old 'Sagengut.' Herman may once have played a more important part, of which the *Vilkinasaga* has preserved a little more than the German epic. De Vries rightly identifies him (p. lxv) with the 'vitr maðr' of the saga, but it will not do to dismiss the Herman who opens the prison in which, in V^2, Oserich's messengers are confined, as a new figure of no importance (p. lxxix). For Herlint there was no room in the economy of the saga.

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Interesting remarks on the relation of R II to the *Salomo* versions conclude this fifth chapter, and the sixth (pp. cvii–cxv) briefly describes the style and character of the epic. There still remain many difficulties of the text. Ll. 1221–23 I take as Constantin's answer to his wife's harangue (1207–20): 'You would not give me so rash advice,..... (lacuna); before it (i.e. the setting free of the captives) should happen to your pleasing, how quickly he (i.e. *helfere* 1217) would desist'; l. 1676 comma after 'min' and 1677 'so' for 'do'; l. 1453 'einen' with Rückert; the passage is quite clear if read in connection with ll. 1491–94; l. 2169 read 'nerriz' for 'herriz'; l. 2989 perhaps 'Sich hof der lute overdoz.' The introduction is disfigured by numerous grammatical and stylistic lapses. It would be unreasonable to blame the author, who is writing in a language not his own, for these; but it is a pity that he had not help in reading his proofs.

R. PRIEBSCH.

LONDON.

Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg und der Sturm und Drang. Von ALBERT MALTE WAGNER. Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1920, 1924. 2 Bände. 8vo. viii + 208 and xi + 373 pp.

At first sight it might seem as if nearly six hundred pages devoted to so 'minor' a writer of the eighteenth century as Gerstenberg were excessive measure; but Gerstenberg has a significance for the literary evolution of his time out of proportion to his actual talent and achievement. His work bears upon it the imprint of several phases: the pre-Kantian anacreontism, the transition, through Klopstock, from the age of Rationalism to that of 'Sturm und Drang'—and no one is more peculiarly fitted to illustrate just this transition—and further through Kant and the classical literature to Romanticism. Dr Wagner, however, shows that we have been inclined in the past to make too much of Gerstenberg's understanding for the last of these phases; his brave efforts to keep pace with the 'time-spirit' were hardly maintained beyond his early life. 'Die letzten vierzig Jahre seines Lebens war das Ende'; and the picture of his lonely life between fifty and sixty, here quoted (I, p. 167) from G. F. Schumacher, is pathetic:

> Gerstenberg lebte oben auf seinem Zimmer, abgesondert wie Jupiter in den Wolken des Olymps. Die Wolken waren da, denn er rauchte unaufhörlich Tabak, was seinen Nerven auch nicht gerade bekömmlich gewesen sein wird. Seine Kinder sahen ihn nur von 12 bis 1, wenn er bei Tisch erschien. Mit dem Glockenschlag kam er herunter, trat ernst und stumm in das Esszimmer, setzte sich, ass und sprach kein Wort. Die Kinder ebensowenig. Die Erwachsenen nahmen jeder ein Buch mit und lasen während des Essens, und selbst die Kleinen meinten, es gehöre sich so, und wenn es hiess: zu Tisch, so griffen auch diese zum Buche und legten es neben sich hin.

And yet, early as Gerstenberg fell out of the race, he did possess in his best years and in a higher degree than his contemporaries, the faculty of adapting himself to the rapidly changing horizons.

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Dr Wagner's work has suffered under the difficulties of the war years; there has been too wide a time-gap between his volumes; and they are lacking in homogeneity. The division of the materials between the volumes has also contributed to this disparity. Volume I deals with Gerstenberg's life and personality, to the comparative exclusion of his work; and it leaves on the reader the impression that the author holds that work of strangely small account; then comes Volume II, which, putting the work under a magnifying glass, gives the exactly opposite impression. Dr Wagner brings much new and humanly interesting material concerning Gerstenberg's life. Danish-born, he belonged to the interesting movement of the eighteenth century, which, beginning with Elias Schlegel, established links between Germany and Denmark and culminated in the Germanophile reign of Frederick V of Denmark. The information which Dr Wagner gives us should provide the basis for a fuller study by a critic more familiar with the Danish side; for obviously it has more significance for the development of Danish than German literature. To us Gerstenberg's intimate acquaintance with English literature is of peculiar interest; his championship of Shakespeare in the *Merkwürdigkeiten über die Litteratur* is, as I suggested years ago, the most important continental pronouncement on our English poet before the last decade of the eighteenth century. This and Gerstenberg's tragedy *Ugolino*, which—modelled, as Wagner indicates, on Klopstock's *Der Tod Adams*—inaugurated the virile drama of the 'Sturm und Drang,' are his greatest achievements. On the other hand, his one contribution to the 'bardic' movement, the poetic value of which Wagner seems to me to overestimate, and his uninspired imitation of Gleim, the *Kriegslieder eines dänischen Grenadiers*, have only a small symptomatic value.

Dr Wagner's second volume contains a large mass of valuable material, especially on Gerstenberg's activity as a critic, which no student of the German eighteenth century can afford to overlook. But one would have liked to see more care in the arrangement of the facts; and the reader is too often left to draw inferences, when he might have been materially helped by the author to draw the right ones. One lays down the book with only an unclear idea of Gerstenberg's share in the march of ideas—or, indeed, of what that march was. Dr Wagner is too chary of making claims for Gerstenberg as an initiator in critical matters; he is content to register the points of contact between him and his contemporaries. Much more might, I am sure, have been done here; one would like in particular to know what a man like Lessing learned from Gerstenberg—and learn he did, as every student of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* will see—and what, in particular, Gerstenberg contributed to the moulding of the definition of genius in Germany. Dr Wagner has made none too high claims for Gerstenberg's tragedy *Ugolino*; but I should have liked to see less space devoted to the hardly relevant development of German tragedy from the seventeenth century onwards, and more to the very real importance of *Ugolino* for the tragedy of the future. It remains one of the most

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significant dramatic innovations of its century, and it threw its shadow very far indeed. It would be difficult to point to another drama that so clearly presages the modern tragedy of psychological conflict. Is not even the technique of Schiller's *Maria Stuart* at bottom precisely that of Gerstenberg's *Ugolino*?

'Auf dem Wege, den die deutsche Kultur von Lessing zu Goethe nahm, ist grade Gerstenberg eine typische Station' (Vol. I, p. 147). In these words Dr Wagner sums up Gerstenberg's significance for his literature; and they are ample justification for his laborious and valuable monograph.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft. Festschrift für Wilhelm Streitberg. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1924. 8vo. xix + 670 pp. 22 M.

Beiträge zur Germanischen Sprachwissenschaft. Festschrift für Otto Behaghel. Herausgegeben von WILHELM HORN. (*Germanische Bibliothek*, II Abt., no. 15.) Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1924. 8vo. viii + 338 pp. 14 M.

If Miscellanies at times hide away matter which we should like to have more accessible, it may truly be said that the two under review have the merit of bringing to light articles which, in the present state of Germany, could hardly have been published. Together they contain over 1000 pp. and this fact alone precludes any full commentary on the separate items. Fellow-workers will perhaps be best served if the reviewer gives a brief indication of the subject matter of every contribution and dwells upon certain articles which seem to contain topics of special interest at the moment.

The title of the Streitberg miscellany indicates that the object of the contributors is to treat the present state and future aims of Indo-European studies. Specialists have supplied comprehensive reports of past achievements and present researches in their respective fields, e.g. H. Reichelt on Indian and Iranian, H. Zeller on Armenian, A. Walter on Greek, J. B. Hofmann on the Italic dialects, C. Karstien on the Old Germanic dialects, V. Michels on German, W. Horn on English, I. Iordan on Romance languages, F. Specht on the Baltic languages and K. H. Meyer on Slavic. A welcome summary of Hittite investigations since 1907 is given by J. Friedrich who assigns the place of honour to Hrozný and deals judiciously with the work of Herbig, Bartholomae and Marstrander. We rather painfully miss from the volume any treatment of Tocharian or the Celtic group or of the relation of Indo-European to Finno-Ugrian or Semitic or of the vexed questions relating to the submerged tribes of Ligurians, Iberians, etc. But it would surely be ungenerous for us to press the title 'Stand und Aufgaben' too far! Within the sweeping surveys many specific problems are touched upon

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and promising methods of approach shown. In the Indian languages the chief questions awaiting solution are stated (pp. 248 f.) to be (*a*) the influence of other Indo-European (e.g. Iranian) or non-Indo-European languages in regard to the liquids, cerebrals and unvoiced mediae and (*b*) further exploitation of texts containing vernacular words. The Iranologist is pointed to a more intensive study of the writing and the historical relation between sounds and symbols (p. 287). Armenian requires the further investigation of the various strata of loan-words and a fuller assessment of Caucasic influences. Walter, having treated a mass of detailed linguistic problems in Greek, looks forward to the reconstruction of the grammar of 'Urgriechisch,' a further study of the grammatical views of the scholiasts and—somewhat oddly in this solemn work!—the relation of Greek philology to the school. The Italic article, besides discussing various dialectal features, contains a transcription and rendering of the Pompeian *eituns*-inscription. The position of the Baltic languages within the whole Indo-European family has not yet been settled (p. 626) and the chief need is for more accurate dictionaries and loan-word studies. In the Slavic article K. H. Meyer propounds an issue, which transcends the particular application made, viz. (1) the problem of reconstructing a form to fit the stage at which differentiation from the parent language takes place, e.g. when 'Urslavisch' begins a separate existence, (2) the vicissitudes of the form during the primitive stage of the daughter language, (3) the reconstruction of the form to fit the stage at which the further (historic) differentiation takes place; cf. for instance the development of 'Urgermanisch' into the various Germanic dialects. Karstien's Germanic article brings Bethge's work (1902) up to date and discusses such topical questions as dialectal overlapping (*überschiebung*), e.g. of High over Low German in Middle Franconian and the relatively late formation (even thirteenth century) of some present dialect boundaries. In these researches we see the fruitful influence of the French linguists who receive their meed of praise from Iordan. Karstien, however, does not follow the Romanists in another direction, viz. in rejecting the notion of exceptionless sound-laws, but he would agree that in practice the conditions are seldom sufficiently 'gleich' to allow of their untrammelled operation. He is friendly to Horn's appreciation of the phonetic rôle of 'function,' but would clarify that concept by defining it as *Grad der Bedeutungserfülltheit* (degree of significance) and positing three stages, *bedeutungsstark* (meaningful), *bedeutungsarm* (meagre) and *bedeutungsleer* (non-significant). He cold-shoulders the 'psychological' approach to language encouraged by Vossler and Lerch and on the plea that language is 'reproduction' rather than 'creation' remains an unregenerate 'positivist.' He concludes by indicating the desirability of a syntax of Germanic on a broader basis than Behaghel could naturally afford in his *Deutsche Syntax*.

More specific problems are dealt with by A. Walde who presents a wealth of skilfully disposed material to elucidate the *o*-vowel of the reduced grade and by F. Sommer on the influence of 'sandhi' on the

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Vedic final -*ā* and -*āv* from Ieur. *-*ō* and *-*ōu̯*. J. Weisweiler, who traces the Semantic history of O.H.G. *euua*, gives a demonstration of cooperation between linguistic and philological methods, which may well serve as a model for future work of this description.

Of the more general articles G. Ipsen's elaborate work on 'Der alte Orient und die Indogermanen' gives useful hints on the dating of the 'wander-words,' e.g. Ieur. **aiu̯os*, **orūd*, **gu̯ōu̯*, **peleḱu*, **əstér*, **u̯oi̯no-*, **steu̯ro-*; Lat. *argentum*, *ficus*, *rosa*, *ervum*; Germ. and Baltic *silver*. W. Porzig enlarges on the theme that syntactical phenomena are independent of the mental processes in the speakers—it is a pity that he could not have the opportunity of expressing his views on Funke's exposition of Marty's philosophy of speech entitled *Innere Sprachform* (Reichenberg, 1924) which appeared just too late. Two articles on sound-analysis (*Schallanalyse*) are difficult to criticize because they presuppose an equipment which the reviewer lacks, viz. a fine sensitiveness to motor as well as auditory reactions—which Sievers possesses in a marked degree—and a deeply-rooted German speech-consciousness. Sievers' 1922 Hamburg lectures, here reprinted, start from the postulate that every mental event is unequivocally (*eindeutig*) linked with a bodily event and that the one calls forth the other in a reversible process. Thus bodily changes remain inherent in the rhythms and melody curves and sound patterns of the poet's actual product and the reading or recital of the poem can—if we are attuned—effect analogous bodily changes in us. Sievers experiments with various curvilinear motions carried out with the hand or with a baton held in certain prescribed ways and he finds that only certain forms of gesture fit each poet. This enables him to use the inhibitions experienced when the movement is out of consonance with the text as a criterion for sorting out the spurious from the genuine. He also enlarges Rutz's scheme which comprised correlations between four different ways of adjusting the trunk muscles and separate voice-types, by adding two further classes. F. Karg looks forward to the employment of the methods of sound-analysis in tackling linguistic difficulties like the Svarabhakti vowels and diphthongizations of *Heliand* C.

One of the best contributions is H. F. J. Junker's masterly survey of General Linguistics with special reference to Indo-European. It is critical, constructive and replete with suggestive observations, e.g. his threefold classification of human speech on a functional basis (1) as *Kundgabe* or the expressive manifestation of inner emotive states, (2) as *Auslösung* or the voluntary excitation of action in a second person, and (3) as *Darstellung* or the representation in the third person of facts belonging to the theoretical or rational sphere. Every speech-utterance conveys a certain 'sense' (*Sinn*) and from this point of view affords us a classification of linguistic elements as an ascending series, viz. word—tournure (*Wendung*)—sentence—discourse (*Rede*). The meaning (*Bedeutung*) of each subordinate element in a given discourse is determined by the intersection of its frame of reference by the drift of the whole discourse. This leads Junker to discuss the degree of independence

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attributable to words and their relation to the sentence. Finally he shows that speech-sounds as symbolized in our phonologies are abstractions, averages drawn from a considerable range of actualities. It is a pity that Jespersen's *Philosophy of Grammar* and Delacroix's *Le Langage et la Pensée* appeared too late for consideration.

The *Festschrift für Behaghel* may be treated more briefly—not with any idea that its intrinsic merits are lower or its contributors less important (in fact Horn and Karstien are represented in both miscellanies), but because the articles here brought together are of a more specialized nature. Horn carries further the researches embodied in his book on *Sprachkörper und Sprachfunktion*, noticed in this *Review* (January 1924). Karstien practises a precept formulated by himself in the Streitberg volume (p. 413) to exhaust the resources of Germanic etymology before taking refuge in foreign loans. Thus with well-marshalled and cogent arguments he rejects the Late Latin *macio* and *matia* as the sources of *Steinmetz* and *Metzger* and rehabilitates the old hypothesis that these German words are connected with Gothic *mats*, Eng. *meat* and ultimately with *to mete*, Lat. *modius*, *modus* and Greek *μέδιμνος*. Karstien thinks that Germanic **mat-* signified the share of the sacrificial offering allotted to each member of the religious group. Another specialized article is that by Wrede on 'adoptive' forms, i.e. unorganic forms due to the crossing of dialects. Thus, in a district where *g* is sometimes represented by [g] and sometimes by [j] we find by a 'false' analogy that [j] is sometimes replaced by [g] in words where *j* is native [*jans* : *gans* = *jung* : *gung*]. This accounts for *gung* (jung), Swabian *milk* (milch), L. Ger. *tins* (zins), etc. Holthausen has compiled from Bendsen's grammar of the Moringen (North Frisian) dialect some syntactical points which he selects as worth following up further. Ehrismann gives a penetrating study of Otfried's psychological terms like *lîchamo*, *sêla*, *ferah*, *geist*, *spâhida*, *muat*, etc. There are two articles on place-names: one by A. Götze demonstrating the priority of the designation *Weingarten* to *Weinberg*, the spread of the latter from Middle Germany (Thuringia, thirteenth century) and its popularization by Luther; the other by A. Bach, supported by extensive statistical material, on the relative frequency and distribution of place-names belonging to his groups (I) expression of characteristic feature, e.g. *Baden*, *Münster*, (II) person + settlement, e.g. *Hildesheim*, (III *a*) person + characteristic feature, e.g. *Eppstein*, and (III *b*) characteristic feature + settlement, e.g. *Berghausen*.

Of a more general character are Hoffmann-Krayer's investigations into the influence of dynamic, musical and quantitative accentuation on phonetic development and K. Helm's views as to the position and nature of the 'pauses' in the older periods of German, his inferences being based upon a skilful observation of the punctuation, order of words and sentences, parentheses, metrical data (enjambement) and 'sandhi' in the texts. He finds that in spite of certain differences between old and new, the guiding principle, viz. the achievement of 'balance,' is the same. F. Maurer follows with a clear account of the construction in which the verb leads off (*Sah ein Knab' ein Röslein stehn*), tracing its decline during

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the later O.H.G. period and its revival from about 1450 on, partly under the influence of Latin models and partly due to generalization from inverted verbs of 'saying' (cf. Eng. *Says he*, etc.). Finally we may mention Kluge's reprint of an old Volkslied on Rupprecht and W. Schulze's well documented article in which he discusses the conditions governing the insertion and omission of the subject personal pronoun in the Gothic translation.

It remains but to add that these two miscellanies are worthy tributes to scholars of world-wide repute, who, we hope, may long be spared to enrich the world with their ripe knowledge.

W. E. COLLINSON.

LIVERPOOL.

Die Grundlage der Phonetik. Ein Versuch, die phonetische Wissenschaft auf fester sprachphysiologischer Grundlage aufzubauen. Von JÖRGEN FORCHHAMMER. (*Indogermanische Bibliothek*, VI.) Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1924. viii + 212 pp. 6 M.

The title does not fit the contents of this book, which is mainly an attempt to fashion another universal alphabet, and also gives an analytic sketch of the sounds of German, English, Danish, Arabic, Greenlandic, and Siamese. There are no connected specimens of transcription, nor is the new alphabet assembled or tabulated so that it might be conveniently compared. The unfortunate Latin letters have again been subjected to the *peine forte et dure*, and the 'Transcriptionsmisère,' which was already acute, is intensified by one more turn of the arbitrary screw.

The author adopts the view (p. 170) that English (w) is not a consonant, but a vowel,—which, of course, at once explains why we say *an wall, an window.* He will accept neither (u̯) nor (w) as the proper symbol for this phonem, and does not stop to consider the inverted Digamma of the emperor Claudius, but introduces a symbol already in existence for other purposes, namely, (u) with a small suprascript *o*, in *will, well*, etc. (p. 171), although these words are otherwise transcribed on p. 144. But (w) is nevertheless to be retained in *woo, wood*, so that it is difficult to see how the innovation improves matters.

No reference is made to recent promise or performance of the International Phonetic Association, though 'Passy' comes in for some criticism, such as an objection to single and double points, as signs of length, on the quasi-Euclidean ground that a point is the only sign which has no length at all (p. 114). Yet a teacher of singing can hardly be unaware that the dot or point appended to a musical note lengthens it by one half. This convention, established by the medieval *punctum augmentationis*, has been in general acceptance among musicians for centuries. One may agree, however, that differences of duration are best represented by straight lines, shorter and longer, as in the *i brevis* and *i longa* of Roman inscriptions of the 1st century B.C. (e.g. ÆDILIS, PISO). A proposal to indicate vowel-*quality* by the *direction* of this straight line has led some to believe that we may ultimately have a

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vowel notation of classic simplicity and directness. But Herr Forchhammer shows no knowledge of any work done in this country during the past eight or nine years—an observation which, while not intended as a rebuke, must be taken as cancelling any obligation to extend this notice with further details.

W. PERRETT.

LONDON.

MINOR NOTICES.

The ninth and tenth volumes of the Bodley Head Quartos (King James's *Dæmonologie*, 1597, *Newes from Scotland declaring the Damnable Life and death of Doctor Fian*, 1591; and Robert Greene's *Blacke Bookes Messenger*, 1592, with 'Cuthbert Conny-Catcher's' *Defence of Conny-Catching*, 1592) (London: J. Lane, 1924. 3*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* each) are fully equal to their predecessors in interest. It is particularly useful to have a handy reprint of the *Dæmonologie*, if only to see what a poor piece of work it is, compared with some other contributions to the witch controversy; but why is the author called King James I—in 1597—especially when the book is so emphatically Scottish? The argument is of the empty and bookish kind to be expected from learned royalty, but this was not altogether the author's fault. The belief in witches was tending to that last stage of a popular superstition, when it has lost touch with the intellectual standpoint of the day, but when the traditional arguments in its favour are still being repeated with added complications and subtleties by those who realise their insufficiency but have not yet woken up to the untenability of the position as a whole. The Dr Fian tract is an example of a peculiarly repulsive department of literature which is nevertheless of great importance to the social historian. Though it has been reprinted once or twice before, there was no edition generally accessible and this will be welcome.

The other volume before us concludes the series of cony-catching pamphlets associated with the name of Robert Greene. The editor might perhaps consider reprinting at some future date the related tracts of Dekker and Rowlands, which equally deserve to be rendered available to students in cheap and convenient form.

R. B. McK.

Miss M. P. Ramsay's book *Les Doctrines médiévales chez Donne* was reviewed so sympathetically by Professor Grierson (vol. XVI, p. 343) that it is only necessary to say here that a second edition has appeared (London: H. Milford, 1924. 7*s.* 6*d.*). One may however express surprise that the author has republished the book without subjecting it to the barest revision. Old slips are given us again and new errors added. Thus in the first 50 pp. alone, we have it said (p. 5) that Donne was travelling in 1519, that Marlowe was born in 1563 and died in 1594, and that *Tamburlaine* had been acted before 1587, (p. 9) that Donne was born in 1574 and Buchanan wrote *Rerum Scotiarum Historia*. On p. 11 note (3) 'Poems' appears as 'Poms,' on p. 12 'Subtilis'

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as 'Subtiles,' on p. 19 'Corbett' as 'Corbert' and 'Chichester' as 'Cichester.' The date of Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans* is given (p. 29) as 1550, 'Dillingen' (p. 34) appears as 'Dillinger,' the Spanish 'Antes' (p. 38) as 'Autes,' works of Donne are referred to (p. 44) as dating from the early years of the sixteenth century, Robert Dudley is said (p. 50) to have been Duke of Leicester. All these careless slips appear in the first edition; as also the extraordinary statements that Milton's best poetical work (p. 23) 'ne fait que commencer avec le *Paradis Perdu* pour se montrer en sa perfection dans le *Paradis Reconquis*,' and that Coryat (p. 41) 'faisait la connaissance des *savantes* partout où il le pouvait.' For the first time we are told that an Italian Testi (p. 13*n.*) lived from 1493 to 1646, and now we have (p. 16) 'dans doute' for 'sans doute,' (p. 32) 'ducius' for 'dulcius,' and (p. 42) 'sejes' for 'seges.' One trembles to think what the book will be like if its great merits entail many more editions.

G. C. M. S.

Mr R. W. Chapman's single edition of Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands* and Boswell's *Journal of a Tour* (London: H. Milford, 1924. xxiv + 511 pp. 17*s.* 6*d.* India paper, or 12*s.* 6*d.*) should be in every library. The sister works are here presented for the first time together. The editor's devotion to Johnson and Boswell, which has clearly made his task a labour of love, is as well known as his fine literary sense and his mastery of bibliography. He has collated all the editions of both works and occasionally made a conjectural emendation of his own. The result is no doubt a more accurate text than any hitherto published of either work. A number of explanatory notes, very full and lucid Indices, facsimile Titlepages, a map, and other illustrations complete the book. And still a word of appreciation should be given to the Preface which has the flavour of Mr Chapman's charming *Portrait of a Scholar and other Essays.* Those Essays were 'written in Macedonia': and it was on war-service in Macedonia that the different texts of Johnson's Journey were collated.

G. C. M. S.

Students who wish to study early Portuguese when it differed little or not at all from Galician and was widely used as an instrument for lyric poetry throughout the Peninsula, have now considerable material before them. Many ancient texts have been reproduced in the *Revista Lusitana* by Dr Leite de Vasconcellos, the third and enlarged edition of whose *Textos Arcaicos* has now been published and forms the most authoritative work on the subject, and by Dr J. J. Nunes, whose *Chrestomathia Arcaica* (Lisboa, 1906) includes a good text of selections from the thirteenth century Cancioneiros. To these important works has been added a similar anthology: *Selecta de textos arcaicos e medievais, organizada por José Pereira Tavares* (Porto, 1923). It contains selections in prose and verse dating from a document of 1192 to the *Cancioneiro Geral* published by Garcia de Resende in 1516.

A. F. G. B.

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It was an allusion by the Mexican poet and romancer, D. Cayetano Rodríguez Beltrán, which first directed the attention of Dr M. L. Wagner to the ten autos which he reprints in *La Infancia de Jesu-Cristo* (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Heft LXXII. Halle: Niemeyer, 1922). They are presented yearly during the Christmas Season at Tlacotálpam, in the State of Veracruz, Mexico, and deal with the Incarnation, Expectation, Birth, Manifestation and Adoration of our Lord, the Presentation in the Temple, the Flight, the Slaughter of the Innocents, and the Loss and Finding of Jesus at the age of twelve years. Travelling in Mexico in 1914, the author found the manuscript of these pieces in the possession of a private library in Tlacotálpam, and a glance at its pages convinced him of its linguistic interest. The title-page was missing; but later research has discovered three copies of the work in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, as also the name and century of the author, Gaspar Fernández y Ávila, who printed at Málaga in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The interest of these ten playlets lies in the pastoral scenes, which provide extensive samples of the Andalucian dialect (collected and ordered by the author in an appendix), and are conducted with some verve and humour. The publication has been partly subsidized by the American Emergency Society for German and Austrian Science and Art.

W. J. E.

The *Historical and Bibliographical Survey of the German Religious Drama* (*University of Pittsburgh Studies in Language and Literature*, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1924. xi + 253 pp. $3.35) by Professor Maximilian J. Rudwin, who has made certain aspects of mediaeval dramatic history peculiarly his own, will be welcome to all students of German literature. It provides a careful and, where I have been able to test its details, reliable bibliography of the religious drama in German; but the 'historical' aspect of the matter promised in the title is less conspicuous, the introduction being only some half-dozen pages long. Professor Rudwin anticipates in his preface an objection that may be raised by users of the book, namely, that its scope is extended to modern times, and that it includes such 'commercialized peasant plays' as the Oberammergau Passion Play. This objection hardly seems valid, but it was surely not necessary to extend the bibliography to cover the effusions of journalists and tourists who happened to have 'done' Oberammergau. The serious student, who appreciates Professor Rudwin's Part I, will hardly thank him for such items. He sets a limit to himself in the post-Reformation period, which is not indicated in the title; he does here deal with the German religious drama in the full sense, but only with the 'after-life' of the mediaeval religious play. Were it not so, one might reasonably have expected to find included a considerable number of German religious plays from the sixteenth century down at least to Richard Wagner's *Jesus of Nazareth* and *Parsifal*.

J. G. R.

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Dr William Rose has chosen an opportune moment to reissue in the *Broadway Translations* the English version of Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus the Vagabond* by A. T. S. Goodrich (London: Routledge, 1924. xxxii + 377 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*), originally published by Heinemann in 1912. The literature of the Rogue in its anti-romantic tendencies is of supreme interest to every student of the development of the European novel. In this respect the present volume is a welcome pendant to the four handsome volumes of Mateo Aleman's *Guzman de Alfarache*, the fountain-head of all picaresque romance, which has just re-appeared in the melodious Elizabethan prose of James Mabbe. The chief importance of *Simplicissimus*, as of its model, is as social history. It is the reflection, as is no other work of the time, of the appalling conditions of Germany during the last decade of the Thirty Years' War. But it has very genuine literary value as well: we are apt soon to tire, it is true, of the mixture of rough and tumble adventures, of knavery and lewdness and tedious encyclopaedic knowledge which go to make up this remarkable book; but through it all there runs a human interest: the development of the hero's character and his final domination over the problems and difficulties of life. The translator has done his task well and has caught admirably the vividness and reality of the German author's style. Dr Rose was well advised in omitting, with his predecessor, the obscene episode of the hero's adventures as the 'Beau Aleman' amongst the Parisian ladies. It can be read better in the more lively account of Bandello. Whether, on the other hand, he was equally justified in expurgating or toning down other coarse and lascivious passages is questionable: it may improve the book for drawing-room reading, but impairs its value as an accurate record. Yet more than sufficient is left to bear ample testimony to the coarseness and license of the age. The volume is provided with an adequate introduction which places the novel in its proper literary and historical setting, and furnishes the curious reader with such scanty information as we possess of its author. In general style of production the book, though by no means unattractive, cannot vie with the beautiful printing and paper of the pre-war edition. Finally, if it is to take its place on our shelves amongst the other Broadway Translations, it is a pity it could not have been given the same 'format' as the other German works of the series: *Master Tyll Owlglass* and the *Baron Münchhausen*.

L. A. W.

The period intervening between the third and fourth editions of Noreen's *Altisländische und Altnordische Grammatik* (*Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte*, IV. *Altnordische Grammatik*, I) (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1923. 10 M.) includes the period of the War, and to this may be attributed the fact that the fourth edition shows less increase in bulk than did its predecessor in 1903. Yet a glance at this new edition will detect innumerable small modifications and additions necessitated by the work done in the field of Old Norse philology since 1903, while the bibliography and the copious references throughout the

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body of the work, for which every student must be grateful even if they make the volume rather formidable reading, will be found to have increased considerably.

The number of the Runic Inscriptions given in the appendix has risen from 68 to 95, and from these some enlightening new forms have been added in the section on accidence. In the introductory paragraphs on runes the author, as in the second and third editions, has omitted to give the alphabets in the runic script. While it may well be argued that the form of the symbols is irrelevant to the study of Norse philology and accidence, one cannot help regretting that in so comprehensive and authoritative a work the author has not seen fit to reproduce at least the alphabets in their original form, even if the inscriptions in the appendix should be reproduced in the Latin script.

In the section dealing with phonology, several changes have been made affecting the order of the sound changes, notably the transference of the change of *e* to *i* before *i* and *j* from Germanic changes to the Old Norse I-mutation, and similarly of the change of *u* to *o* before *a* and *ō* from the Germanic to the Norse period.

No drastic changes have been made in the section dealing with accidence. As in the preceding editions, the weak verbs are divided into four classes, and not, as is customary in historical grammars of the Germanic languages, into three classes on the basis of the stem vowel. Although Noreen's treatment is clear and adequate for the immediate purpose, the advantages of the more commonly adopted classification are obvious, and that this can, by means of subdivision, be applied satisfactorily to the Old Norse verbs has been shown by the work of other scholars in this field.

One obvious misprint which has crept into this edition may be mentioned, viz. in § 299. 1, where the word *munkr* is given as Anglo-Saxon, whereas it is, of course, a variant of the Icelandic *múkr* previously quoted.

M. A.

Of works written by leading Dutch philologists in recent years three deserve whole-hearted recommendation over here. R. C. Boer's *Oudnoorsch Handboek* (Haarlem : H. D. Tjeenk Willing & Zoon, 1920) and A. G. van Hamel's *Gotisch Handboek*, published by the same firm in 1923, maintain the tradition of clearness, accuracy and fulness of treatment inaugurated by Boer's first volume in this series of 'Oudgermaansche Handboeken.' Although confined to the phonology and accidence Boer's work will claim its place beside the new editions of Heusler's and Noreen's grammars. Van Hamel has included a chapter on syntax and some Gothic passages in his book. It is noteworthy that in his phonology he does not adopt (as Streitberg does) the suggestions of the followers of Sievers' methods. The third book, by Dr J. Schrijnen, has appeared in a German version by Dr W. Fischer as *Einführung in das Studium der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Heidelberg : C. Winter, 1921). Its extensive introduction to the problems of general

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linguistics is most valuable and should prove a useful corrective to students who have been restricted to the German treatises, which, excellent though they are, conduce to one-sidedness. The instances cited from the Indo-European languages are aptly chosen and the phenomena adequately, though not exhaustively, explained.

W. E. C.

The admirable introduction to Professor Jónsson's edition of *Egils Saga Skallagrímssonar* remains essentially unchanged in the second edition (*Altnordische Sagabibliothek*, III. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1924. xlii + 333 pp. 14 M.), except for the discussion of theories put forward since 1894 concerning the substance and composition of the saga, and the relation of the *Hǫfuþlausn* to the prose. Professor Jónsson has here contented himself with a bare expression of opinion on the question raised, rejecting the view of Olsen and Bley that the saga is the work of Snorri and that of Vogt and Olsen that it is to be judged primarily as a work of imaginative art, and criticising Vogt's and Olsen's contention that the *Hǫfuþlausn* and the saga are contradictory.

Such additions as occur in the notes consist mainly of references to works published since 1894, notably to Falk's *Altnordische Waffenkunde* and *Altnordisches Seewesen*. Certain changes, as was to be expected, are also found in the interpretation and translation of the verses, and, in the case of the *Hǫfuþlausn*, Professor Jónsson has rearranged the text so that it now corresponds to that adopted in his *Norsk-Islandske Skjaldedigtning*.

M. A.

We have been asked to draw attention to a proposal to associate one of the three lectureships in the Department of Scandinavian Studies of the University of London with the name of the late Professor W. P. Ker, the founder of the Department. Professor Ker's friends and old students are anxious to do honour to his memory in every possible way; and it is felt that there is nothing that would have pleased him better as a memorial than a permanent endowment of a Scandinavian Lectureship such as is proposed. For this purpose an annual income of £500 is required. Those who are willing to assist in the formation of the W. P. Ker Memorial Fund are invited to communicate with Sir Edmund Gosse, Chairman of the Scandinavian Studies Committee, at University College, London, W.C. 1.

With the next (October) number the *Modern Language Review* will have completed its twentieth volume; and it is proposed to publish a General Index to Vols. XI–XX, similar to that to Vols. I–X, which appeared in October, 1915. This Index will be issued together with the number for January, 1926, at a price, supplementary to the annual subscription to the *Review*, of 5*s*. Orders should be sent either to Professor Allen Mawer, Hon. Treasurer of the Modern Humanities Research Association, The University, Liverpool, or to the Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4.

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CONCEITS.

THAT it was from the butterfly 'concetti' of Italy that the caterpillar conceits of sixteenth-century poetry had their origin is by now well known; and indeed it was acknowledged by the Elizabethans themselves. But how these butterflies appear under an English sky, and how they were modified by English foliage, has hardly been noticed. They have been represented as a blight upon English poetry; yet the poets who were thus plagued made no complaint. Can we discover from the faded colours and the wasted bodies something of their old attraction? Of the geography of our literature we know much: of the weather little. While we endeavour to study its structure, we remain ignorant of its mood. But in the conceits of Elizabethan and Jacobean poetry, we have the insects which the weather had favoured and brought forth. By their profusion in certain poems we may believe that the sonneteers were 'too much i' the sun,' while by the unhatched grubs about the poetry of the Fletchers we might guess that they walked in the shadow of Spenser, and lost themselves among the labyrinths of allegory—the dark conceit. It is worth our while now and then to turn over these conceits which were too gay to last or too heavy to be born. Such curiosity is not idle, for what disgusted us before may interest us now; and what interests us now may in a little refine our understanding of an age which was, above all ages, in the mood to create.

It is the paradox of the conceit that it fails not because it is too artificial, but because it is too natural. To conceive of a conceit (and the pun is instructive) the imagination must be in a partial state of excitement. If our fingers were only as quick as our brains, and could symbolize upon paper those vaporous thoughts, those incipient metaphors and half-formed similes that float across our consciousness when we are attempting to describe an imaginative experience, we should show up pages as grossly conceited as some of the poetry which was written for private circulation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We are saved from the most flaring novelties by a slowness of hand, and by a pen which moves best in the grooves of conventional phrases: while we have inherited and acquired a taste which rejects the tritest of our comparisons. Yet if we spy upon our own thoughts and fancies

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but for a day, we catch sight of waifs that must put us in sympathy with the most fantastic conceits from Spenser to George Herbert.

The question of conceits in the sixteenth century touches not the taste of individual poets but of the age. They are everywhere, in Spenser as in Barnabe Barnes; in sonnets of Shakespeare as well as of Smith; in *Glaucus and Scylla* as in *Hero and Leander*; while they swarm about the descriptions of dress or of personage, they appear in unexpected places side by side with the most felicitous poetry.

At a line of Chapman's continuation of *Hero and Leander*:

> The green-haired Neptune breaks in silver curls
> About the Tower,

we are at a loss to know whether to praise the simile or to suspect Chapman's conceited purpose. But after reading Elizabethan poetry for some time, the recurrence of conceits ceases to shock: the mincing critical step gives way to a more suitable travelling pace, and we go 'Easily onward thorough flower and weed.' Our taste is not impaired because our capacity for enjoyment is enlarged. We have read ourselves into the mood of the poet; and the creative mood of the Elizabethans was best understood by Keats two hundred years later when he went through the *Faerie Queene* 'like a young horse through a spring meadow, ramping.'

The completion of a work of art is the responsibility of the reader: a poem, like a picture, until it is perceived, is only half-created. And it seems safe to conjecture that the mood in which we derive the greatest amount of pleasure from a work of art comes nearest to the mood in which it was written. The satirist in so far as he is successful makes his reader a satirist for the time being; after the delicacy of Pater, we instinctively tread delicately: the work of Mr Shaw affords the fullest enjoyment only to those who in a critical spirit challenge every word he utters. The mood in which we appreciate literature is reflexive. The burden of Wordsworth's remark that the artist must 'create the taste by which he is to be enjoyed' is shared by the critics. To them belong the finer instincts which determine the temper of a work: it is their function to interpret first of all the mood of an author, for often enough his meaning will then reveal itself.

We do not read Elizabethan poetry to be gratified by an exquisite sense of form, to sigh at the perfect proportions of an ode, or the rigid solitude of a sonnet; the very lyric is 'to fit the ayre,' and has none of the patterning of triolet or ballade. Under the influence of Italy, poets ceased to frame their narratives in dreams as Chaucer had done. They

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used the story as an excuse for elaborate description; and in *Hero and Leander* there was so much blossom that the branch was bent awry. We read them for the peace that is given by profusion, and for those moments of perfect inspiration which could only be reached after so much waste. That the majority of Elizabethan poems were not written for publication is a fact which should fit in with our assumption of this easy mood. A sonnet in manuscript, rolled, sealed and be-ribboned, is a different thing from the sonnet destined for a printed page: it is a thing to be written and presented with a flourish. Even when the reality of the lady has faded, and when Fletcher remarks that his 'Licia' may prefigure a College of Learning or Holy Discipline or what you will, the spirit of gallantry remains as an afterglow upon the imagination. The courtier-poet was a 'squash before 't is a peascod'; he fenced with rhetoric all day in preparation for a tougher struggle and a more glorious victory. Romeo in love with Rosaline is a rhetorician, his first speeches with Juliet are still full of conceits:

> If I profane with my unworthiest hand
> This holy shrine, the gentle sin is this;
> My lips, two blushing pilgrims ready stand
> To smooth that rough touch with a tender kiss.

It is Juliet, real love, that makes a poet of him. Read with Biron's gallantry, the conceit sounds very sweetly in the sonnet of *Love's Labour's Lost*:

> Nor shines the silver moon one half so bright
> Through the transparent bosom of the deep,
> As doth thy face through tears of mine give light;
> Thou shin'st in every tear that I do weep:
> No drop but as a coach doth carry thee;
> So ridest thou triumphing in my woe.

This gallant attitude towards the lady was the inheritance of Italy and of a misunderstanding of Petrarch. Petrarch intellectualized the quasi-religious adoration of the old French troubadours; he made it a matter for court Platonists, for lovers of phrase, for men of learning and culture. While it is now believed that the significance of the *Canzoniere* is more subtle and profound, it was the graceful change of attitude that attracted his followers. It was his intellectual gallantry that appealed to Bembo, the purist and the leader of a Petrarchan revival. The art of exaggeration,—the art of conveying hyperbole, not grossly, but in a casquet of 14 lines, carved with exquisite phrase about the cameo of a classical simile, and studded by 'i fior' vermigli e bianchi' as with rubies and pearls;—it was for this that Bembo and his followers imitated the *Canzoniere*: and if Petrarch's own countrymen hardly found

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his spirituality and could in no wise recapture the dewiness of his style, how great was the temptation for the English enthusiasts to be attracted mainly to the bright-coloured sonnets, and to leave aside the more delicate sober poetry! As far as we can trace the rapid and extensive borrowings of the Elizabethan sonneteers with any certainty, this seems to have been the way in which they worked. Wyatt and Surrey translated carefully; their taste was Tudor and grave. But the poets who succeeded them—Barnes, Fletcher, Drayton, Smith, Watson, Daniel, Tofte, Spenser and the rest—were Elizabethan in taste and method. They skimmed over Italian poetry, and borrowed the phrases and ideas which attracted, without more reference to the context. The conceits that sounded, and still sound, well in Italian to an English ear because of the beautiful disposition of the syllables, had a crudeness when translated. The loveliness of

> L' oro e le perle e i fior' vermigli e bianchi

is not to be found in Spenser's catalogue:

> Whence hast thou ivorie, rubies, pearles and gold
> To show her skin, lips, teeth and head so well?

Nor yet in Drummond's:

> Pearl, ivory, coral, diamond, sun and gold,
> Teeth, neck, lips, heart, eyes, hair are to behold.

And there are many more. In all their variations of the 'conceit of immortality' they never came near the perfection of Petrarch's simplest original:

> Dormit' hai bella donna un breve sonno,
> Or se svegliata fra gli spiriti eletti,
> Ove nel suo fattor l' alma s' interna;
> E se mie rime alcuna cosa ponno
> Consecrata fra i nobili intelletti
> Fia del tuo nome qui memoria eterna.

Nor is one of their protestations of the lady's divinity so winged as the earliest:

> Niente in lei terrena era o mortale.

The exact source of each conceit, or even of each group of conceits, may as well be a matter of dispute as the pedigree of a mongrel, but the influence of Italy is omnipresent. To read the sonnets of the two ages side by side is to see the flourish which accompanies each extravagance. Our disgust at the perpetual floods, vows, jewels, mirrors, phœnixes and riddles evaporates as we take each for what it is worth, as an essay, a shaft aimed lightly at a venture, a bullet of the brain.

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The firmness of Drayton's touch overcomes the difficulty of the conceit: he imposes his own mood upon the reader:

> For God's sake walking by the way
> If you my heart do see,
> Either impound it for a stray
> Or send it back to me—

there is a laugh in the desperation which makes it poignant. Again, the 'map-conceit' is as old as the 'phœnix compliment,' but Drayton with a serious perception of its meaning re-fashioned it, and we do not question it:

> My dreadful thoughts been drawn upon my face
> In blotted lines with age's iron pen.

While the sonnet attracted these easily-turned compliments which we should not take too seriously, the Elizabethan narrative poem abounds in conceits which were made in earnest. Harder to justify artistically than the Italian trifles, these errors in taste are the more interesting. It was not by poetic tradition that Marlowe let his fancy run wild in *Hero and Leander*; the conceits of the narrative poem are new, and novelty is their essential quality. They are the experiments of a poet in great similes; revelations of what must be behind the perfection of the address to Helen in *Dr Faustus*.

The medieval dislike of literary responsibility, Chaucer's dependence upon the authority of 'myn auctour,' was disappearing, while the modern admiration of originality was hardly shared by the Elizabethans; adaptation was still a virtue; novelty still meant doing something better than someone else, rather than doing something different from him. Spenser's ambition was to imitate and then to 'overgo the Italians.' The sixteenth century saw the rejuvenation of literature: daily, old things were being made new. It was typical then that in cultivating the narrative poem the Elizabethans were using an old form in a new way. Chaucer was the acknowledged master of Spenser; but he was master not so much of his art as of his inspiration: it was

> By infusion sweet
> Of thine own spirit which doth in me survive.

The demand which the *Faerie Queene* made upon its author was of a new blend. The allegorical personages which satisfied Spenser's moral and artistic senses were not quite the conventional figures of fourteenth-century dream poetry. The coloured world of the *Orlando Furioso*, the mysticism of Ficino, the vivid memory perhaps of pageants witnessed in the streets, or of masques given in the halls of great nobles, each part of his imaginative experience, claimed recognition from the de-

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scriptive poet. The easy similes of Chaucer, translated from Machault or taken wholesale from Dante and Boccaccio, could not satisfy the Elizabethan poet. He experimented, and Belphœbe is the failure where Alma is the triumph. It took nine and a half stanzas to describe Belphœbe, and even when we can recall our attention from the wandering similes, we only see her piece-meal:

> Her yvorie forhead full of bountie brave,
> Like a broad table did it selfe dispred,
> For Love his loftie triumphe to engrave
> And write the battailes of his great godhed:
> All good and honour might therein be read;
> For there their dwelling was. And when she spake,
> Sweete words like dropping honny she did shed;
> And 'twixt the perles and rubins softly brake
> A silver sound that heavenly musicke seemd to make.

But when he comes to Alma, he has learnt the most beautiful control:

> In robe of lilly white she was arrayd
> That from her shoulders to her heele downe raught;
> The train whereof loose far behind her strayd
> Braunchèd with gold and perle most richly wrought,
> And borne of two fair Damsels that were taught
> That service well: her yellow golden heare
> Was trimly woven, and in tresses wrought,
> No other tire she on her head did wear,
> But crownèd with a garland of sweet Rosiere.

The description is elaborate, but it does not offend that economy of time which, according to Lessing, should correspond in poetry with the painter's economy of space. It would probably take just as long to apprehend the figure of Alma from looking at a picture as by reading this stanza.

From the presence of conceits we may detect the real difficulties of the artist. With Spenser, as we might suspect, they lay chiefly in management of the allegory. Whereas in the symbolism of the House of Holiness proportion is duly and beautifully kept, there is something undignified in the elaborate allegory of the House of Alma, where the porter, the tongue, is supported by sixteen warders, the teeth; where Appetite, Concoction and Digestion are steward, cook and kitchen clerk. Such a conceit of thought is rare with Spenser, but with his followers it is continual. It is only too easy to see the reason of the horrors perpetrated by the Fletchers. Such is the action of conscience:

> Thereto she addes a water soveraigne,
> Of wondrous force, and skilfull composition:
> For first she pricks the heart in tender vein,
> Then from those precious drops, and deep contrition
> With lips confession, and with pickled cries,
> Still'd in a broken spirit, sad vapours rise,—
> Exhal'd by sacred fires, and drop through melting eyes.

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It was an easy exercise for the fancy which continued while Quarles stated his thesis:

Man's body 's like a house,

and proceeded to illustrate it.

Marlowe, whose love of the pageantry of dress was only less than his interest in the subtlety of feeling, could only be satisfied by the elaboration of motive and circumstance. It is not surprising that the luxuriance of his taste should attract conceits. Along with the form the old symbolism of the dream-poems had departed, and the poetic world was to be peopled anew with gods and goddesses of Greek legend, the heroes and heroines of Italian stories described very often as they were seen in the pictures or appeared in the masquings of the age. In matters of dress Marlowe was not alone in his princely designs. The Venus in *Glaucus and Scylla*, the Juno of Drayton's *Endimion*, and all their attendants are dressed as for a masque. But if it was a pictorial effect they sought by this display of embroidery and jewels, of gold thread and silk, they slip into conceits, for they do not keep a painter's perspective. Lodge's description of Venus and her son is almost womanish:

The stately roab she ware upon her back
Was lillie white, whereon with cullored silke
Her nimphs had blazd the young Adonis' wrack
And Læda's rape by swan as white as milke...

Already his thoughts have wandered away from the silk to the side legend. So hungry were they for the beauty of detail that they would sacrifice the effect of the whole. Marlowe's description of Hero is famous, but it is conceited:

The outside of her garments were of lawne,
The lining purple silke with guilt starres drawne,
Her wide sleeves greene, and bordered with a grove,
Where Venus in her naked glory strove
To please the careless and disdainful eies
Of proude Adonis that before her lies—
Her kirtle blew, whereon was many a staine
Made with the blood of wretched Lovers slaine.
Upon her head she ware a myrtle wreath,
From whence her vaile reached to the ground beneath.
Her vaile was artificiall flowers and leaves,
Whose workmanship both man and beast deceaves.
Many would praise the sweete smell as she past,
When 't was the odour which her breath forth cast,
And there for honey, Bees have sought in vaine,
And beat from thence, have lighted there againe.

In the description of the subtle changes of emotion, it might be argued that Marlowe had a model in Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida*.

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But the subtlety of Chaucer's tale is inherent, the exposition though elaborate is naïve enough; and, if we may judge from contemporary opinion, Chaucer had not yet come into vogue as a poet of psychology, he was classed uncritically with Gower and Lydgate, and had, to quote Peacham, 'inside a rough rind a sweet kernel.'

In *Dr Faustus* Marlowe was supremely successful in this difficult poetry: there are no conceits in the agonizing procession of thoughts that leave Faustus reeling into the hands of Mephistophilis: the heat of the passion has consumed such things: the lines are jagged and the words sear. Chapman however had not this dramatic power, nor the splendid control which tautens the imagination at a crisis until it rings true. When in his continuation of Marlowe's poem he strains to imagine the conflicting emotions of Hero when Leander leaves her tower, he falls into conceits:

> She rose and to her bed made forced way,
> And layd her down even where Leander lay:
> And all this while the red sea of her blood
> Ebd with Leander: but now turnd the flood,
> And all her fleete of sprites came swelling in
> With child of sail, and did hot fight begin
> With those severe conceits she too much markt
> And here Leander's beauties were embarkt.

The supreme test of the control of the narrative poet came over the matter of personal description. Here, while the sonneteers played variations upon the 'belli occhi' theme of Petrarch, the only model for the more serious poets of love seems to have been the *Song of Songs*. The imagery of that most perfect of love-poems had no good effect upon English literature. We may suspect its influence as early as Chaucer:

> Hir throte, as I have now memoire,
> Seemed a round tour of yvoire

surely owes something to

> Her neck is like the tower of David builded for an armoury,

just as Belphœbe's legs,

> Like two fair marble pillars they were seen
> Who do the temples of the gods support,

must come from

> His legs are as pillars of marble, set upon sockets of fine gold.

Giles Fletcher's terrible lines:

> His cheeks as snowy apples sopped in wine
> Had their red roses quencht in lilies white,
> And like to garden strawberries did shine
> Washt in a bowl of milk,

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may well be a travesty of:

> His eyes are as the eyes of doves by the rivers of waters, washed with milk and fitly set. His cheeks are as a bed of spices, as sweet flowers: his lips like lilies dropping sweet smelling myrrh.

We cannot doubt the influence of the Hebrew poem in Spenser's *Epithalamion*: the lady enters,

> Her goodly eyes lyke saphyres shining bright,
> Her forehead yvory white,
> Her cheekes lyke apples which the sun hath rudded,
> Her lips lyke cherries charming men to bite,
> Her brest lyke to a bowle of creame uncrudded,
> Her paps like lyllis budded,
> Her snowie neck like to a marble towre;
> And all her bodie like a pallace fayre,
> Ascending up, with many a stately stayre.

It had its last flare with Crashaw.

Using the images of the Hebrew poet under a Northern sun, they lost his fierce light and shade, his splendid lyric fervour. Marlowe coming straight to nature did better; of Leander he says:

> His body was as straight as Circe's wand,

and, with a delicacy of observation as fine as Browning's, he describes

> That heavenly path with many a curious dint
> That runs along his backe.

Poets were to learn by experience to discard the crude enumeration of parts of the body and to acquire the art of suggestion. They were to rise from the repulsive Venus who wooed Adonis to the loveliness of Imogen asleep.

With one last type of Elizabethan conceit there is something substantial to recapture. Critics have noted with pain the constant comparison of hair to golden wire. It offends as often in Spenser as in the sonnet sequences to Parthenophil, Phyllis, Fidessa, Chloris and Delia. Even Chaucer in his early work has caught the glint of gold on the hair more effectively than these puppet-makers:

> For every heer upon hir hede,
> Soth to seyn, it was not rede,
> Ne nouther yelw ne brown hit nas;
> Me thoghte, most lyk gold it was.

Surely there is some reason, some latent suggestion, which will give a more artistic justification to this never-failing simile. The solution seems to be in Peele's conception of Absalom: here the conceit is expanded and flowers into a simile of great beauty:

> Thou faire young man, whose haires shine in mine eye
> Like golden wyers of David's yvorie lute.

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In *Love's Labour's Lost* the idea is reversed,

> as sweet and musical
> As bright Apollo's lute strung with his hair,

but the connexion with the *Song of Songs* is still clear. Here the comparison is supremely successful, because it suggests the glint upon wire and not its wiriness. The gleam along taut lute-strings was no doubt as familiar to the Elizabethans as the copper gleam along new telegraph wiring is to the present generation: either simile is beautifully suggestive of the lights in gold or chestnut hair.

Again, hair is compared now and then to goldsmith's work; and perhaps worth noting in this connexion is Leonardo da Vinci's exquisite treatment of hair in his sketches, as composed not of massed light and shade, but of thread upon thread of fine gold or bronze. It is possible that from the art of painting and the goldsmith craft of Italy, perhaps even from the fashions of the age, Elizabethans in their appreciation of hair were conscious of a latent suggestion which is now lost for us in this common conceit.

It is easy enough to explain how the majority of the Elizabethan conceits failed. Few could doubt the infelicity of their attempts to describe weeping. For Marlowe, Hero's eyes were cisterns:

> Foorth from those two translucent cisterns brake
> A stream of liquid pearle which down her face
> Made milk-white paths, whereon the gods might trace
> To Joves high court.

Even Shakespeare was none too happy with the euphuistic courtier of *Lear*:

> You have seen
> Sunshine and rain at once; her smiles and tears
> Were like—a better way!—Those happy smilets
> That played on her ripe lip seem'd not to know
> What guests were in her eyes; which parted thence
> As pearls from diamonds dropped.

We accuse these poets of a lavishness of words, but their economy was worse!

> Her teeth of solid, eyes of liquid pearl.

They were learning to adjust the simile.

For the most part we may say that the besetting sin of the Elizabethans was the over-emphasis of the simile, the tendency to digress upon the comparison. This fault was to be corrected by the next generation. The 'metaphysical' poets regarded the simile as a useful, not as an ornamental, device: and the conceits of their poetry were due to under-emphasis. Trite or extravagant protestations generally attended the 'conceit of immortality' in the sixteenth century: the thought,

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which needed no intellectual effort, and the imagery degenerate proportionately.

But with Donne the thought was abstruse, tortuous, forbidden, but it was rare. The famous simile of the compasses, which becomes precious by familiarity, and the more difficult passage:

> Our eye-beams twisted, and did thread
> Our eyes upon one double string,

which has an illuminating parallel in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*:

> The beams of Phaedrus' eyes are easily mingled with the beams of Lycia's, and spirits are joined to spirits,

are the conceits of experiment: they are images seized upon in haste, and Donne *was* in haste, for thought is quick. While his work cuts directly across the facile love-poetry of his age, it is generally said that Donne revolted against Petrarchanism. He left no word to this effect. The change which he made was radical because it was unconscious. He was not externally minded: and he was inspired with a desire not to reform, but to explore. Standing upon the brink of a new science, he faced backwards, and saw, beyond the social corruption of his day, to the decay of learning where charlatans were practising among the ruins of medieval speculation; he turned inwards to discover the labyrinths of his own mind. He could not walk in the common paths: it was not his nature. He was not read in the Italian sonneteers, but in the schoolmen, the physicians and metaphysicians quoted in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. He had no eyes for physical beauty; when he found a pearl he dropped it scornfully before some swinish snout of ugliness. When in the phrase:

> A bracelet of bright hair about the bone,

he stumbled upon loveliness, the image was still subsidiary to the thought:

> Beauty a convenient type may be to figure it.

He vowed himself to an intellectual Beauty:

> For he who loveliness within
> Hath found, all outward loathes,

is not true for all men, but it was true for Donne. In trying to be independent of the symbolism of physical beauty, he trod a thornier path than Shelley. At the pitch of his power, he is above the things of the eye or ear:

> But we by a love so far refin'd
> That our souls know not what it is,
> Inter-assurèd of the mind
> Care less eyes, hands and lips to miss.

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The conceits of the sonneteers which are typical of the sixteenth century are essentially anonymous: we can judge nothing from them of the individuality of the poet. In the seventeenth century, the position is reversed. While 'tears and blood' are pitfalls for the greatest; while they all use 'sugred' for 'sweet,' and 'virgin-crumbs' for the Innocents; while in the work of Vaughan and Crashaw we may trace the influences of Donne and Herbert, the majority of the conceits which startle us in these poets are interesting because they reveal the individuality of their author.

A metaphor, which for grotesqueness might be called a conceit, shows Donne as living in another world, illustrating the things of this life from the sights to which he had accustomed himself by an imaginative contemplation of the things of the grave:

> Some coffin'd in their cabbins lye, equally
> Griev'd that they are not dead, and yet must dye;
> And as sin-burd'ned soules from graves will creepe
> At the last day, some forth their cabbins peepe.

It is a reversed simile, and Donne's turn for allegory and symbolism was reversed. Lost in spiritual speculation, and in full but precarious apprehension of some metaphysical subtlety, he sought to communicate his experience by the oddest figures of geometry, alchemy, or ballistics:

> And so my soul, more earnestly released,
> Will outstrip hers; as bullets flown before
> A later bullet may o'ertake, the power being more.

George Herbert, on the other hand, had a profound simplicity of intellect. Feeling the sanctity of all life, the growth of a plant, the relation of colours in a pavement, the motion of wheels, every design or accident of nature had its immediate reflexion in the imaginary spiritual universe which he was building day by day. With one so practical and yet so quick-fancied, it is useless to demand the powers of self-criticism which reject conceits. The æsthetic value of symbolism meant nothing to Herbert:

> Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright,
> The bridall of the earth and skie,
> The dew shall weep thy fall to-night;
> For thou must die.
>
> Onely a sweet and vertuous soul
> Like season'd timber, never gives,
> But though the whole world turn to coal
> Then chiefly lives.

The first and last stanzas of this poem are the results of the same mood. He wrote for himself; he taught his own soul. His faculties, we must believe, were so ordered that his sense of the ludicrous was lost in his

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appetite for allegory. He was actively minded, always arguing from the illustration to the meaning. The stress is invariably upon the spiritual side of the comparison: we are too sluggish in our appreciation to linger upon the image. Herbert the saint, as we know him from Izaak Walton, exercised himself in deliberate self-explanation; but as a poet he inherited only partially the divine tact of the Elizabethans. He was quick to perceive the links, but slow to relinquish the chain of allegory. The exquisite brevity of Herrick was strange to him:

> When a daffodil I see
> Hanging down its head t'ward me,
> Guess I then what I must be.
> First I must decline my head,
> Secondly, I must be dead,
> Lastly, safely buried.

Herbert could not let go like this. The prose counterpart of Herbert's conceit is to be found in one of Donne's sermons:

> This is the net, with which if ye be willing to be caught, that is to lay down all your hopes and affiances in the gracious promises of his Gospel, then you are fishes reserved for that great Marriage Feast which is the Kingdom of Heaven; where whosoever is a dish is a guest too; whosoever is served in at the table sits at the table.

Such was the ludicrous result of expanding the metaphor of his text, 'Ye shall be fishers of men.'

But in poetry the relation between Donne and Herbert is reversed. The conceit which we perceive in Herbert's clockwork stanza:

> So in thy ebony box
> Thou dost enclose us till the day
> Put our amendment in our way,
> And gives new springs to our disordered clocks;

and Donne's simile of the compasses are not of the same order. The one offends because it is too ingenious: at the other we stumble because it is too simple. Herbert was arguing from the physical to the spiritual: Donne, certain of the spiritual experience, was searching for the clearest illustration by which he could communicate it. Where Donne found poetry too difficult, Herbert found it too easy.

Henry Vaughan, the Silurist, is the least 'conceited' of seventeenth-century poets. Here and there in his amorous verse the finery of the sonneteers shows up in tarnished shreds. Trenchant similes, in the manner of Donne, startle us now and then:

> Religion was
> Ray'd into thee, like beams into a glass;

twisted allegory in *The Shower* and *The Lamp*, and the almost blatant comparison:

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Heaven is like a plain watch
That winds all ages up,

remind us that he called himself a disciple of Herbert. But these lapses from grace are soon counted: their rarity is as significant as their appearance. Though Donne and Herbert had housed his genius, he did not follow in their steps, but fled along paths of his own. From a fleet-footed fancy, his imagination took wing. Herbert is a moralist, weaving parables: Vaughan is a mystic, and he sees

In each shade that there grows
An angel talking with a man.

Walk with him a little way and suddenly he is 'out of the body.' The green path, the 'primros'd way' down which he was going becomes on a sudden some pathway of the mind, strange objects appear, and he drifts into a dream. The extreme felicity of some of his lines can only be described by a phrase of Dr Johnson's, they 'tremble upon the brink of meaning'; the stars for him

Are that city's shining spires
We travel to.

Through the pin prick of a metaphor, we see the New Jerusalem in the moonlight. But the rapidity of his mind which saved him from the super-subtleties of Donne and the painstaking allegory of Herbert still had its dangers. There is a carelessness of technique and a lack of finish in some of Vaughan's verse which amounts to a conceit. Long lists of tentative or ecstatic similes blur our vision: the metaphors, packed too closely, smudge. Into two lines, he can pack his best and his worst:

Stars shut up shop: mists pack away
And the moon mourns.

Such a fall makes us suspect that all his poetry is precipitous, but it is not so: his conceits after all are only the pebbles scattered by his course along the ridges of that mountain which overlooks two countries.

The conceits of Donne died with him; but the conceits of Herbert might have seeded themselves widely over English literature but for a poet of extravagance who illuminated and consumed them all. In Richard Crashaw, born the latest, and dying the youngest, of the metaphysical poets, there was an irregular, dangerous energy that set fire to the smouldering conceits of his contemporaries. He gave spiritual advice with the exaggeration of worldly compliment; he made songs not to his Mistress' eye-brow, but to the tears of the Magdalene, in which as he exceeded the sonneteers in fervour, so he outstripped them in conceit. *The Weeper* is beyond disgust: it moves us to laughter; we

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regard it—to use one of his own notorious phrases—with 'one consistent solid smile.' His genius was a startling blend of Elizabethan exuberance, Jacobean mysticism, and that love of compression and intellectual point which distinguishes the poets of the Restoration:

> True Hope 's a glorious lunatic, and her chase
> The God of Nature in the fields of Grace.

These lines were provoked by Cowley, who disparaged Hope in an Ode; but the daring of the simile suggests Webster; the allegory, Herbert, and who else before Dryden could have turned the antithesis better? We spoke of Vaughan's imagination as moving swiftly, but the imagination of Crashaw flashed. There is no question of following his thought: we see his meaning on the instant or not at all. The ghostly allegories of Herbert never crossed Crashaw's vision: from first to last he was an Epigrammatist.

From the Cambridge reprint of his works, it is easy to see how he was gripped by certain conceits. In the famous epigram twice printed from *Steps to the Temple*:

> They have left thee naked, Lord; O that they had!
> This garment too I would they had deny'd.
> Thee with thyself they have too richly clad,
> Opening the purple wardrobe in thy side:
> Oh never could there be a garment too good
> For thee to weare, but this of thine own blood:

it is the metaphor that offends. But Crashaw, absorbed in the paradox which he had found, was careless of its temerity. The suddenness of the phrase 'opening the purple wardrobe in thy side' which is so shocking to us, satisfied his epigrammatic sense: to serve the intellect, he will offend the imagination. In *The Teare*, which is a first sketch for *The Weeper*, one of the most difficult stanzas is repeated unaltered in all but one line:

> Such the maiden gem
> By the purpling vine put on,
> Peeps from her parent stemme
> And blushes *on the bridegroom sun*
> The watry blossom of thine eyne
> Ripe, will make the richer wine.

Crashaw evidently felt that he had perfected its expression: but he had contracted the thought which in itself is conceited until it is barely intelligible. In another pair of verses from the same poems, we see an earlier stage in his process of elaborating and then contracting his metaphors:

> O 'tis not a tear,
> 'Tis a star about to drop
> From thine eye its sphere;

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The sun will stoope and take it up.
Proud will his sister be to wear
This thine eye's jewel in her ear.

If we follow quickly, this is simple enough: but in the same number of lines in *The Weeper*, the turns of thought and their corresponding metaphors are doubled:

Heavens thy fair eyes be;
Heavens of ever-falling stars.
'Tis seed-time still with thee;
And stars thou sow'st, whose harvest dares
Promise the earth to countershine
Whatever makes heav'ns forehead fine.

To believe that this habit of epigrammatizing was at the root of all Crashaw's most interesting conceits is not to say that he was consciously striving after epigram, on every occasion: but rather that by practising them continually as a literary and devotional exercise, the form, becoming familiar to his mind, was the one into which his thoughts naturally fell. He was hardly content with a thought until he had found that angle from which its paradox might be seen; nor was he satisfied with that expression of his thought which did not pack pun and metaphor into an antithetical couplet as neatly as possible. His intellect circled and swooped; it was incapable of direct flight. It was erratic in its aim, but constant in method. Where in *The Weeper* he describes profitless circles in the air, in the *Epigrammata Sacra* he often strikes perfectly. In the first lines of the Elegy upon the Death of Mr Stanninow, he must have satisfied himself as perfectly as he astonishes us:

Hath aged winter, fledg'd with feathered rain
To frozen Caucasus his flight now tane?

The extreme compression of the metaphor is justified by the one word 'fledg'd,' which, without the suspicion of a pun, retains its double sense, and completing the metaphor of winter as a bird, supplements also his beautiful perception of fine rain as feathery. Too often, however, the trouble in following his most brilliant similes or his most violent metaphors is not that our memories are too short, but that we have any memory at all. While our ears appreciate the effect of *Music's Duell* how are we to follow the rapidity and compression of images here?—

Then starts she suddenly into a throng
Of short thick sobs, whose thundring volleys float
And roll themselves over her lubric throat
In panting murmurs, 'still'd out of her Breast,
That ever bubbling spring; the sugar'd nest
Of her delicious soul, that there does lie
Bathing in streams of liquid melody;

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> Music's best seed-plot, when in ripen'd airs
> A Golden-headed Harvest fairly rears
> His Honey-dropping tops, plough'd by her breath
> Which there reciprocally laboureth
> In that sweet soil.

His thought moves in a series of prodigious leaps; it is not safe to look behind.

What may be called the conceit of contraction is new with Crashaw; it extended even to his use of words. It gave him his finest compound epithets, 'star-pav'd' of the heavens, 'sweet-lip'd' of instruments, 'silver-guarded' of the sea; but it also led him astray. On the beautiful stanza of the Nativity Hymn, the third line seems a tragic blot:

> Welcome. Though nor to gold nor silk
> To more than Cæsar's birth-right is;
> Two sister-seas of virgin-milk,
> With many a rarely temper'd kiss
> That breathes at once both Maid and Mother,
> Warms in the one, cools in the other.

It will in no way excuse the conceit, but it may explain the poet's unconsciousness of it if we believe that he was using the word 'seas' idiomatically, disregarding its latent suggestion. In his frequent use of the word 'nest,' I do not believe that the image of a bird's nest presented itself to him: the word rhymed conveniently and meant generically 'an abiding place,' just as we should say 'home.' In the same way 'sugr'd,' so common with seventeenth-century poets, suggests only 'sweetness'; and 'sea' may well have had a transferred usage, just as 'spring' would have in the poetry of to-day. Vaughan in calling the Innocents 'virgin-crummes' shows the same disregard for the suggestive power of words. For Crashaw we have an even longer list of words, such as 'womb,' 'tomb,' 'grave,' 'day,' 'death' and 'fount,' which he used as it were ritualistically and in a colourless sense of his own. While it is a proof of his greatness that he had this peculiar idiom of speech, it is also significant of his weakness that this idiom must be re-learned and explained.

The experiments of one age are the wisdom of the next: and the poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries wrought much even by its failures. By the trial of conceits, the art of comparison was worked into the language. Between the two extremes of the Elizabethan over-emphasis and the Jacobean carelessness of simile, great poetry was to emerge. Above the decay of a hundred insects, one butterfly justifies the waste by its beauty. The conceits which have since appeared in English poetry, the few poor slips of Keats', Browning's

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most vicious puns, and Meredith's metaphors which are mixed with the 'furor' of Crashaw,

> Lips sugared to let forth the little snakes
> Of shiny lustres ringing elfin bells
> About a story of the naked flesh,

these things can be dismissed individually; they were the growing pains of Keats, Browning's mischief, the loneliness or the haste of Meredith. Crashaw was the last martyr for the poetical heresy of the conceit.

The poetic diction of the eighteenth century is not 'conceited'; it is too lavishly imitative of Milton; it slinks behind authority; the mood which it produces in the reader is cold—or, better, to use its own favourite adjective—it is gelid. But a conceit, if there is any virtue in the term, implies the gusto and excitement of creation; it is a novelty, an experiment. To study the conceit is to examine the reverse side of Elizabethan and Jacobean poetry (the signs of workmanship only increase admiration for the embroidery itself) and establishes our belief that the mind that had never entertained a conceit would hardly have lighted upon the magnificent idiom of *Macbeth* or *Comus*.

KATHLEEN M. LEA.

HIGH WYCOMBE.

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WILLIAM BALDWIN.

THE *Mirror for Magistrates*, apart from its *Induction*, has been condemned by modern critics not only for its insufferably trite moralising and medieval spirit, but for its monotonous, jog-trot metre and its lack of dignity of style. It is interesting to compare the opinions of the work expressed by contemporary writers. The *Mirror* is praised by Sir Philip Sidney as being 'meetly furnished of beautiful parts' and is ranked by him with Surrey's *Lyrics*, the *Shepherd's Calendar*, and Chaucer's *Troilus*. Its style is praised by Hake in his *Touchstone of Wit* (1588), by Harington in his translation of Ariosto's *Orlando* (1591), and by Marston in *Certain Satires* (1598). Innumerable quotations from it occur in that sixteenth-century anthology, *England's Parnassus*, and its popularity continued into the seventeenth century. It is quoted by Raleigh in his *History of the World* (1614), and is praised as the best or second best work for choice of vocabulary and propriety of diction by Bolton in his *Hypercritica* (1620). Such was the opinion of the sixteenth century; and the name that was chiefly associated with the *Mirror* by the readers of the time was that of William Baldwin, as some lines written by Jasper Heywood in 1560, the year following the first publication of the *Mirror*, show:

> There hear thou shalt a great report
> Of Baldwin's worthy name
> Whose Mirror doth of Magistrates
> Proclaim eternal fame[1].

It was not merely through the *Mirror for Magistrates* that Baldwin's fame was established in his own day. His *Moral Philosophy* (1547)[2] was immensely popular. Only a few years after its first appearance it was seized upon by another writer, Thomas Paulfreyman, who published it with alterations and additions in his own name and continued to publish it again and again in spite of the original author's protests[3]. At the same time Baldwin supervised editions and, after the first, nine others under one name or the other appeared before 1600. Its popularity at the end of the sixteenth century was commented on by Nashe who,

[1] From the Prologue to the translation of Seneca's *Thyestes*.

[2] Anthony à Wood (see below, p. 409, note 1) ascribes to Baldwin books on *The Use of Adages* and *Similes and Proverbs* without realising—it would seem—that these are part of the *Moral Philosophy*.

[3] Baldwin's *Moral Philosophy*, edition of 1555 (?), the Dedication, 'I thought nothing less than to have any other man plough with my oxen, or to alter or augment my doings.'

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in *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, after praising it for its smooth plain form, remarks that the moral sentences 'now are all snatched up for painters' posies[1].' Another book of Baldwin's, *Beware the Cat*, also attracted considerable attention. Written in 1553, it was not printed for several years, presumably on account of its religious satire. When it appeared in 1561 both it and its author were violently attacked[2]. Several other editions appeared and so well was this book also known at the end of the sixteenth century that Nashe alludes to it (again in *Have with you to Saffron Walden*) without direct reference either to book or author. He is mentioning cats who speak, and among them we find one called Isegrim, a name obviously taken from Baldwin's book. Presumably the allusion was grasped readily at the time, but to-day it is missed even by Nashe's most recent editor, Dr McKerrow, who explains 'Isegrim' as the name of the wolf in the old fable[3].

Beware the Cat was not the only book which brought Baldwin into conflict with the licensing authorities. *The Funeralles of King Edward the Sixth*, also written in 1553, was not printed until 1560. Many men, Baldwin says, had attempted to print it 'but such was the evil that it could not be brought to pass.' The *Mirror for Magistrates*, too, met with much opposition. It was suppressed altogether in 1554, actually during the printing[4]. In 1559, with great difficulty, permission to print was obtained, and then only on condition of the suppression of certain poems, it would seem[5].

In his own day, then, Baldwin's works were very well known. His fame seems to have begun early in life—even before he left the University—and to have continued several years after his death, indeed through the greater part of the sixteenth century. Little as he is known to-day, it is clear that in his own day he must have been well known, not only as a writer but as a man. One of the most striking things about him is the variety of his activities and of the circles in which he moved.

We first hear of him at Oxford where he supplicated for a Bachelor's degree in 1532[6]. Here he seems to have made his mark both as a poet

[1] Nashe's letter 'To all Christian Readers,' prefixed to *Have with you to Saffron Walden* (Nashe's *Works*, edited McKerrow, III, 20, l. 20).

[2] In a broadside entitled *A short answer to the book called Beware the Cat*, published 1561 and reprinted in Huth's *Fugitive Tracts*.

[3] Nashe's *Works*, edited McKerrow, IV, p. 327.

[4] In the Dedicatory Epistle of the 1559 edition Baldwin writes, 'The work was begun and part of it printed in Queen Mary's time, but hindered by the Lord Chancellor that then was.' Two duplicate leaves of this edition are to be found in the British Museum.

[5] See *The Library*, December 1922, article on 'The Licensing of the *Mirror for Magistrates*.'

[6] Register of admissions to the University of Oxford.

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and as a scholar. Anthony à Wood[1] tells us that he was a noted poet before he left the University, and his distinction as a scholar receives mention from his contemporary, Bale[2], the author of *King John*. It is easy to guess some of Baldwin's friends at Oxford. Possibly he made here his first acquaintance with the men who were to be his lifelong associates, George Ferrers and Sir Thomas Chaloner. Possibly here, too, he met some of the younger members of a group with which he came into close contact later—John Heywood's circle; William Forrest and William Rastell, who, like Baldwin, later became a printer, were at Oxford at this time. Probably, again, it was here he met Surrey. In his *Moral Philosophy* Baldwin incorporates, without acknowledgment, some of Surrey's best-known lines—*The Means to Attain a Happy Life*[3]. As the poem was not printed elsewhere until ten years later in *Tottel's Miscellany*, Baldwin must have seen it in manuscript and it is not unlikely that he knew Surrey personally.

We have no definite information of Baldwin's movements on leaving Oxford, but it seems probable that he next appeared in the rôle of a soldier. The two friends with whom we so frequently find him were, we know, occupied in the wars. Chaloner[4] came to the front politically at the end of Henry VIII's reign. He was taken into favour by Somerset (Hertford, as he then was), accompanied him to Scotland, fought at the Battle of Pinkie and was knighted on the battle-field. Ferrers[5], too, had served in the wars against Scotland and Ireland as 'a gentleman of my lord Protector's and one of the commissioners of carriages in the army.' It seems certain that before 1553 Baldwin had spent some time in Ireland; *Beware the Cat* shows an intimate knowledge of Irish customs and traditions, and we hear of a play of his 'on the state of Ireland[6].'

However this may have been, in 1549 we find Baldwin occupied in a very different way. In 1547 his *Moral Philosophy* had been printed by Edward Whitchurch. This is the first indication we have of Baldwin's association with that well-known Protestant printer, and with the band

[1] *Athenæ Oxonienses*, new edition by Bliss, vol. I, col. 341.

[2] Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium Catalogus*, part 2, p. 108.

[3] *Oxford Book of Verse*, No. 41. It is, perhaps, of interest that Baldwin gives a slightly different reading in the first line. Whereas *Tottel's Miscellany* reads:

Martial, the things that do attain
The happy life be these I find,

Baldwin reads:

My friend, the things that do attain
The happy life be these I find.

[4] See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Sir Thomas Chaloner.

[5] See *D.N.B.*, George Ferrers.

[6] A. Feuillerat, *Documents relating to the Revels at Court in the time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary* (for 1552–3).

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of Protestant writers and translators to which Whitchurch belonged. In 1549 Baldwin describes himself as 'Servant with Edward Whitchurch[1].' The nature of his connexion with the press we do not precisely know. No doubt, as Anthony à Wood[2] says, he was one of the scholars who pursued the trade of printing in order to forward the Reformation. Probably he was first employed as corrector of the press, a situation for which his literary attainments peculiarly fitted him, and afterwards chose to qualify as a compositor. In this way Baldwin must have come into contact with many interesting men. He was with Whitchurch from 1547 or 1549[3] to 1553[4], and during this period some of the latter's most noteworthy work was done. Doubtless Baldwin, in this way, was acquainted with Thomas Sternhold, to whom he paid a tribute in the *Ballads of Solomon*[5]. *The Psalms* were published by Whitchurch in 1548 or 1549 and, as corrector of the press, Baldwin was, no doubt, concerned with their production. Whitchurch[6] was at the time also publishing the works of Nicholas Udall, Protestant translator as well as dramatist, and of Bishop Hooper. Again Baldwin would, undoubtedly, come into contact with John Rogers, the translator of *Matthew's Bible*, who lived for some time in 1548–9 as Whitchurch's guest in his house in Fleet Street, and whose book on the *Interim* was published by his host. John Old[7] was also about 1549 a corrector of the press for Whitchurch and therefore Baldwin's colleague. Old was a friend of such noted Protestants as Becon and Robert Wisedome, and was himself a Biblical translator. That Baldwin was an active member of this Protestant circle is shown by the fact that he took his share in the work of translation, and produced in 1549 his *Ballads of Solomon*. Baldwin was less fortunate than the other translators in his choice of a subject. Had he chosen the Psalms his book would certainly have been better known, for, though he could not, perhaps, have equalled Sternhold, one critic at least has main-

[1] See the last page of Baldwin's *Ballads of Solomon*, 1549, 'Imprinted at London by William Baldwin, servant with Edward Whitchurch.'

[2] See p. 409, note 1 above.

[3] Baldwin was certainly with Whitchurch in 1549 (see note 1 above). Since his *Moral Philosophy* was published by Whitchurch in 1547 it seems likely Baldwin was with him then. Perhaps more conclusive is the fact that some verses by Baldwin are prefixed to Langton's *Treatise orderly declaring the Principal Parts of Physic*, published by Whitchurch in 1547.

[4] Whitchurch gave up printing in 1553.

[5] In the Dedication of the Book to the King he says that he wishes that his songs might replace 'the bawdy ballads of lecherous love' that were only too common, and continues, 'I speak not this of these ballads alone, but of all other of like matter, as psalms and hymns—To which your Majesty hath already given a notable ensample in causing the psalms brought into fine English metre by your godly disposed servant Thomas Sternhold to be sung openly before your grace in the hearing of all your subjects.'

[6] See *D.N.B.*, Edward Whitchurch.

[7] Herbert's edition of Ames' *Typographical Antiquities*, under 'Old.'

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tained that his versification is far more smooth and polished than that of the generality of Scriptural translators[1].

On the death of Edward VI Whitchurch, like many other Protestant printers—Grafton, John Day and William Copland, for example—gave up printing and was succeeded at the 'Sign of the Sun' by the Catholic printer John Wayland. Though Baldwin had shown himself strongly Protestant he was not affected, possibly because he was in a subordinate position. He may have stayed on at the 'Sign of the Sun' under Wayland, even until Wayland's death in 1558[2]. However, his career as a printer is of little interest to us after Whitchurch's retirement; probably it was of little interest to Baldwin himself, except as his ability as a compositor proved helpful to him in his work as a dramatist. Moreover, we know that Baldwin had not broken off his connexion with Whitchurch, for Whitchurch worked with him in the production of the *Mirror for Magistrates* and it was he who tried to print the *Mirror* in 1554.

From 1552 to 1556 Baldwin's chief work was at Court in connexion with the Court Revels, and we find him in a group which at first sight seems entirely different from that in which we last saw him. Chief in this group is George Ferrers, who for his wisdom and learning, we are told, had been appointed to the office of Master of the King's Pastimes, the old office of Lord of Misrule, newly revived in order that the Christmas festivities in 1551 and 1552 might be conducted with unusual splendour. The reason for the magnificence of these festivities was the Council's desire to 'remove fond talk out of men's mouths'—talk of the imprisonment of the King's uncle, Somerset—and to revive the drooping spirits of the King. So well did Ferrers carry out his mission that the entertainment pleased not only the people but the Council and the young King himself who rewarded him liberally[3]. No doubt Baldwin shared in these rewards. He was certainly at Court, taking part in the Christmas festivities in 1552[4], and it seems probable that he was there

[1] Anthony à Wood (see page 409, note 1).

[2] That Baldwin remained in the printing trade can be seen from the fact that his name is in the list of 'freemen of the mystery or art of stationery of our City of London' in the charter of 1556 (see Arber's *Transcript of the Registers of the Stationers' Company*, vol. I, Introduction, p. xxviii). Since Wayland is the only printer with whom we know he had relations during the years 1553 to 1558 (apart from Whitchurch) it seems likely that he may have acted as corrector of the press to Wayland.

[3] See J. P. Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, 1831 edition, vol. I, pp. 149 ff. and Nichols, *Literary Remains of Edward VI*.

[4] In *Beware the Cat* Baldwin writes: 'It chanced that at Christmas last, I was at Court with Master Ferrers, then Master of the King's Majesty's Pastimes, about setting forth of certain Interludes, which for the King's recreation we had devised and were in learning.... It pleased Master Ferrers to make me his bed fellow, and upon a pallet cast upon the rushes in his own chamber to lodge Master Willot and Master Streamer, the one his astronomer, the other his divine.' As Feuillerat has pointed out, the reference to the

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in 1551 as well[1]. Unfortunately none of Baldwin's dramatic works have survived, but that he had some reputation among his contemporaries as a dramatist is seen from the fact that Bale[2] mentions comedies as among his writings. One wonders if Bale and Baldwin were acquainted. There is a curious similarity about them. Both were living and writing at the same time, and they seem to have died possibly in the same year; both were in orders at some time; both were staunch Protestants; both were dramatists with a distinct moralising bent; both contributed to the growth of the historical drama, Bale through the use of the didactic interlude for historical subjects, Baldwin possibly through his plays, certainly through the historical 'tragedies' of the *Mirror for Magistrates*. Perhaps Baldwin, like Bale, aimed at advancing the cause of the Reformation through his plays, as he certainly did through many of his works. It is quite certain, at any rate, that Baldwin's work at Court consisted in more than simply preparing theatrical exhibitions[3]; one of his plays, *Love and Live*, which was produced at Court at Christmas 1556[4], was an elaborate and costly affair. It needed fifty-two performers and took three hours to act. Its subject, as Baldwin states in a letter to the Master of the Revels, was a discourse of the whole world, and we gather that the play was something after the type of the old Moralities. But this play belongs to a period later than that with which we are now concerned. At this time we hear of a play of the state of Ireland[5], evidently, too, of the Morality type for it certainly had a Devil. This play of Baldwin's is continually connected in the Revels Accounts with a 'play of children' by John Heywood. The first reference to Heywood is on February 28, 1552–3, the time when, as Dr A. W. Reed has shown[6], his second period at Court was beginning. The last reference to Ferrers is in the Christ-

astronomer and the divine shows that Baldwin is writing of Christmas 1552, for in a letter written by Ferrers at the time enumerating his needs for his productions he mentions, among other people, an astronomer and a divine (Feuillerat, *Documents relating to the Revels at Court* (1552-3)).

[1] Feuillerat adds, moreover, that we do not find mention of Baldwin's name in the accounts of the previous year. Nevertheless, it seems probable that Baldwin was at Court in 1551. We know that an Irish story was being prepared at the time, as Irish properties were required, and this story may well have been the beginning of Baldwin's play on Ireland.

[2] See page 409, note 2. Bale mentions the *Moral Philosophy* and 'comoedias etiam aliquot.' It is, of course, impossible to say whether he is referring to the Court entertainments or to other plays.

[3] See *D.N.B.*, William Baldwin.

[4] See Feuillerat. An account of the play is given in a letter written by Baldwin himself to Sir Thomas Cawerden, and dated 'this Tuesday, Christmas Eve.' This is in 1555, but, as Feuillerat points out, the play was certainly not produced earlier than Christmas 1556, for an endorsement at the end of the letter reads, 'the note of a play and the names of the players An° 1556 Revels.'

[5] See Feuillerat (1552–3).

[6] See 'John Heywood and his friends,' in *The Library*, July–October 1917.

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mas period 1552–3, and as Lord of Misrule his reign would probably end on Twelfth Night. It is interesting to find Baldwin working on intimate terms first with George Ferrers and then with no less a man than John Heywood[1].

Also connected with the Christmas festivities at the end of Edward VI's reign was Sir Thomas Chaloner who took part in one dialogue at any rate[2]. No doubt Baldwin saw a good deal of Chaloner at the time, for the two of them and Ferrers collaborated also in the production of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, as we shall see later. Chaloner was a friend of Sir John Cheke (who was tutor to the King and to the Princess Elizabeth), and of Haddon and other scholars of the day, especially of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh. We have seen that both Baldwin and Ferrers were notable scholars and it seems natural to conclude that they, as well as Chaloner, had many relations with Cheke and Haddon. It is an interesting fact that one of Baldwin's books—*The Funeralles*—was published in 1610 under a different title, the author's name being given as Cheke[3], suggesting that among Cheke's papers had been found an imperfect manuscript copy of Baldwin's book.

While Baldwin, Ferrers and, possibly, Chaloner were collaborating in dramatic work they were also collaborating in the production of the *Mirror for Magistrates*. Baldwin was the editor, and probably wrote a great many of the poems; Ferrers appears to have been the next most important of the group in this respect; Chaloner was certainly helping. Another helper was the printer, Whitchurch, who was partly responsible for the idea. We know what Baldwin's connexion with Whitchurch had been and the latter's association in the work would be enough to warn us that perhaps the *Mirror* was not the innocent series of tales, continuing Lydgate's *Falls of Princes*, that it appears at first sight. On close examination the *Mirror* proves to be the work of a strongly

[1] It does not seem possible to say when Baldwin's work in connexion with the Court Revels came to an end. Apart from the direct reference to him in the accounts of 1552–3, and the indirect reference in those of 1551–2, the only other time we hear of him is the letter about *Love and Live* (see p. 412, note 4). It is difficult to tell from this what was Baldwin's connexion with the Court. He says that the play is 'meet as it is supposed to be played before the Queen,' but he seems by no means dependent on the Master of the Revels for its production. 'There be of the Inns of Court (he writes) that desire to have the setting forth thereof, but because your mastership now three years passed offered in a sort to set forth the sum of my rude devices, I thought it good to know your mind therein, before I gave answer to any other.' This suggests that Baldwin was not acting in an official capacity and possibly had not been doing so since 1552 or 1553.

[2] See Feuillerat (1551–2).

[3] *A Royal Elegy. Briefly describing the virtuous reign and happy (though immature) death of the most mighty and renowned Prince, King Edward the Sixth.* On the title-page the information is given that the book was written by Sir John Cheke and 'never before published.' The identity of the two books was pointed out by Nichols in the *Literary Remains of King Edward VI* (Roxburghe Club, 1857).

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Protestant party, partisans of Somerset[1]. It contains a passionate eulogy of Somerset and a violent attack on his enemy, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. Somerset is quite clearly referred to under the title of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Gardiner under that of Cardinal Beaufort. Gloucester is pointedly spoken of as Protector, the good Duke, the uncle of the King, and the events of his life are told so as to bring out the parallelism with the events of Somerset's life. Beaufort, as Chancellor of the Realm and Bishop of Winchester, can hardly be other than Gardiner. Gardiner himself realized the satire, we can safely conjecture, for he stopped the first attempt at publication in 1554. The poems containing these satires were written by Ferrers, but Baldwin had the responsibility of being editor, and his own poems dealing with the same period of history adopt the same tone.

So here we see Baldwin again, in a group of men, strongly Protestant, and, moreover, supporters of Somerset. Mention has been made before of Ferrers', and possibly Baldwin's, connexion with Somerset[2]. Baldwin, too, had adopted Somerset as his patron when he dedicated his *Moral Philosophy* to the Protector's son, and he had paid a tribute to the Protector in that dedication. Chaloner's connexion with Somerset was very close[3]: Somerset had used him in such confidential business as the procuring of evidence against Lord Seymour, his brother and rival, and Chaloner in 1551 had been one of the witnesses against Somerset's enemy, Gardiner. No doubt there were other Court poets of like opinions. Moreover, one supposes that Baldwin and his friends were backed by men of more prominence in politics. Baldwin tells us in the preface to the *Mirror* that the idea for the work had been suggested to Whitchurch by 'many both honourable and worshipfull,' and it is not difficult to guess who some of these were. Among them, probably, were Chaloner's friends, Sir William Cecil, Sir John Cheke and Haddon. Cheke[4] was a staunch Protestant, an upholder of Somerset and an enemy of Gardiner. When, as Greek lecturer at Cambridge, he had taught the new method of pronunciation he had been opposed by a strong party who had sent a complaint to Gardiner, the Chancellor of the University. Gardiner had confirmed the old regulations and had declared that all who did not obey should be expelled from the Senate. Cheke had, therefore, reluctantly submitted. Again, Cheke was one of those accused of having given bad counsel to Somerset. Sir William Cecil[5], too, owed much to Somerset,

[1] See page 408, note 5.
[2] See above, p. 409.
[3] See *D.N.B.*, Thomas Chaloner.
[4] See *D.N.B.*, Sir John Cheke.
[5] See *D.N.B.*, Sir William Cecil.

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though he later took service under Northumberland. Neither Cheke nor Cecil appeared in a very flattering light during the few months of the sordid intrigue at the end of Edward VI's reign. Though outwardly supporting Northumberland their real sympathies remained with Somerset. Cecil, says Fuller, 'had secret counter-endeavours against the strain of the Court herein, and privately advanced his rightful intention against the aforesaid Duke's (Northumberland's) ambition.' It seems probable that these men and others like them, who dared not express their real sympathies in any other way, did so indirectly through the *Mirror for Magistrates.*

In speaking of Baldwin's association with the politicians of the day one must mention a friendship that he formed either at this time or a year or two later with the one writer of the *Mirror for Magistrates* who is really remembered to-day—Thomas Sackville, later Lord Buckhurst. Sackville may actually have been one of the group at Court for, though he was very young at the time, he was undoubtedly precocious. He certainly joined the group later. We know that a year or two later, when the first attempt to publish the *Mirror* failed, he planned a work which should take the place of the *Mirror* without having its objectionable features[1]. Baldwin speaks of Sackville as a friend of his[2] and it seems natural to conclude that he was one of those who were disappointed in the attempt to produce the *Mirror* in 1554. Whenever he joined the group, however, he is certainly typical of it in his twofold interest in literature and politics.

But Baldwin's time at Court was not by any means all given up to such serious business as politics, or even entertaining the young King, which was, no doubt, anything but a very grave business when led by the gay and masterful Lord of Misrule. As we read *Beware the Cat,* which was written at the time, we can see Baldwin laughing with Ferrers and the other Court wits over the quaint Irish legends and queer Irish customs. We see Baldwin himself in the rôle of a wit, as he tells his droll tales to his fellow actors

[1] The *Induction* shows that a complete series of poems was planned. It has been suggested that this series was the *Mirror for Magistrates*, the conception and commencement of which were due to Sackville. This idea is, however, in opposition to the express words of Baldwin in the 1559 edition, where it is clear that the originators of the work were Baldwin himself, Ferrers and Whitchurch. Moreover the *Induction* was not printed until the 1563 edition: if it was intended to introduce the work there seems no reason why it should not have appeared in 1559. Thus it seems probable that, after the vain attempt to print in 1554, Sackville started on a work of his own which he later abandoned either from pressure of political business or because the opposition to the *Mirror* had been withdrawn.

[2] The *Mirror for Magistrates*, 1563 edition, the Address to the Reader prefacing the second part.

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at night in Ferrers' bedchamber. The laughter is not always entirely good-natured, it is true: there is much religious satire: the comic tales are frequently of Roman Catholic priests, and the quaint epigrams are often satirical. There was a good deal of joking too at the expense of other performers and dramatists—notably one called Streamer. Indeed the whole book may be the outcome of some sort of professional disagreement. There was a play, which has sometimes been attributed to Baldwin, called the *Masque of Cats*. If the speaking in the play was done by cats, as is very likely, one is reminded of a passage in *Beware the Cat* where mention is made of a play by the King's players called *Aesop's Crow*, in which the actors were birds. Upon this the remark is made that, while it is sufferable to relate things said and reasonably done by animals, it is not so to bring them 'as living personages to speak.' Streamer is represented as alleging that not only does he believe that animals have reason but that he has actually heard them speak, and the whole book purports to explain how Streamer came to understand the speech of cats and the tales he heard them relate. It seems likely that *Beware the Cat* was a humorous satire indulged in by Baldwin for the amusement of his colleagues and against some unfortunate, presumably Roman Catholic, supporter of the unrealistic group of dramatists who would bring birds and animals on the stage to speak.

Baldwin was not only a member of this courtly circle of scholars and writers, but, at the same time, he was associated with another circle of poets, that which centred in the Inns of Court. No doubt the two circles overlapped a little. Baldwin's friends, Chaloner and Ferrers, were both lawyers. So, too, was Sackville. It is probable that Baldwin himself came of a family of lawyers, though we do not know the exact branch of the family to which he belonged. All over the country there were families of Baldwins, most of them, apparently, more or less closely connected. The outstanding family of the name was that in Buckinghamshire, the head of the family being Sir John Baldwin[1], Lord Chief Justice, an interesting man who took part in the trials of such people as Bishop Fisher, Anne Boleyn, Lord Darcy and Sir Thomas More. This family seems to have extended far and wide and to have been in its minor as well as its major branches a family of lawyers. The poet Baldwin was not, it would seem, a lawyer himself but his connexion with the Inns of Court is shown by his letters to the Master of the Revels saying that his play *Love and Live* might possibly be produced

[1] See *D.N.B.*, Sir John Baldwin.

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by some people there[1]. More striking still as showing not only Baldwin's association with this group of writers but his estimation among them is the passage already referred to in Jasper Heywood's prologue to the translation of *Thyestes*. It was

> In Lincoln's Inn and Temples twain,
> Gray's Inn and others more,

where 'the finest wits do swarm,' that one could hear the 'great report of Baldwin's worthy name.' With Baldwin, Heywood mentions Sackville and his partner in the authorship of *Gorboduc*, Thomas Norton, Sir Thomas North, Barnabe Googe, as well as other less known men. Perhaps one of the facts that illustrates most clearly the width of Baldwin's literary acquaintances is that he was a friend of the Catholic Heywoods and, at the same time, closely associated with the chief Protestant writers.

Later in his life we see him in yet another rôle. We know that in 1558, probably, his connexion with printing came to an end. Probably too, by then, he was no longer working at Court in an official capacity, and his chief work on the *Mirror* had been done, though he edited the 1563 edition. With the accession of Elizabeth and the reinstatement of the Protestant religion Baldwin was no longer a malcontent and satirical critic. We no longer find his works bringing him into conflict with the authorities; on the contrary most of his previously suppressed works now began to appear[2]. In fact it would seem that Baldwin settled down and his interests turned all into one channel. Between 1559 and 1561 he took orders[3]. He became Vicar of Tortington in Sussex,

[1] See page 413, note 1.

[2] *Beware the Cat* was written about 1553, as the reference to the author's being at Court at 'Christmas last' (1552) shows (see page 411, note 4). It was not published, however, until 1561 (see Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*, where there is a reference to an edition of this date: the copy now in existence is of a 1584 edition). *The Funeralles of King Edward the Sixth*, Baldwin says, was 'penned before his (the King's) corpse was buried,' but was not published until 1560. The *Mirror for Magistrates* was first published in 1559, the 1554 edition being suppressed probably before it was completely printed.

[3] It seems reasonable to assume this dating. We know that at some time in his life he became a 'minister,' for he is spoken of as such in Churchyard's preface to the tragedy of Wolsey in the 1587 edition of the *Mirror*. Anthony à Wood says—on what authority I do not know—that Baldwin became a minister and schoolmaster after leaving the university. That this is a mistake is suggested by Baldwin's statement in his introduction to the 1563 edition of the *Mirror* that since 1559 he 'has been called to another trade of life.' In Strype's *Life and Acts of Archbishop Grindal* under the date January 14, 1559–60, a list of persons ordained deacons is given and in this list is included William Baldwin. An objection might be raised that the Baldwin with whom we are concerned would be rather unusually old for ordination at this date. In answer to this a passage from Strype's book is, perhaps, of interest. Continuing from the list of deacons Strype says: 'In all his ordination none were ordained that were under twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, but most were upward of thirty. Some of the deacons were no scholars of any university, but men of sober conversation, and that could read English well; who nevertheless in this present necessity were ordained.'

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probably in 1559 or 1560, and in 1561 Rector of St Michael le Quern in Cheapside[1]. Here he remained until 1563[2].

Possibly Baldwin died in 1563 and was buried in his own church which was burned down in the Fire of London. At this date, at any rate, we lose sight of him[3]. We know little definitely about his family or life until 1547, so that we really only know of him for a period of about sixteen years. But during that time we see him as a man of great learning, of very varied powers and of wide and practical interests; we see him occupied in turn as printer, religious translator, dramatist and man of letters; we see him the associate of the great religious reformers, the great politicians, and the most prominent poets of the day. We see him as a practical observer of the things of the day, gravely moralising, or satirising, and making merry with the Court wits. We have forgotten him to-day but no doubt there were many at the time who thought, with Heywood, that William Baldwin merited eternal fame.

EVELINE I. FEASEY.

SHEFFIELD.

[1] See Hennessey's *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 1898, p. 436, a reference for which I am indebted to Dr A. W. Reed.

[2] See Hennessey. Baptist Willoughby became rector on December 20, 1563.

[3] *The Ship of Safeguard*, printed in 1569 with the initials *G. B.*, has sometimes been ascribed to Baldwin. The evidence, however, points to Barnabe Googe as the author. Also some verses, written in 1571, attacking the Papists, have been attributed to Baldwin—on what evidence I do not know. It seems to me probable, however, that Baldwin was dead by 1571. The edition of the *Mirror* in that year was almost certainly edited by Ferrers, and one or two of the alterations from previous editions seem to suggest that they were made after Baldwin's death.

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STANLEY, SHERBURNE AND AYRES AS TRANSLATORS AND IMITATORS OF ITALIAN, SPANISH AND FRENCH POETS.

II[1].

WHETHER any connexion exists between the poets just dealt with and Philip Ayres (1638–1712), I have not been able to establish. Ayres, who through all his life was tutor to a noble family, as Sherburne also had been for some time, produced in 1687 a volume of *Lyric Poems Made in Imitation of the Italians, Of which, many are Translations From other Languages*: this Prof. Saintsbury has printed in the second volume of his *Caroline Poets*. In his Preface, Ayres accounts for his omitting as a rule the references to the originals, on two grounds: 'either because I was not willing my own things should be distinguished from the rest; or indeed because most of those nameless pieces may more properly be said to be mine, than the Authors, from whom I only took the hints of them'. This preliminary statement has not 'barred me from impertinent investigation', as my purpose was different from that of Prof. Saintsbury in editing this poet. As the result of my investigation, I give below a list of Ayres' poems, conducted on the same lines as for Sherburne, i.e. omitting full references to Greek and Latin authors in so far as Ayres has confessed his indebtedness on this account. Here also, an asterisk precedes the names of foreign authors when mentioned by Ayres. The few poems for which I have not been able to point out a source may well belong to the category of those for which Ayres developed hints taken in his extensive reading: although I think it very likely that also for them a source may be found in the future. It will be noticed that the ground covered by Ayres' imitations is more or less the same with Stanley's and Sherburne's. For this reason I spoke of a possible link, since Ayres' position, as Prof. Saintsbury has well remarked, is a peculiar one: 'Ayres maintained the tastes, the traditions, the style even to some extent, of the reign of Charles I, whereas most of the verse-writers

[1] Continued from p. 294.

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of his own day and generation had turned to the stopped couplet in form, to "prose and sense" in matter, and to the new French school in critical discipleship'. A few authors, however, seem to be peculiar to Ayres, as for instance, Claudio Achillini, who is ultimately responsible for what Prof. Saintsbury calls one of the most charming of Ayres' poems, the sonnet *On a Fair Beggar*.

A brilliant suggestion has been recently advanced by M. Pierre Legouis[1]. Having found that the same two poems of Achillini, namely *Bellissima Mendica* and the sonnet entitled *Donna innamorata fa fede al suo Cavaliere con scrittura di sangue d'amarlo*, are imitated by both Ayres and Tristan l'Hermite (and the former poem also by R. Lovelace), and thinking that the imitation of Achillini by these two poets does not go beyond the two pieces just mentioned, he ventures to suggest that 'cette coïncidence tendrait à faire croire que Tristan a servi d'intermédiaire', although acknowledging that 'il resterait à expliquer comment Ayres a pu découvrir l'original italien que le poète français n'avait pas nommé', and quoting at the same time Ayres' expression concerning French poets: 'for the French I could scarce find any thing amongst them...worth my pains of translating'. In a postscript, M. Legouis seems inclined to believe that in Lovelace's case also Tristan 'a pu servir d'intermédiaire'. I think this position can hardly be accorded to Tristan: at any rate, certainly not on the ground of M. Legouis' argument, since a closer investigation of both Tristan's and Ayres' poems compared with Achillini's shows how, besides the two pieces above referred to, Tristan imitates at least two more poems by Achillini, and Ayres at least one more. Tristan's *La faveur du mauvais presage* (*ed. cit.*, 175) was evidently suggested by Achillini's *Collana di Croci nere al collo della sua Donna* (Achillini's *Rime e Prose*, Venezia, 1651, p. 127)[2]; and at least the conclusion of the sonnet *Sur un tombeau* (*ed. cit.*, 77) derives from that of Achillini's sonnet with the longish title *Amante pudico dopo ineffabili stenti, e longhissima pazienza, ottiene in Moglie l'amata Aurelia, e la stessa prima notte delle nozze essa improvvisamente se ne muore* (*ed. cit.*,

[1] See *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, Janvier-Mars 1925: *Deux Thèmes de la Poésie lyrique au XVII^e siècle, etc.*

[2] Here are the French and Italian poems side by side:

O que l'esprit de Sylvie
Est cruel et decevant.
Ie voy bien qu'en la servant
Il faudra perdre la vie.
Pour monstrer que sous ses loix
La mort m'est toute certaine,
Elle me donne une chaine
Qui finist par une croix.

Sparge Amarilli mia di nere croci
Del seno il latte, onde io
Con la vista nudriva un bel desio.
Deh, che sperar più deggio,
Misero me? se veggio
Scritto mirando in sì bel foglio intento
Con caratteri infausti il mio tormento.

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57)[1]. No one acquainted with Tristan's comparative independence in his imitations can have any doubt as to the likelihood of my assumption[2]. On the other hand, Ayres in his sonnet *The Rose and Lily* translates Achillini's sonnet 'Corteggiata da l'Aure e da gli Amori' (see below). Another argument advanced by M. Legouis in order to prove Ayres' acquaintance with the French language, namely his alleged composition of the French lines in his *Emblems of Love*, is of little weight, since Ayres cannot be the author of those lines. For all this, certainly Ayres was acquainted with French authors (he pitiably pastiches Théophile's charming ode *Le Matin*); and, besides, Tristan was well known in England, as the preceding pages of this essay have shown. Still, there is no evidence that Ayres had read Tristan, and consequently none that he came to know Achillini's poems through the French poet's imitations of them.

Let us now survey Ayres' indebtedness to Italian and Spanish authors[3]:

Ayres' *Poems.*	*Source.*
The Proem. To Love. Let others sing of Mars, and of his train	Marino, *Lira*, parte prima, *Proemio.* Altri canti di Marte e di sua schiera
The Request. To Love. O Love, who in my breast's most noble part	Marino, *op. cit.*, *Prega Amore, che l'aiuti a scrivere della sua D*[*onna*]. Del petto mio ne la più nobil parte
The Complaint. Now angry Juno sends from Heaven in spite	(*Source unknown*)
From Girolamo Preti...on a Race-horse. Son of the Air, Rival of Winds when high	*Preti, *op. cit.*, *Per un Cavallo Barbaro del Signor Vitale de' Buoi.* Figlio de l'Aura, emulator de' venti

[1] Here are the final tiercets of the two poems:

Tristan: Mais, o divin esprit qui gouvernois mon ame,
La Parque n'a coupé nostre fil qu'à moitié,
Car ie meurs en ta cendre & tu vis dans ma flame.

Achillini: Ma giuro, Aurelia, e la mia fede invoco;
Giuro ch'io vo' ch'eternamente almeno
Viva il cenere tuo nel mio bel foco.

[2] Cf. other imitations by Tristan, as for instance: *Plaintes d'Acante* (*ed. cit.*, 11) with Marino's *I Sospiri d'Ergasto* (*La Sampogna*), *La belle en deuil* (71) with *La bella Vedova* (*Lira*, parte terza), *Les agréables pensées* (123) with *Beltà crudele* (*Lira*, *ibid.*: 'E labra ha di rubino'), *Les vains plaisirs* (145) with Marino's sonnets 'O del Silenzio figlio e de la Notte' (*Lira*, parte prima) and 'Vien la mia donna in su la notte ombrosa' (*Lira*, parte terza), *La belle esclave More* (199) with Marino's *Bella Schiava* (*Lira*, parte terza: 'Nera sì, ma se' bella, o di Natura'), *Polipheme en furie* (206) with Marino's sonnet on *Polifemo ammazza Aci* (*Lira*, parte prima: 'Ah che ben ti vegg'io, ti veggio, ahi lasso'), etc. Tristan's *Heures de la Vierge* contain also imitations from Marino. So when Tristan calls St Laurence 'Phenix entre les Saints, céleste Salamandre,' he but translates Marino's 'Salamandra di Cristo, anzi Fenice' (*Lira*, parte seconda, *A San Lorenzo*, 'O non cura o non sente').

[3] For some of the Spanish sources see also Mr Thomas' essay in *Revue hispanique* quoted above (pp. 243–256 and 311–316). For *The Happy Nightingale* Mr Thomas gives as source a madrigal by Pedro Soto de Rojas, whereas both poems derive from Guarini (see *infra*).

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Invites Poets and Historians to write in Cynthia's Praise. Come all ye Wits, that with immortal rhymes	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Invita i Poeti e gl' Istorici a celebrar le Bellezze della Sua Donna.* Ingegni, o voi, che con eterni inchiostri
Cynthia on Horseback[1]. Fair Cynthia mounted on her sprightly pad	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Bella Donna a cavallo.* Frenava il mio bel Sol vago destriero
On the Death of Cynthia's Horse. Whate'er the world could boast of fair or good	Preti, *op. cit.*, *In morte d'un Cavallo di Bella Donna.* Quanto ha di buon, quanto ha di bello il mondo
On a Fountain and its Architect. A wat'ry heap by a fresh torrent fed	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Fontana di Paolo Quinto nella Piazza di S. Pietro in Roma.* Ondosa Mole, ogn' or d' acque feconda
Describes the place where Cynthia is sporting herself. Behold yon hill, how it is swell'd with pride	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Un Pastor descrive un luogo, dove la sua Ninfa stava sollazzandosi.* Là, 've quel Monte infino al Cielo inalza
His Retirement. A purling brook glides by this place away	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Un Pastor descrive l'amenità d' un luogo e le sue pene amorose.* Un Rio qui gorgogliando infra le sponde
A Character of his Friend, W. B. Esq. To raise up virtue when 'tis sinking down	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Per lo Sig. Paolo Ettorri.* Sollevar la Virtude omai cadente
Of Love. If Love it be not, what is this I feel?	Petrarca, *op. cit.* S' Amor non è, che dunque è quel ch' io sento
On the Picture of Lucretia stabbing herself. Lucrece inflam'd with anger, grief and shame	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Lucrezia Romana dipinta da Gio. Giacopo Sementi.* Di dolor, di rossor, di sdegno accesa
Complains, being hind'red the sight of his Nymph. To view these walls each night I come alone	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Si consolava in mirando l' albergo della Sua Donna.* Notturno e solo a queste mura intorno
The Pleased Captive. A glorious angel coming on the wing	Petrarca, *op. cit.* Nova angeletta sovra l' ale accorta
The Incurable. One, amongst flowers, green leaves, and the cool grass	(I cannot find a source for this poem. But its final line, 'Flowers, Leaves, Grass, Cave, Grove, Wa*rs* [sic][2], the Air, nor Spring', is obviously an imitation of Petrarca's famous line: 'Fior, frondi, erbe, ombre, antri, onde, aure soavi',[3] from the sonnet: 'Amor, che meco al buon tempo ti stavi'.)

[1] Prof. Saintsbury's question: 'Is this very pretty and pictorial conceit one of Ayres' stealings?' may thus be answered in the affirmative.

[2] Thus the original and Professor Saintsbury's edition: evidently a misprint for 'Wa*ve*' corresponding to 'onde.'

[3] This line, about which they used to rave in the sixteenth century, is thus commented on by Sebastiano Fausto da Longiano (Venezia, Bindoni e Pasini, 1532): 'Questo è 'l più alto verso, più sonoro e più pieno che si legga tra moderni e antichi'.

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On a Fair Beggar. Barefoot and ragged, with neglected hair	Achillini, *op. cit.*, *Bellissima Mendica.* Sciolta il crin, rotta i panni e nuda il piede
A Sonnet... Written by a Nymph in her own Blood. Since, cruel Thyrsis, you my torments slight	*Achillini, *op. cit.*, *Donna innamorata fa fede al suo Cavaliere con scrittura di sangue d' amarlo.* Poichè, Lidio, non curi i miei tormenti
The Rose and Lily. Courted by Cupids, and the amorous air	Achillini, *op. cit.*, *Bianchissima Giovinetta che, tal volta, per isdegno arrossia. Insinuasi la favoletta del Giglio, e della Rosa, quando l' uno e l' altra pretendeano lo Scettro sovra i fiori.* Corteggiata da l' Aure, e da gli Amori
A Defiance, returning to the Place of his past Amours. A heart of ice did here my heart inflame	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Ritornando al luogo de' suoi passati amori.* Qui la Donna di ghiaccio il cor m' accese
Distance. Far from the fire I burn, and run in vain	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Lontananza.* Ardo lungi dal foco, e tento invano
A Sonnet. On Signor Pietro Reggio his setting to Music several of Mr Cowley's Poems. If Theban Pindar rais'd his country's fame	(*Source unknown*)
An Epitaph. On a Dutch Captain. Here lies a soldier not oblig'd to Fame	(Possibly a hint from the 31st epigram of the fourth book of Martial. Cf. 'Sed tu nomen habes averso fonte sororum', with '...I would tell his name, / Could I but comprehend it in my verse'.)
On Cynthia, singing a Recitative Piece of Music. O thou angelic, spirit, face, and voice	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Al Sig. Alessandro Rostri, che cantava e recitava in una Tragedia.* O d' Angelico Spirto aspetto e voce
A Sonnet. On the Picture of Cavalier Guarini, Author of Il Pastor Fido, *painted by the Famous Borgianni, and set up in his Funeral Pile at Rome.* You, who to fam'd Guarini, now he's dead	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Per un Ritratto del Cavalier Guarino, nell' Esequie a lui fatte da' SS. Accademici Umoristi di Roma.* Voi, che su' l Tebro al gran Guarino estinto
On Old Rome. Here was old Rome, that stretch'd her empire far	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Rovine di Roma antica.* Qui fu quella di Imperio antica Sede
Revenge against Cynthia. See Cupid, we have found our lovely foe	Petrarca, *op. cit.* Or vedi, Amor; che giovenetta donna
Love's Contrariety. I make no war, and yet no peace have found	Petrarca, *op. cit.* Pace non trovo e non ho da far guerra

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Invites his Nymph to his Cottage. On yon hill's top which this sweet plain commands	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Un Pastore invita la sua Ninfa alla Montagna*[1]. Cinzia, colà tra quelle balze alpine
'Tis hard to follow Virtue. I rais'd sometimes my thoughts and fixt them right	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Che li secolo è poco amatore della Virtù.* Talor la mente inalzo, e là m' affiso
Endymion and Diana. On bed of flowers Endymion sleeping lay	*Tassoni, *La Secchia Rapita*, Canto viii, stanzas 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60. Dormiva Endimion tra l' erbe e i fiori
A Complaint. When first I here to Cynthia spake my mind	(*Source unknown*)
Love's Garden. Translated from Girolamo Preti. I to Love's garden came, with my attire	*Marino (among *Proposte all' Autore* in Preti's *Poesie*; see also *Lira*, parte terza). Venni al Giardin d' amor non d' altro adorno
Seeing his own Picture, discourses of his Studies, and Fortune. This, which the shadow of my face does give	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Coll' occasione del suo Ritratto discorre de' suoi Studi, e della sua Fortuna.* Questa del mio sembiante ombra e figura
A Sonnet, of Petrarc, on the Death of Laura. I fill with sighs the air whene'er I stand	*Petrarca, *op. cit.* I' ho pien di sospir quest' aere tutto
Another, of Petrarc, on Laura's Death. Oh Death! How has thy utmost malice sped!	*Petrarca, *op. cit.* Or hai fatto l' estremo di tua possa
Complains of the Court. In a Great Court, near a fam'd River's side	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Dalla Corte.* Famelico del Tebro in su la riva
Being retired, complains against the Court. Remote from Court, where after toil we get	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Partito dalla Corte.* Lunge da i Sette Monti, ove si coglie
To Cynthia. Hark how the little birds do vie their skill	(*Source unknown*)
The Withered Rose. Go, fading rose, a present to my Fair	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Rose impallidite.* Ite in dono a colei, pallide Rose
A Sonnet. On the Death of Sylvia. Oh Death! without regard to wrong or right	Garcilaso de la Vega (*ed. cit.*, 35). ¡Oh hado ejecutivo en mis dolores[2]
To the Winds. Ye Winds, that in your hasty flight	Preti, *op. cit.*, *All' Aure.* Aure fresche, aure volanti

[1] Translated also by Sherburne. See above: *A Shepheard inviting a Nymph to his Cottage.*

[2] Translated also by Drummond, 'O Fate! conspir'd to powre your Worst on mee' (ed. Kastner, 1, 52).

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The Silent Talkers. Peace, peace, my dear, Corinna said	(*Source unknown*)
'Tis dangerous jesting with Love. Venture not with Love to jest	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Amor finto cangiato in vero*[1]. Non si scherzi con Amore
A Dream. One night, with sleep my senses being opprest	(*Source unknown*)
The Restless Lover. The birds to wanton in the air desire	Francisco de Quevedo (see *Bibl. de Autores Españoles*, Tomo lxix, *Obras de Quevedo*, Tomo Tercero, 60, no. 225), *Amante sin reposo.* Está la ave en el aire con sosiego
The Resolution. Oh Time! Oh rolling Heavens, that fly so fast	*Petrarca, *op. cit.* O tempo, o ciel volubil che fuggendo
Invokes Death. Come, Terror of the wise, and valiant, come	Quevedo (*ed. cit.*, 21, no. 71), *Llama...á la muerte.* Ven ya, miedo de fuertes y de sabios
A Contemplation on Man's Life. Out of Spanish. Vile Composition, Earth inspir'd with breath	Juan López de Ubeda, *Cancionero general de la Doctrina Cristiana*[2]. Ceniza espiritada, vil mistura
The Nightingale that was drowned. Upon a bough, hung trembling o'er a spring	Marino, *Lira*, parte prima, *Avvenimento d' un Rossignuolo*[3]. Sovra l' orlo d' un rio lucido e netto
On a Child sleeping in Cynthia's Lap. Sleep, happy boy, there sleep, and take thy rest	Quevedo (*ed. cit.*, 79, no. 286), *A una niña muy hermosa, que dormia en las faldas de Lisi.* Descansa en sueno ¡oh tierno y dulce pecho!
Cynthia Sporting. Along the river's side did Cynthia stray	Marino, *Lira*, parte prima, *La Ninfa Tiberina*, etc. Su la sponda del Tebro umida erbosa
The Fly. Out of the wine-pot cried the Fly	*Quevedo (*ed. cit.*, 96, no. 331), *Letrilla burlesca.* Dixo á la rana el mosquito
On Gold. This glitt'ring metal, dazzler of the eyes	Quevedo (*ed. cit.*, 31, no. 122), *Al oro considerándole en su origen, y despues en su estimacion.* Este metal, que resplandece ardiente
To his Grace, George Duke of Northumberland. Th'unruly steed by laws to tame and ride	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Al Signore N. N.* Frenar con legge indomito Destriero

[1] Translated also by Sherburne. See above: *The Surprise.*
[2] See Thomas' essay above referred to, p. 250.
[3] Cf. Ronsard's treatment of this same medieval theme of the nightingale, in *Oeuvres*, *ed. cit.*, II, p. 165, *D'un rossignol abusé* (a poem which appeared only in the 1550 edition of Ronsard's poems: it was not reprinted in 1553).

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Love's New Philosophy[1]. Whoe'er a lover is of art	Quevedo (*ed. cit.*, 62, no. 230), *Nueva filosofia de amor, contraria á la que se lee en las escuelas.* Quien nueva sciencia y arte
The Vanity of Unwarrantable Notions. Truth, Reason, Love, and Merit may endure	**Camões.* Verdade, Amor, Razão, Merecimento
To the Nightingale. Why, little charmer of the air	(Possibly a hint from Marino's famous episode in *Adone*, Canto vii, chiefly from stanza 37.)
Apollo and Daphne. Panting for breath, towards her parent brook	Marino, *Lira*, parte prima, *Trasformazione di Dafne in Lauro*[2]. Stanca anelante a la paterna riva
A Sestina, etc. So many creatures live not in the Sea	*Petrarca, *op. cit.* Non ha tanti animali il mar fra l'onde
A Sonnet of Sig. Francesco Petrarca, giving an Account of the Time when he fell in Love with Madonna Laura. Will spurs me on, Love wounds me with his dart	*Petrarca, *op. cit.* Voglia mi sprona, Amor mi guida e scorge
A Sonnet, of Petrarc, showing how long he had lov'd Madonna Laura. Pleasure in thought, in weeping ease I find	*Petrarca, *op. cit.* Beato in sogno e di languir contento
A Sonnet, of Petrarc, going to visit M. Laura, remembers she is lately dead. Oh eyes! Our Sun's extinct, and at an end	*Petrarca, *op. cit.* Occhi miei, oscurato è 'l nostro sole
A Sonnet. Petrarc laments for the Death of M. Laura. This Nightingale that does so much complain	*Petrarca, *op. cit.* Quel rosignuol, che sì soave piagne
A Sonnet. Petrarc on Laura's Death. Hold, treacherous thoughts, that dare my rule despise	*Petrarca, *op. cit.* Datemi pace, o duri miei pensieri
Constancy. Place me where Sol dries up the flow'ry fields	Petrarca, *op. cit.* Pommi ove 'l sole occide i fiori e l'erba
To his Viol. I tun'd my viol, and have often strove	Marino, *Lira*, parte terza. Tempro la cetra, e per cantar gli onori
Hope. Out of Italian, from Fra.[3] *Abbati.* Grieve no more, Mortals, dry your eyes	*Antonio Abati, *Le Frascherie, Fasci tre*, Venezia, M. Leni, 1651, Fascio terzo (p. 316) [*Canzonetta in lode della Speranza*]. Rasciugate, o Mortali

[1] A mere translation of Quevedo's 'metaphysical *bravura*': Ayres cannot claim any originality either of substance or of form. Quevedo's poem, in its turn, is a mere translation of a poem by Luigi Groto (*Rime*, Venezia, Zoppini, 1601 [the first edn. is dated 1587], p. 53): 'S' alcun nov' arte vuole / Udire, oda la mia / Nova filosofia.'

[2] Imitated also by Stanley. See above: *Apollo and Daphne.*

[3] Evidently 'Fra.' is meant for *Frascherie*: we must not let it mislead us as to Abati's Christian name.

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Finding Cynthia in Pain, and Crying. Why, Idol of my Heart, these mournful cries	(*Source unknown*)
Cynthia sleeping in a Garden. Near a cool fountain, on a rose-bed lay	(*Source unknown*)
Lesbia's Complaint against Thyrsis his Inconstancy. I lov'd thee, faithless Man, and love thee still	(*Source unknown*)
On Lydia Distracted. With hairs, which for the wind to play with, hung	(Possibly an adaptation of Achillini's *Bellissima Mendica*, translated above, to the subject of *Bellissima Spiritata* of the same poet: 'Là nel mezzo del Tempio a l'improviso'.)
The Four Seasons. When Winter's past, then every field and hill.	Abati, *op. cit.*, Fascio primo (17) [*Ritorno delle Stagioni, e caducità umana*]. Parte il Verno, e già fioriscono.
A Sonnet. Translated out of Italian. Written by Sig. Fra. Gorgia, *who was born as they were carrying his Mother to her Grave.* Unhappy I came from my Mother's Womb	(I am unable to find out who Fra. Gorgia was)
An Epitaph, on a Foolish Boaster. Here to its pristine dust again is hurl'd	(*Source unknown*)
An Expostulation with Love[1]. Thy laws are most severe, oh Wingèd Boy!	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. XVI, *O godere o non bramare.* Che dura legge hai nel tuo regno, Amore?
On The Art of Writing. Sure 'twas some God, in kindness first to men	(*Source unknown*)
The Morn. When Light begins the eastern Heav'n to grace	(Had not Ayres himself mentioned in the table Théophile's name in connexion with this poem, one would hardly have suspected in it a pastiche of the famous ode *Le Matin.*)
To his Ingenious Friend, Mr. N. Tate. Thro' various paths, for pleasures have I sought	Preti, *op. cit.*, *Al Signor Antonio Bruni.* Bruni, gran tempo errando anch' io cercai
Platonic Love. Chaste Cynthia bids me love, but hope no more	Quevedo (*ed. cit.*, 58, no. 213), *Amor, que sin detenerse en el afecto sensitivo, pasa al intelectual.* Mandóme ¡ay Fabio! que la amase Flora
To Cynthia gone into the Country. Tho' the late parting was our joint desire	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. LXXXVI. Ben fu pari tra noi, Donna, il partire

[1] This title is taken from Stanley's imitation of this same madrigal of Guarini. See above: *Expostulation with Love in Despair*. This may supply a proof of Ayres' dependence from the group of poets dealt with above.

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Soneto Español de Don Felipe Ayres. En Alabanza de su Ingenioso Amigo, Don Pedro Reggio, uno de los mayores Musicos de su tiempo. Si el Thebano Sabio, en dulce Canto	(This Spanish version of the sonnet on Sig. Pietro Reggio, above referred to, may well be credited to Ayres, as no Spaniard would have ever written such a poem : the few correct lines in it—as e.g. l. 7—may have been borrowed from some Spanish author.)
On Cynthia sick. Help ! Help ! Ye Nymphs, whilst on the neighb'ring plain	(Possibly a hint from Guarini's sonnet 'Febo, se l'altrui miri, e 'l mio dolore', the last line of which, 'E se convien pur ch'arda, Amor l'accenda', is to be paralleled in Ayres' last tiercet : 'If Fate ordain that she in torment live,/ Then let her suffer in the flames of Love'.)
An Essay towards a Character of His Sacred Majesty King James the Second. I paint the Prince the World would surely crave	(*Source unknown*)
Sleeping Eyes. Fair Eyes, ye mortal stars below	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. XII, *Sogno della sua Donna*[1]. Occhi, stelle mortali
Love a Spirit. I told Jacinta t'other day	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. LXXVII. Dice la mia bellissima Licori
Cupid's Nest. Ah ! Tell me, Love, thy nesting place	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. IV. Dov'hai tu nido, Amore
On a Death's-Head, covered with Cobwebs, kept in a Library, and said to be the Skull of a King. A Sonnet. Out of Spanish, From Don Luis de Góngora. This mortal spoil which so neglected lies	Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea de un príncipe politico Christiano*, Monaco, N. Enrico, 1640, 711[2]. Este mortal despojo, ó Caminante
His Heart, into a Bird. The tears o'erflow'd fair Cynthia's eyes	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. XLIV, *Core in augello.* Piangea Donna crudele
In Praise of a Country Life. The bliss which souls enjoy above	(Although this is called in the Table *An Imitation of Horace's Ode, Beatus ille*, it is really an imitation of Garcilaso's imitation of the Latin poem. See *ed. cit.*, 6, Egloga II : 'Cuán bienaventurado'.)
Mortal Jealousy. Begone, O thou distracting Care	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. XXXV, *Mortal gelosia.* Cura gelata e ria
The Innocent Magician; or, A Charm against Love. A great, but harmless conjurer am I	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. CLIII, *Mascherata dolce delle Virtù contr' Amore.* Noi siam Maghe innocenti

[1] Translated also by Francis Davison in *A Poetical Rapsody* (1602), 'O fair, yet murd'ring eyes'. This Italian madrigal plays an important part in a love anecdote told of young Milton. See Todd's *Account of the Life and Writings of Milton*, pp. 29 ff.

[2] See *Revue hispanique*, XLVIII, pp. 311–316.

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The Happy Nightingale. Melodious creature, happy in thy choice !	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. XIX, *Felicità d' Usignuolo.* Dolcissimo Usignuolo
On Fame. The Fame we covet is a wand'ring air	Guarini, *op. cit.* La fama è un'aura vaneggiante, intenta (Ayres translates the quatrains only.)
Leander Drowned. Tho' winds and seas oppose their utmost spite	Garcilaso de la Vega (*ed. cit.*, 35), *Imitacion de Marcial*[1]. Pasando el mar Leandro el animoso
To Sleep, when sick of a Fever. Happy are we who when our senses tire	(*Source unknown*)
An Epigram on Woman. Since Man's a little World, to make it great	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. CLX[2]. È l'uomo un picciol mondo
Cynthia returned from the Country. Is Cynthia happily return'd	(*Source unknown*)
Beauty makes us happy. Happy 's the man who does thy beauty see	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. LIII, *Beltà felicitante.* Felice chi vi mira
To John Dryden, Esq.; Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal, his Honoured Friend. My Muse, when heated with poetic flame	(This poem is imitated from Archbishop Piccolomini's sonnet to Guarini, 'Sovente la mia musa in zelo accesa', to be found in Guarini's *Rime*, among *Sonetti di diversi all' Autore.*)
To a Singing Bird. Dear prison'd Bird, how do the stars combine	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. LII, *Avventuroso augello.* O come sei gentile
The Happy Lover. Hark Lovers, and I shall tell	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. LXIV. Udite, amanti, udite
The Musical Conqueress. Led by kind stars one ev'ning to the grove	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. CLXI, *Vittoria cantatrice.* Cantava la mia Donna
A Nymph to a young Shepherd, insensible of Love. Why dost thou fly me thus? Oh cruel boy !	Guarini, *op. cit.*, *Sopra un bellissimo garzone, che né dava, né aveva corrispondenza in amore.* Ferma, crudo garzon, ferma le piante
Compares the Troubles which he has undergone for Cynthia's Love, to the Labours of Hercules. Not Hercules himself did undertake	Guarini, *op. cit.*, *Amorose fatiche paragonate alle fatiche d' Ercole.* Non sudò tanto mai sott' aspro e 'ndegno

[1] The famous epigram 'Cum peteret dulces audax Leandros amores' has been often imitated in Spanish literature: by Gutierre de Cetina ('Leandro, que de amor en fuego ardia'), Fernando de Herrera ('Cuando el osado Leandro'), Francisco Saa de Miranda ('Entre Sesto y Abido en mar estrecho'), in the Second Part, book viii, of Montemayor's *Diana* ('Hero de una alta torre lo mirava'). In Italian literature, see e.g. Girolamo Mentovato's sonnet 'Mentre solcando il mare audace e solo' (in *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori*, Libro primo, Venezia, Giolito, 1549), Alessandro Gatti's madrigal 'Novo Leandro attendo d'alto il lume' (in *Madrigali di Alessandro Gatti*, Venezia, Ciotti, 1604, 42, or in P. Petracci's *Ghirlanda dell' Aurora*, Venezia, Ciotti, 1609, 17).

[2] Imitated also by Sherburne. See above: *The Microcosme.*

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The Trophy. Now, now, my heart's my own again	Guarini, *op. cit.*, Madr. LXVIII, *Amor penoso.* Quest'è pur il mio core (The disposition of the lines in Ayres' poem is of course imitated from the *technopaegnia.*)
The Timely Memento. The shipwrack'd bark cannot more sure convey	Guarini, *op. cit.* Cade l'umana vita, assai men forte
On Good Friday, the Day of our Saviour's Passion. Weep this great day! Let tears o'erflow your eyes	Guarini, *op. cit.*, *Nella morte e passione di Gesù Cristo, Nostro Signore.* Questo è quel dì di pianto e d'onor degno

From the above list of sources it is easy to conclude how Ayres' claims to originality dwindle into nothing, taking originality in the current sense of this word. But, of course, he is original in the same way in which every translator may be called such, since a translation, nay, even a cento, is a new, and in so far an original thing.

Still less original to Ayres are the *Emblemata Amatoria*, of which Prof. Saintsbury has printed the only part Ayres can have claim to, namely the English text. Since Prof. Saintsbury's edition appeared, Mr H. Thomas in a brilliant essay (published in *The Library*, January 1910) has dealt almost exhaustively with the sources of the little book of emblems which goes under Ayres' name. I may add here that the Italian verses of plates 9, 10, 12 are also taken from Otho Vænius' *Amorum Emblemata* (from plates 58, 60, 180 respectively), but adapted to emblems derived from *Thronus Cupidinis*, which does not provide any Italian text. Moreover, the Italian lines of plate 25 are a recast of those already used for plate 12, and the alterations in this case, as well as the Italian lines of emblems 13 and 16 are not verses, or even correct Italian: these the author of the selection may have supplied. It remains to decide who is to be held responsible for the selection, since there exists a possibly Dutch edition strongly resembling Ayres' English one of 1683[1]. That edition bears the name of the engraver, Jan van Vianen, and the imprint 'A Londe Chez l'Amoureux', without date. The plates are generally arranged in different order from that of Ayres, and most of them are reversed, while plates 30–40 are signed by Jan van Vianen. The languages are Latin, Italian, French, Dutch. Mr Thomas, after a careful examination of Ayres' book as well as of van Vianen's, came to the conclusion that there was no sufficient evidence for deciding

[1] In the later editions of Ayres' book (printed by J. Wren, H. Overton, J. Osborn) *Cupids address to the Ladies* is omitted and replaced by *Cupid to Chloe, Weeping, A Sonnet*, in which one would be glad to welcome at last an original poem by Ayres, were it not that the same sonnet appears also in both the unauthorised 1707 and the authorised 1709 editions of Prior's poems. See *The London Mercury* for March 1925 (vol. XI, p. 525).

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which of these two books was copied from the other. His chief objection to considering the undated edition as the first, was that its imprint 'A Londe Chez l'Amoureux' has a dishonest appearance; and he ultimately rather inclined to award to Ayres the position his title-page would seem to claim for him. This conclusion can hardly be accepted; and one wonders how Mr Thomas can have found more artistic merit in Ayres' book, the emblems of which incontestably appear to have been copied from van Vianen's plates by an extremely incapable hand, almost certainly with the aid of tracing paper or the like. Ayres' engraver reversed most of the plates, usually excepting those in which reversal would have made nonsense of the attitudes of the people represented in them (cf. e.g. Ayres pl. 1, 19, 27 respectively with van Vianen 1, 18, 20; etc.); whenever he has forgotten this precaution, nonsensical gestures are the result, as in pl. 13, where one of the Cupids is made to lift the trumpet to his mouth with his left hand, and another to strike with his left his fallen opponent; and in pl. 28, etc. In van Vianen pl. 15, 28 the normal postures occur. Moreover Ayres' engraver is only capable of reproducing the main outlines of his model: details are either omitted on account of their difficulty (e.g. in pl. 11 = van Vianen 12, 12 = van Vianen 11), or simplified in a very rough way (so for all plants and flowers for which the Dutch artist shows the predilection usual with his fellow-countrymen, so for the backgrounds which the imitator reproduces very summarily and clumsily, showing a totally wrong sense of perspective: cf. e.g. pl. 23 with van Vianen 23, pl. 37 with van Vianen 39, where, being unable to copy his model's sitting lady, the would-be artist contents himself with repeating the easier figure of pl. 15), or misinterpreted (see for instance the cameleon in van Vianen 24 becoming a vague scrawl—possibly meant for a fish—in Ayres 24). The derivation is so evident that it seems almost superfluous to call attention to the fact that an engraver's signature appears in Ayres' book only on the title-page, which is different from that of van Vianen's book and due to the same clumsy hand which traced the plates. Ayres' part in the production is merely that of supplying English verses (not translations) in place of the Dutch verses[1], and this, as we know from the *Lyric Poems*, must have appeared to him a sufficient title to claim the authorship of the book for himself.

MARIO PRAZ.

LIVERPOOL.

[1] While in van Vianen's book the Dutch verses agree almost literally with those in the other languages, this is not the case with Ayres' English ones: which, therefore, are clearly the result of an addition.

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PERSIAN LETTERS BEFORE MONTESQUIEU.

A THEORY which assimilates too readily the changes of a literary genre to the evolution of the animal world, would have us believe that every new genre is the result of a slow and patient transformation of a preceding literary form. The 'laws' of this transformation are conceived as inherent in the genre and akin to the innate tendency to development in the cell. However, the genesis of a literary genre is a more complex and a less uniform phenomenon than the production of a new animal species. More or less clearly marked examples are found, no doubt, of a slow mutation of one genre into another—of the epic, for instance, into the novel—but there exist also genres which were generated as spontaneously as any form of human thought and expression can be. Sometimes they flourish during a few decades and then disappear without betraying any tendency toward transformation. The minor genre of the pseudo-foreign letter, which is so characteristic of the eighteenth century, affords an example of one of these self-limited literary forms which seem to justify their existence solely as vehicles of the intellectual unrest and the aesthetic aspirations of only one epoch.

Not that the foreign pseudo-letter genre sprang into being full-fledged. Some thirty years before it culminated in Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*, it had its humble beginnings in Marana's *Letters of a Turkish Spy*. In these early pseudo-letters historical detail smothers almost entirely the few signs of intellectual criticism, but, during the next decades, the frame—the epistles supposedly written by an observant Oriental—was kept, whereas the picture gradually changed to a more detailed image of contemporary life and customs and, sometimes, to caricature rather than to portrayal. This evolution, inside of the genre, was determined, not by a mysterious force of expansion inherent in the early imaginary missives of Marana, but by the denunciatory spirit of the times which seized upon them as upon a new and a safe vehicle for incisive criticism of contemporary society. They presented all the advantages of a transparent disguise, which, on one hand, justified the aloofness of the critic's point of view, and, on the other, softened the bitterness of his utterances by laying them at the door of a man of a different clime and civilization. This mask—at first a mere 'badinage,'

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as in Dufresny's *Amusements sérieux et comiques*—powerfully helped the authors in depersonalizing their mental attitude and contributed to a certain freshness of judgment which allowed them to survey Western culture with the naïve and censorious eye of a contemplative Oriental. They claimed so much to be Persians, Siamese or Indians that they almost acquired their detached view as upon a civilization not their own.

Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*—artistically the most remarkable product of the pseudo-Oriental translation genre—appeared thirty-five years after Marana's *Letters of a Turkish Spy* and was written from an entirely divergent point of view. Whereas Marana was in the main contented with narrating historical events, Montesquieu laid the stress exclusively on intellectual criticism, on his valuation of contemporary Western ideas and prejudices. 'Montesquieu's genius raised his work above the level of the casual and intermittent comments and external details found in the *Turkish Spy* and the court memoirs of the seventeenth century, to philosophic and organic criticism of life[1].' Yet the question may well be raised whether there occurred an interruption in the evolution of the genre between Marana and Montesquieu. Was the change of stress in the *Lettres Persanes* from external details and historical narrative to 'philosophic and organic criticism of life' the unaided innovation of Montesquieu? Or was it helped and prepared by related works which constitute as it were intermediate links between the two books? I will endeavour to point out that after the appearance of Marana's collection, the pseudo-Oriental letter genre did not remain static, but evolved and produced works—aesthetically inferior, no doubt—but of the same type as the *Lettres Persanes*. They bridge the gap between the innovation of the genre and its perfected form. This discussion involves a study of the direct source of Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*: the honour of having inspired them directly has been ascribed to at least four different works: Marana's *Turkish Spy*, Dufresny's *Amusements sérieux et comiques*, a letter from the *Spectator* and two *Persian Letters* by a certain Joseph Bonnet, published in 1716. I hope to show that this claim cannot be convincingly substantiated for any one of these. Both the form and the contents of the *Persian Letters* had been exemplified before Montesquieu, but the influences which acted upon him were rather diffuse and came to him from several sides and through several channels among which it is both risky and arbitrary to single out a particular one as his sole precursor.

[1] M. P. Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1908.

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When the Genoese exile G. P. Marana produced his *Letters of a Turkish Spy*[1], he little dreamed that he was laying the foundation of a European genre. His almost exclusive ambition was to compile a retrospect of the reign of the most glorious Louis XIV, not without the hope, perhaps, of capturing royal favour. It remained far from his intention to deprecate the France of his day, or to make of his letters a pretext for trenchant attacks on the existing customs and beliefs. Of course, here and there in his extensive collection of missives a few remarks occur which are more or less critical, a few passages which may be interpreted as personal confidence. His lonely and unsociable Turkish Spy was, after all, a transparent symbol for a Genoese exile; and when he complains of a feeling of isolation or of melancholy, we may view in it a complaint about his own suffering from mal-adaptation to his French surroundings.

Pietro Toldo has found in the rare melancholy or moralizing utterances disseminated in the bulky *Letters of a Turkish Spy* sufficient proof for believing in its direct influence upon Montesquieu[2]. Yet, the similitudes he has listed are vague and general and must be ascribed, in most cases, to mere coincidence or to the similarity of subject. It is hardly astonishing, for instance, that the Turkish Spy as well as Montesquieu's Persians suffer from a feeling of solitude: they live in strange surroundings. Both authors give evidence of a belief in the importance of history. Now, Marana was a historian and Montesquieu was preparing his *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains* so that this opinion must not be taken as a sign of direct influence, but simply as the result of a similar disposition in both authors. Signor Toldo points out that the *Turkish Spy* refers diffusely to jealousy as a common Turkish vice and that in the *Lettres Persanes* there occurs a sensuous romance, of which jealousy is one of the ingredients. But this disposition to jealousy was proverbially ascribed to all Orientals, and Montesquieu did not need Marana to be aware of its existence. Again, the *Turkish Spy* contrasts, in a sentence or two,

[1] Giovanni Paolo Marana, born in Genoa in 1642, died in Paris in 1693. The earliest known edition of his work seems to be *L'Espion du Grand Seigneur et les relations secrètes envoyées au Divan de Constantinople, découvertes à Paris, pendant le règne de Louis le Grand, traduites de l'arabe en italien par Jean Paul Marana et de l'italien en françois par* * * *, Paris, Barbin, 1686, 6 vols. Only the four first volumes are by Marana, the two last by Cotolendi. It is believed that there existed an Italian edition of 1684, of which no copy has been found. An Italian manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale was clearly prepared for the printer. In the later issues of the work there are additions by several hands. Cf. Toldo, *Dell' 'Espion' di Giovanni Paolo Marana e delle sue attinenze con le 'Lettres Persanes' del Montesquieu* (*Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 1897, pp. 46–79).

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 53–79.

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the restlessness of the Parisians with the poise and the dignified demeanour of his countrymen. He describes Paris as a noisy city built high up in successive floors. A similar passage—although worded very differently—is found in the *Lettres Persanes.* Not only could such observations of reality occur easily enough independently to both authors, but in Dufresny's *Amusements sérieux et comiques*—which has also been considered as the direct source of Montesquieu's book—is found a similar description of the haste and the restlessness of the Parisian population. (Ed. of 1708, pp. 30 ff.) Why should Montesquieu—if he was in need of borrowing for this obvious description—have taken it rather from a few phrases in the *Turkish Spy* than from a whole chapter in Dufresny? The few other similitudes to which Signor Toldo called attention are of the same inconclusive nature, and do not seem to justify the belief that Montesquieu's direct source is to be found in the *Letters of a Turkish Spy.*

The resemblance between the two works lies principally in the fact that they are both collections of letters by an Oriental about France. But the style, the points of view, the subject-matter of Marana and of Montesquieu remain, nevertheless, entirely diverse. The *Turkish Spy* narrates in an impersonal manner the history of the period, whereas the value of Montesquieu's epistles lies entirely in the personal reaction of his naïve and shrewd Persians toward Western civilization. In a word, Marana collects facts with care and persistency; Montesquieu compares, judges and contrasts Eastern and Western ideas and moral standards.

If it seems, then, hazardous to affirm that Montesquieu imitated directly the *Letters of a Turkish Spy,* this work remains nevertheless important as the beginning of the pseudo-Oriental satire. Its general success, attested by its numerous editions and translations, was a most powerful stimulant to the growth of a new species of literature of protest[1]. Its influence upon Dufresny's *Amusements sérieux et comiques* shows how ripe and ready the times were for this form of social satire. In this amusing volume of rather jocose considerations on things in general and more in particular on Parisian life, he introduced a Siamese: 'Je suppose donc que mon Siamois tombe des nues et qu'il se trouve dans le milieu de cette Cité vaste et tumultueuse....' He attributes to this rather shadowy Oriental his several caustic remarks on the restless existence of his compatriots. Although there exist interesting simili-

[1] For imitations of the *Lettres Persanes* see Martino, *L'Orient dans la littérature française*, Paris, 1906, p. 299.

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tudes of detail between Dufresny's short but incisive satire and the *Lettres Persanes*, its direct influence upon Montesquieu has been questioned. The latest editor of the *Amusements sérieux et comiques* says: 'Il est vrai que les correspondances de détail ne manquent pas... entre les *Lettres Persanes* et les *Amusements*...mais elles sont moins nombreuses et moins nettes (than those of the *Turkish Spy*) et peuvent, en plus d'un cas, s'expliquer par une inspiration commune. En outre, comme Dufresny, pour ne point faillir à "l'originalité" dont il se pique, se devait à lui-même de donner un tour nouveau à une idée empruntée, il a fait un simple spectateur de celui qui chez Marana était un "correspondant." Il rejette donc, sauf en un unique endroit, l'idée même à laquelle Montesquieu s'attache avec le plus de prédilection, l'idée d'un commerce de lettres.' M. Vic believes that the only trace of a direct influence of Dufresny upon the *Lettres Persanes* is found in the description of the 'cercle bourgeois' in Letter 48[1]. But such descriptions are not rare in the contemporary imitations of La Bruyère's *Caractères*, so that even here Dufresny's direct influence must be styled a possibility rather than an established fact.

An examination of other pseudo-foreign letters which were printed before Montesquieu's collection, will further show how multiple his possible sources of inspiration were, and put us on our guard against too rash conclusions in the matter of direct influence of any one of them upon Montesquieu.

(A) In the *Saint-Evremoniana* of 1700, a work due largely to Cotolendi, who also added two volumes to Marana's *Turkish Spy*, appeared a pseudo-foreign letter, which has not been pointed out as a precursor of Montesquieu's *Letters*. The title runs: *Traduction d'une Lettre Italienne écrite par un Sicilien à un de ses amis, contenant une critique agréable de Paris*. It is dated at the end: 'A Paris, le 20 aoust 1692,' but this date may be fictitious. Although it claims to be but a letter, it constitutes in reality a rather long satire of about 60 pages making merry with the noise and the confusion of the capital, French politeness, authors and academicians, charlatans and financiers, assumed devotion and social hypocrisy, light-headed abbés and boresome nouvellistes, of

[1] The date of the *Amusements sérieux et comiques* is sometimes given as 1705 or 1707. There is no doubt that the first edition is of 1699. The Privilège is dated December 6, 1698. There exists also a spurious Dutch edition of 1699. The English adaptation by Thomas Brown, *Amusements serious and comical calculated for the Meridian of London*, appeared in 1700. The edition of 1707, which gives an increased text, has been reprinted by J. Vic in 1921. Dufresny was a cousin of Louis XIV, since his grandfather was a natural son of Henri IV.

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all the types and the aspects of contemporary Parisian life. Cotolendi's Sicilian observes his surroundings with the same critical aloofness as Montesquieu's Persians, and their remarks have a general similarity[1].

(B) In 1850, M. Maurice Meyer[2] suggested that the original conception of the *Persian Letters* was due to a letter in the *Spectator* of April 27, 1711, in which the impressions of London and European dress are given of three Indian Kings, according to a translation from a manuscript lost by one of them. On June 21, 1714, the *Spectator* published also a spurious letter of a supposed Ambassador of Bantam about the insincerity of European court-manners. Even granted that Montesquieu needed a suggestion from the *Spectator* for the form of his pseudo-foreign letters, which had already been abundantly exemplified in French, he probably was not acquainted with the *Spectator* before 1714, when a part of it appeared in French. Now, in 1711, the very year of the earliest letter in the English periodical, there was published a French volume, *Réflexions morales, satiriques et comiques sur les mœurs de notre siècle*, which contains eight letters supposed to be written by a 'Persian philosopher.' Both in spirit and form they are far more akin to the *Lettres Persanes* of Montesquieu than either the *Turkish Spy*, the *Amusements sérieux et comiques* or the isolated letter in the *Spectator*. There is no reason for assuming that Montesquieu would have turned rather to the English letter than to the several Persian letters in the *Réflexions morales, satiriques et comiques*, which betray, moreover, more definite kinship with his imaginary missives.

(C) The date of the *Réflexions morales*—1711—allows us to dispose of another proposed direct source of Montesquieu. In his pamphlet, *Le précurseur et l'inspirateur direct des Lettres Persanes*[3], M. Ernest Jovy has brought to light again two obscure political brochures of 1716, by a lawyer of Aix, Joseph Bonnet, who was imprisoned in the Bastille for having published them: *Lettre écrite à Musala, homme de loy à Hispaham, sur les mœurs et la religion des François, et sur la querelle entre les Jésuites et les Jansénistes.*—MDCC.XVI., and *Seconde Lettre écrite à Musala, homme de loy à Hispaham*, etc.

The reasons for considering these pamphlets as the direct precursors of Montesquieu are that, in the first place, they announce themselves

[1] This *Traduction d'une lettre italienne* was reprinted in the *Archives curieuses de l'Histoire de France*, publ. by F. Danjou, 2e série, tome xi, pp. 151–193. M. Danjou is inclined to ascribe it to Saint Evremond, but this attribution is very uncertain since the letter is not found in the edition of Saint Evremond's works by Desmaiseaux.

[2] See his *Études critiques*, 1850, p. 174, and Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*, vol. VII, p. 490.

[3] 1917. Reprinted from the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*.

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definitely as Persian letters, sent to 'Hispaham,' whereas the preceding pseudo-foreign epistles had been Turkish, Siamese or Indian; and, in the second place, that they are a clever adaptation of Oriental colouring to hide criticism of contemporary politics, the very device of Montesquieu. And, no doubt, they stand far nearer to the *Persian Letters* than Marana or Dufresny, but it is because they are imitations of the early Persian letters of 1711, from the *Réflexions morales, satiriques et comiques.* They did not inspire directly Montesquieu, but furnish only another example of the evolution of the foreign letter genre from 1686 to 1721, from Marana to Montesquieu[1]. By this time an all-important change of stress had been accomplished from history and diplomatics entirely to moralizing and criticism from sharp-witted foreign observers. This junction of the independent spirit of the early eighteenth century with the pseudo-foreign letter genre is the major change in the production of this new species of literary composition, which Montesquieu has not created but intensified.

The earliest Persian letters of the same critical type as those of Montesquieu appeared, then, in 1711, in the *Réflexions morales, satiriques et comiques sur les mœurs de notre siècle.* They were the work, as I shall try to prove further on, of a French exile in Holland, the bookseller J. F. Bernard. The satirical tendency which the historical *Turkish Spy* had inaugurated in but a slight measure, is here full-grown, or, rather, overgrown. As the title indicates, the book is a collection of moralizing and satirical remarks, interspersed with sarcastic descriptions of types and situations of the time, but incidentally the author attempts to settle the age-old problems of life and death, happiness and adversity, self-love and abnegation—the whole range of the polar opposites of human existence and experience. To this he added a *fricassée* of gaudy and sardonic aphorisms, a number of disparaging and caricatural 'portraits' in the manner of La Bruyère, chapters on the search for the 'Souverain Bien,' on fashions, republics or commerce, to end up with twenty-five pages of jocose buffoonery 'for the amusement of the reader.' In this diversified frame are set the eight letters of a Persian philosopher: 'Le Philosophe Persan qui paroît ici, voyageoit il y a quelques années dans l'Europe. On ne trouvera dans ce livre que des Fragmens de ce qu'il a écrit sur nos mœurs. Je n'ai pu en découvrir davantage;

[1] In 1700 already appeared a *Lettre d'Hypocrate à Damagette*, which, although it claims to be a translation, was actually composed in French and has been attributed to Count Henri de Boulainvilliers. Cf. J. M. Quérard, *Les Supercheries littéraires dévoilées*, II, p. 322. This supposed Greek letter is a defence of deism.

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mais peut être qu'avec le tems le reste se trouvera. Cependant on verra dans ces Fragmens ce qu'un Persan a pu penser sur le Caractère des Européens.' The several letters bear the following titles:

'Premier fragment d'une Relation écrite par un philosophe Persan à Haly Ismael.—*Du Mérite des Européens,*' pp. 101–107.

'Deuxième fragment du Philosophe Persan.—*Qui contient une idée de l'amitié des Européens,*' pp. 138–144.

'Troisième fragment du Philosophe Persan.—*Touchant l'honnête homme des Chrétiens,*' pp. 166–172.

'Quatrième fragment du Philosophe Persan.—*Touchant la dévotion des Chrétiens,*' pp. 192–196.

'Cinquième fragment du Philosophe Persan.—*Touchant les modes,*' pp. 205–211.

'Sixième fragment du Philosophe Persan.—*Touchant les discordes des Chrétiens, causées par l'ambition; et touchant leur politique,* etc.,' pp. 222–240.

'Septième fragment du Philosophe Persan.—*Description d'un État Chrétien,*' pp. 262–271.

'Huitième fragment du Philosophe Persan.—*Touchant les Préjugez,*' pp. 290–303.

To illustrate the kinship between these 'fragments of letters' and the *Lettres Persanes*, I reprint here a part of the third: '*Touchant l'honnête homme des Chrétiens:*

Si j'avois quelque jeune Musulman sous ma direction, je lui conseillerois de voiager chez les Chrétiens, afin que mettant en parallèle leurs mœurs et leur Religion, il aprit ainsi à distinguer la vraie vertu d'avec la fausse.

Le sage Prophète qu'ils ont eu pour Legislateur, semble n'avoir donné sa Loi à ces infidèles, que pour nous aprendre à tous la beauté et la force de sa Morale, en la donnant en proie aux subtilités des Chrétiens, sans que jusques à present elle ait été détruite par leurs sophismes.

Il semble aussi qu'ils veulent afecter en toutes choses le contraire de leur Evangile, tant ils prennent de la peine à donner le nom d'honnête homme à ceux qui ne vivent pas dans les règles de la divine Vertu.

Comme ils trouvent singulier tout ce qui est nouveau à leurs yeux, tu dois penser que mon équipage, ma barbe, mes manières, et le phlegme que j'ai pris avec tout cela dans l'étude de la sublime Philosophie, doivent m'avoir attiré une infinité de curieux. C'est par ce moyen que j'ai découvert insensiblement l'idée commode, qu'ils se font de la probité. Car quoi qu'ils se piquent généralement de beaucoup de finesse, ils n'en ont pas eu assés, pour se contrefaire devant moi; si tu n'aimes mieux croire, que j'ai eu autant de subtilité à les pénétrer, qu'eux d'habilité à se déguiser.

Le poison du Serpent ne peut rien contre l'excellent Antidote, dont je me sers; ma sublime philosophie a pris soin de me garantir souvent de leur honnête homme; et je n'ai succombé, qu'alors que ma bonne foi, comme je t'ai dit, m'a précipité dans leur amitié.

Écoute donc, o prudent Haly, ce que c'est que cet honnête homme.

Celui qui a pris parti dans la Religion Chrétienne, et y a été baptisé, comme ils parlent; s'il n'est ni brigand, ni voleur de grand chemin; si, en un mot, il n'a aucune

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des qualités requises pour laisser sa vie sur un échafaut ; quand du reste, il seroit avare et usurier ; s'il est l'un et l'autre avec art et adresse, et que l'on ait besoin de lui ; c'est là pourtant un honnête homme.

Nous autres Musulmans, nous avons une Religion et un Dieu que nous servons de tout notre zèle. Nous croions qu'il n'y en a qu'un, et qu'un seul Prophète d'une mission parfaitement divine et glorieuse. Nous nous en tenons là, et adorons avec révérence et humilité, suivant les préceptes du Messager triomphant, dont la gloire resplendit dans le premier Empire du monde. Eux se mettent à couvert du voile du Christianisme, et vivent tranquilement dans la corruption ; pourvu qu'ils pratiquent les cérémonies extérieures de leur Religion : et c'est là encore un honnête homme.

Notre Charité s'étend sur les bêtes, comme sur les créatures raisonnables. Chez les infidèles un riche est accablé de thrésors, dont souvent il ne sait que faire ; au pis aller, s'il s'en sert, il les dissipe dans le luxe. Mais il a soin de n'en rien diminuer en faveur du pauvre ; et c'est là cependant un honnête homme....

Ces barbares regardent avec fierté et dédain, les peuples des autres parties du monde, et les traitent presque de sauvages, non pas tant à cause de la diversité de Religion, que pour les différences dans les manières et dans les mœurs. Ils font surtout cet outrage à ceux qui se nourissent de la manne salutaire du très-parfait Alcoran. Chez eux nommer un homme *Turc*, *More* ou *Arabe*, noms par lesquels ils désignent presque tous les sectateurs du Prophète des Prophètes ; c'est le donner à connoître pour un homme sans foi, et en un mot pour un parfait scélérat. Nous avons le même droit, sage Haly, et nous pouvons dire, d'un injuste, d'un fourbe, d'un traître, d'un vindicatif, pourvu qu'avec cela il ait de la politesse : *C'est un Chrétien.*

Que diras-tu, quand je t'aprendrai, qu'un Chrétien avec une Vertu éclatante est un honnête homme ; tandis qu'il fait la cour en même tems, à cent vices favoris ?

Il y en a parmi eux, dans une certaine secte, qui passent pour honnêtes gens à force de bâtir des temples et des maisons, où certain nombre de fainéans est assuré de vivre et s'engraisser à ne rien faire. D'autres, et c'est indiféremment dans toutes les sectes du Christianisme, passent pour honnêtes gens, quand à leur mort, ils restituent avec faste, entre les mains des pauvres, ce qu'ils ont usurpé à ceux qui pendant leur vie se confioient à leur bonne foi.

Les Nazariens sont si injustes dans leurs sentimens, qu'ils n'ont pas de peine à donner la qualité d'honnête homme au riche qui peut leur faire du bien, ou qui ne leur fait point de mal ; tandis que pour la moindre faute, ils refusent cette qualité au pauvre, qu'ils tiennent sous les pieds, ou dans l'oppression....

The letter finishes with an exhortation to pray for the poor, misguided Christians that they may see the Light of Mahomet.

Montesquieu, in Letter 30, describes how one of his Persian travellers, Rica, fatigued of the assumed friendship and of the attentions bestowed upon him, disguises himself into an ordinary Frenchman and sees all interest in him vanish at once. In the second *Fragment du Philosophe Persan* occurs a similar incident: the philosopher also disguises himself to test the value of European friendship.

Pour mieux connoître encore le naturel de ces peuples infidèles, je crus devoir me contrefaire dans la suite. Je m'équipai pauvrement, et avec quelques médicamens, je déguisai mon visage, en sorte qu'il paroissoit celui d'un mourant. J'étois bien aise d'éprouver si ma prétendue pauvreté pourroit animer leur amitié, autant que mon argent l'avoit animée. J'allai donc ainsi contrefait, plus avant dans leur pais, et je produisis en arrivant une partie des recommandations, que j'avois reçues des Marchands des Francs, qui trafiquent dans notre Empire. Mais ces recommandations furent meprisées, étant jointes à un equipage aussi mauvais que le mien. Chacun s'éloigna de moi, je parus moi-même un loup au milieu des loups, mais un loup sauvage et importun, tandis qu'eux étoient des loups courtois et polis. Peu à peu on me fuioit comme un animal dangereux : j'étais suspect de Contagion, et je

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crois qu'enfin on m'auroit chassé de la ville ; si je n'eusse repris mon air et mon équipage ordinaire, et produit une partie de mon bien. Peu à peu mes amis se rassemblèrent, on se ressouvint des recommandations que j'avois apportées de l'Orient, ou des autres pais Francs, dont je venois. On ne me fuioit plus, parce que je n'avois plus la peste. Tout cela ne me couta que de passer par l'épreuve de leur amitié. (pp. 142–43.)

Other parallels could be drawn between the *Réflexions morales, satiriques et comiques* and the *Lettres Persanes*, as, for instance, between the *Cinquième Fragment*, which makes merry with the ridiculous wigs and frills and with the general instability and exaggeration of fashions, and Montesquieu's Letter 99 on the same subject. But the resemblance of the two works lies less in a more or less accidental similitude of expression than in the general affinity of their critical outlook and in the mock earnestness of their imitation of Persian letter style.

Who is the author of the *Réflexions morales, satiriques et comiques*? He took pains to hide his identity and explains on p. 346: 'On peut assurer au reste, que l'Auteur...ne se fera pas connoître facilement. Il a intérêt de se cacher; qui sait même si ce ne sera pas là ce qui mettra le prix à son livre? Quoi qu'il en soit, il le donne pour ce qu'il vaut; soit qu'il plaise, soit qu'il ne plaise pas, il sera content du jugement du public.'

Notwithstanding his reserve his name has been revealed as Jean Frédéric Bernard, a French exile, who became bookseller and publisher at Amsterdam[1]. The Abbé Desfontaines, in his *Observations sur les Écrits modernes* (1, p. 303), states that the *Réflexions* are Bernard's work although they had been falsely attributed to David Durand. Moreover, in the fourth, enlarged edition of the book (1733) the author gave some cryptic information about himself: he declared that the first three letters of the alphabet added to the thirteenth, indicate his name, his place of residence, his religion and his birthplace. Now, these letters A, B, C, M have been read as Amsterdam, Bernard, Calviniste, M (Meaux?)[2]. Further information on him, his other works and his introductions to his several editions of well-known publications of the early eighteenth century, can be found in Quérard's *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes* (vol. IV, col. 93–97). His *Réflexions morales* had four editions: 1711, 1713, 1716 and 1733, of which three appeared before Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*, so that it is quite possible that he was acquainted with this work.

[1] See Quérard, *Les Supercheries litt.*, vol. IV, col. 93 ff.
[2] Quérard, *op. cit.*, col. 95.

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The *Lettres Persanes*, as many other books of moment and influence, are the complex result of several contemporary currents of thought, literary examples, personal observations and experiences, sifted through and harmonized by a personality. The piquancy of the disguise in the pseudo-Oriental letters was only one incentive to their production. Other influences, besides this, acted upon Montesquieu. In 1715, the most notorious adventures in France of Mehemet Riza Beg, Persian ambassador, furnished, no doubt, additional stimulus[1]. He turned to the relations of travellers, especially to Chardin and Tavernier, for local colour or more detailed information on Persian customs. His criticism of contemporary manners, beliefs and institutions was fostered by his readings in Montaigne, La Bruyère, Fénelon, Bayle, etc. In the letter on the Casuists we may catch a glimpse of Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales*, although these observations may also have been derived from his own reaction to the lasting quarrel of the Jansenists and the Jesuits, then centring around the *Bulle Unigenitus* and the one hundred and one heretical propositions of Father Quesnel. Other authors, for instance Malebranche, left traces in his work[2]. The sensuous novelette, which was one of the attractions of his collection of letters, is much in the manner of the forbidden publications of the fictitious Cologne printer Pierre Marteau, under whose imaginary protection both the *Réflexions morales* and the *Lettres Persanes* were sent into the world.

J. F. Bernard's *Réflexions morales* remain noteworthy especially as a significant symptom of the evolution which, spurred on by eighteenth-century philosophy, transformed through successive imitations the historical and rather austere *Letters of a Turkish Spy* into a more complex image of a period of intellectual crisis, the *Persian Letters*. It confirms again the view that the higher work of art is not always essentially different from related products of its period: what distinguishes it is only a higher degree of intensity in thought and expression.

GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK.

NEW YORK.

[1] Montesquieu refers to Mehemet Riza Beg in Letter 91. Cf. Maurice Herbette, *Une Ambassade Persane sous Louis XIV*, Paris, 1907.

[2] Cf. V. Klemperer, *Montesquieu*, I, Heidelberg, 1914, p. 93.

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THE HOLY GRAAL IN ITALIAN LITERATURE

In the still somewhat dim morning of Arthurian studies, Paulin Paris fancied that the 'sagro catino' in the cathedral at Genoa might have been the starting point of the romances of the Holy Graal. This famous relic, a hexagonal dish of green glass, is said to have been received by the Genoese as their share of the spoils at the taking of Caesarea from the Saracens in 1101. The story is told, in the latter part of the same century, by William of Tyre:

> Repertum est vas coloris viridissimi, in modum parapsidis formatum, quod praedicti Januenses smaragdinum reputantes, pro multa summa pecuniae in sortem recipientes, ecclesiae suae pro excellenti obtulerunt ornatu. Unde et usque hodie transeuntibus per eos magnatibus, vas idem quasi pro miraculo solent ostendere persuadentes quod vere sit, id quod color esse indicat, smaragdus[1].

At what precise date popular devotion began to connect this vessel with the Last Supper or the Precious Blood, we do not know; but the identification with the Holy Graal appears to be due to the archbishop, Jacopo da Voragine, towards the end of the thirteenth century:

> Est enim illud vas factum ad instar catini, unde vulgariter dicitur quod fuit ille catinus in quo Christus cum suis discipulis in coena comedit, de quo Christus dixit: *Qui intingit mecum manum in catino, hic me tradet.* Utrum autem hoc sit verum, ignoramus; sed quoniam Deo nihil est impossibile, ideo illud nec constanter asserimus, nec pertinaciter denegamus.....Istud autem sub silentio praetermittendum non est, quod in quibusdam libris Anglorum reperitur, quod quando Nicodemus Corpus Christi de Cruce deposuit, ejus sanguinem, qui adhuc recens erat, et ignominiose dispersus fuerat, ipse recollegit in quodam vase smeraldino sibi a Deo divinitus praesentato, et illud vas dicti Angli in libris suis *Sanguinalia* appellant. Illud autem vas Nicodemus cum multa reverentia custodivit. Tempore autem procedente Caesaream fuit translatum, et tandem Januam est deductum. Dignum ergo fuit, ut illud vas esset pretiosum, in quo reponi dedebat pretiosus thesaurus, scilicet Sanguis Jesu Christi[2].

This vague allusion to 'certain books of the English'—the writer being perhaps led by the legend of the Santo Volto at Lucca or the Saint-Sang relic at Fescamp to substitute Nicodemus for Joseph of Arimathea—is not the first reference to the Holy Graal by an Italian. Tomasino de' Cerchiari, of Cividale in the Friuli, in his German poem,

[1] *Hist. rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, x, xvi (Migne, *P.L.*, CCI, col. 469). Cf. P. Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs* (Paris, 1879), I, p. 353 *n.*

[2] *Chronica de civitate Januensi*, XI, xviii (Muratori, *R.I.S.*, IX, coll. 32–33). Cf. the elaborate work of Fra Gaetano da S. Teresa, *Il Catino di smeraldo orientale*, etc. (Genoa, 1726); J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, pp. 360–362. In 1319, during the struggle between Robert of Naples and the Visconti for the possession of Genoa, the Commune pawned the 'sagro catino' to Cardinal Luca de' Fieschi. Cf. R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, III, pp. 625–626. The document in *Hist. Patriae Monumenta*, XVIII (*Leges Genuenses*, Turin, 1901, col. 236 ff.), speaks 'de illo pretiosissimo vase, qui scutela seu Parasis vocatur.'

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Der Wälsche Gast, written in 1215 or 1216, speaks of the Graal in connection with Perceval[1]. Some years earlier, the name Gradalis, which Rajna found borne by a personage in a Pavian document of 1198, may be tentatively associated with the legend[2]. But the existence of the supposed relic at Genoa seems to have had no influence upon the development of the story in Italy. Among the frequent allusions to Arthurian names and matters in the lyrics of the thirteenth century, and the fuller treatment of such themes and motives in fourteenth-century poetry, the Graal and its questers seldom appear.

Fra Guittone d' Arezzo is one of the few Italian poets of the Duecento who show some knowledge of the version of the Graal story in which Perceval is the hero. In one of his canzoni, he is asking whether the lover should tell his lady or be content to serve on in silence:

> Fallenza era demando
> far lei, senza ragione:
> poi veggio che, sì stando,
> m' à sovra meritato el meo servire.
> Però 'n tacer m' asservo,
> per che già guiderdone
> non dea cheder bon servo:
> bisogna no ch' el cheri al suo servire,
> se no atendendo, lasso:
> poi, m' avenisse, lasso!
> che mi trovasse in fallo
> sì come Prenzevallo a non cherere;
> verrei a presente morto[3].

I tentatively understand this perplexing stanza thus: 'It were wrong to demand aught of her without reason, since I see that, abiding so, she has excessively rewarded my service. Therefore I remain silent, because a good servant should not indeed ask for guerdon; he need ask nought for his service save wearily to wait; then, if it befell me, alas, that she found me in fault like Perceval in not asking, straightway should I die.' The allusion is clearly to the episode in the poem of Chrétien de Troyes, where Perceval visits the Graal Castle, sees the solemn procession in which the Bleeding Lance and the Graal are borne past, but does not enquire the meaning of the pageant. It will be remembered that, when he has left the castle, he is questioned by a

[1] 'Ouwê, wâ bistu Parzivâl? | wan waer noch inder dehein grâl | und stüende er umb einn phenninc phant, | in erlôst niht Keyes hant.' *Der Wälsche Gast des Thomasin von Zirclaria*, ed. H. Rückert (Quedlinburg, 1852, p. 30), vv. 1075–78. Cf. G. Grion, *Tomasino de' Cerchiari poeta cividalese del Duecento* (Udine, n.d.), p. 99.

[2] *Gli eroi brettoni nell' onomastica italiana del secolo XII*, in *Romania*, XVII (1888), pp. 177, 178.

[3] *Amor tant' altamente*, in *Rime di Guittone d'Arezzo*, ed. F. Pellegrini, canz. XXI (p. 341). In line 8, I read 'bisogna' and 'al' (for 'bisognai' and 'el'), and take 'trovasse' in line 11 as third person singular (though it might be the archaic form of the first). Cf. Pellegrini's note, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

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damsel and told of the evils which will result from his having refrained from asking, and more sternly rebuked later on by the 'loathly damsel' who appears before Arthur at Carleon, when the evil consequences of his silence appear more extensive[1].

In the Franco-Italian poem, the *Entrée d'Espagne*, composed by an anonymous Paduan some time before 1320, the achievement of the Holy Graal is mentioned as an example of sustained labour[2]. The writer follows the Galahad version; for, when Charlemagne is indignant at his supposed desertion by Roland, this is his vow:

> Par cil Diex q'en la cros sofri paine et moleste,
> n'ala si Galaaz por le Graal en queste
> con je ferai par lui en plains et an foreste[3].

Neither Perceval nor Galahad appears, nor is there any representation of the Graal quest, among the numerous Arthurian personages and motives carved or painted in the palace of the sovereign lady in the *Intelligenza*, the allegorical poem attributed to Dino Compagni. In the *Amorosa visione* of Boccaccio, in the pageant of the Round Table, the position and association of the three questers of the Vulgate *Queste* show that the author knew the story:

> Il re Artù quasi era de primieri,
> a tutti armato avanti cavalcando
> ardito e fiero sopra un gran destrieri.
> Seguialo appresso Bordo speronando,
> e con lui Prenzivalle e Galeotto
> in picciol passo insieme ragionando[4].

'Galeotto' here is unquestionably intended for Galahad, as the true 'Galeotto,' Galehaut the 'haut prince,' appears presently in his place, following Lancelot and Guenevere. In the *Dittamondo*, Fazio degli Uberti, guided by Solinus through the countries of the world, in Brittany and England professes to see many of the sites connected with the chief episodes of the Arthurian story, but is silent about the Graal and does not name Galahad, though he speaks of his mother and of Corbenic:

> Vidi guasto e disfatto Camelotto;
> e fui là dove l' una e l' altra nacque,
> quella di Corbenich e di Scalotto[5].

[1] *Perceval le Gallois*, ed. C. Potvin, vv. 4421–31, 4744–68, 5981–6061. The Venetian troubadour, Bartolomeo Zorzi (a contemporary of Guittone), alludes to the episode of Perceval confessing to his uncle, in his sestina *En tal dezir mos cors intra* (Emil Levy, *Der Troubadour Bertolome Zorzi*, Halle, 1883, p. 68). I have already (*M.L.R.*, xx, pp. 330–331) indicated a possible reference to Wauchier's continuation of *Perceval* in the *Mare amoroso*.

[2] *L'Entrée d' Espagne, chanson de geste franco-italienne*, ed. A. Thomas (Paris, 1913), v. 8728. Cf. F. Torraca, on the date of the poem, in his *Studi di storia letteraria* (Florence, 1923).

[3] *Ibid.*, vv. 9229–31.

[4] *Amorosa visione*, Canto xi. The normal Italian form of Galahad is Galasso, but it also appears as Galas, Galead, Galeas, Galeazzo, Galeatto, Galeotto.

[5] *Dittamondo*, iv, 23.

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The author of the curious poem which Rajna edited as *Il Cantare dei Cantari* (composed probably between 1380 and 1422), enumerating all the subjects upon which he is prepared to write or sing, includes the story of the Holy Graal and the birth of Galahad, for whom he expresses a peculiar affection:

> Ben ordinato tutto 'l San Gradale,
> e 'l nascimento di messer Galasso;
> ma non sie nullo che l' abia per male,
> parlando di costui se gli altri lasso[1].

We possess, however, as far as I know, no *cantare* of the Holy Graal, though Galahad is incidentally mentioned—without reference to his quest—in several such poems. Thus, in the *Pulzella Gaia*, he figures quaintly as 'Galasso tanto dotto' among the knights errant whom Brehus is seeking with evil intent[2]; and, in the *cantare* of the combat between Lancelot and Tristram at the rock of Merlin, the former, reading the inscription that the two best knights of all the world are to fight there, thinks that one may be Galahad: 'Forse che 'l mio figliol Galasso fia[3].' In the *Cantari di Lancellotto*, King Pelles and his daughter send aid to Lancelot during the siege of Joyous Garde:

> Anchora i' re Pilesse e lla sua figlia,
> che madre fu del forte Ghaleatto,
> lor mandò giente pro' a maraviglia;

though the poet knew so little of the Graal story that he apparently supposed that Galahad was ultimately buried with his father and Galehaut[4].

In early Italian prose, on the other hand, we possess two fragmentary Graal texts, the one inserted in the *Tavola Ritonda*, the other—at present unpublished—forming a portion of the Arthurian medley in the Codice Panciatichiano 33 of the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence[5].

The *Tavola Ritonda*, perhaps the most important Arthurian prose romance in Italian, owes something of its general reputation to the fact that it was used by M. Bédier in his reconstruction of the *Tristan* of

[1] *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, II (1878), p. 434 (stanza 45).
[2] *Fiore di Leggende* (*Cantari leggendari*), ed. E. Levi (Bari, 1914), p. 46.
[3] *I cantari di Carduino giuntovi quello di Tristano e Lancielotto quando combattettero al petrone di Merlino*, ed. P. Rajna (Bologna, 1873), p. 55.
[4] *Li Chantari di Lancellotto*, ed. E. T. Griffiths (Oxford, 1924), IV, 10, VII, 47–48. Cf. *M.L.R.*, XX, pp. 215–216. In the Vulgate *Queste*, the mother of Galahad is dead before the siege of Joyous Garde. Cf. Sommer, *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, VI, p. 182; Malory, XVIII, xvi. Galahad is just named in the *Orlando Furioso* (IV, 52), but with no mention of the Graal.
[5] In the *Tristano Riccardiano* (ed. E. G. Parodi, Bologna, 1896), the Graal quest is incidentally mentioned in connection with the accidental slaying of the messenger of King Pharamont's daughter by Tristram (p. 47). Cf. Löseth, *Le roman en prose de Tristan*, § 27. The version of the Graal quest in *L'illustre et famosa historia di Lancillotto dal Lago* (Venice, 1558–59) is, like the rest of this work, a direct translation of the printed French romance. The references to the quest in the *Opere magnanime dei due Tristani* (Venice, 1555, translated from the Spanish), I, 109, II, 64, have no significance.

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Thomas[1]. It is decidedly later than formerly supposed and certainly not earlier than the second decade of the fourteenth century. It is an attempt—comparable, upon a much lower plane, with that of Malory—to fuse various branches of the Arthurian cycle into a consistent whole. With considerable skill, the compiler weaves into a redaction of the prose *Tristan*, very similar to that previously utilised in the *Tristano Riccardiano*, a fragment of the *Palamède* and some portions of the *Lancelot* together with other motives and episodes of which the origins are still to be traced. He appears also to have had before him a fragment of the poem of Thomas, six of his chapters being based upon that rather than on the prose *Tristan*. Among the episodes from unidentified sources are the story of Messer Ferragunze which is closely related with the English metrical romance, *The Avowing of Sir Bawdewyn*[2]; that of Sir Lasancis (which reappears in another form in the *Orlando Innamorato*), the knight who attempts to destroy the whole of the Round Table with his magic lance, and is finally defeated by Tristram[3]; and the beginning of the story of Gawain's fairy bride, the daughter of Morgan le Fay, which is told in full, a little later, in the *Pulzella Gaia*, one of the most charming poems of the fourteenth century[4]. The compiler freely rehandles his matter, suppressing or adding, changing the order of his episodes, anticipating, as Parodi observes, the attitude which Italy will afterwards assume towards the 'matter of France.' It must be added that the figure of Lancelot suffers considerably in the process, though Mordred ultimately falls by his hand instead of by that of Arthur. The fair Maiden of Ascalot disappears. Lancelot's rescue of Guenevere from the fire occurs at an early stage of the romance, in order that Tristram may relieve the siege of Joyous Garde and induce Arthur to pardon the lovers; an unfortunate device which involves another scene, in its proper place, where Lancelot is again surprised with the Queen, and a second siege of Joyous Garde follows.

It is a 'Tristan form' of the Graal story that we are given[5]; the

[1] *La Tavola Ritonda o l'istoria di Tristano*, ed. F. L. Polidori (Bologna, 1864). Cf. J. Bédier, *Le roman de Tristan par Thomas* (Paris, 1903–1905), I, pp. iv–v, and *passim*; E. G. Parodi, *Il Tristano Riccardiano*, introduction, pp. lxxxvii–cviii.

[2] Capp. X–XI. The *Avowynge* was edited by J. Robson, *Three early English Metrical Romances* (London, Camden Society, 1842). Neither E. A. Greenlaw, *The Vows of Balduin* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXI), nor G. L. Kittredge, *The Avowing of Arthur* (*Modern Language Notes*, VIII), seems acquainted with the episode in the *Tavola Ritonda*, the connection of which with the English poem was first noted by Parodi, *op. cit.*, p. civ *n.*

[3] Cap. LXXXVII.

[4] Capp. LXXXI, CXXIV (p. 487). Cf. E. Levi, *I cantari leggendari del popolo italiano* (Turin, 1914), pp. 43–45.

[5] Cf. Miss J. L. Weston, *The Quest of the Holy Grail* (London, 1913), pp. 26–27; Löseth, *op. cit.*, pp. 278 ff.

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compiler combines an abbreviation of portions of the Vulgate *Queste* with adventures of Tristram. It begins with the engendering and birth of Galahad; his mother, 'la donzella Perevida' or 'Provida' (it will be remembered that the name 'Elaine' is peculiar to Malory), is the daughter of king 'Pilles Pescaor,' who, by a curious confusion, is king of 'Organia' (Orkney). The knighting of Galahad by Lancelot, the filling of the Siege Perilous, the adventure of the Sword in the Stone, and the entry of the Holy Graal into the palace (it is covered with red, instead of white, samite) are much as in the *Queste* and in Malory, save that Tristram is present and is contrasted with Galahad as 'lo più pro' cavaliere mondano che nascesse in questo mondo, lo più gentile e lo più cortese[1].' Tristram is among the first to vow himself to the quest, and, when the knights separate, he accompanies Lancelot. Galahad's acquisition of the shield of Joseph of Arimathea is summed up in a few sentences. After various adventures alone or in company with Lancelot (in one of which a daughter of the latter bids him promise God 'di non peccare mai colla reina Isotta'), Tristram abandons the quest of the Holy Graal in order to return to the Queen:

> Ed era assai più desideroso di vedere la reina Isotta, che di sedere alla santa Tavola, sì come sedeano i dodici cavalieri ch' erano sanza pensiere di peccato carnale, e sanza odio nè superbia....E sappiate che 'l pensiere e la volontà di vedere Isotta, tolse a Tristano la grazia di non vedere e di non sentire; e se ciò non fosse stato, sarebbe stato, pella sua leanza e cortesia, degli primi a vedere e a gustare la grazia del santo Vasello[2].

Lancelot's experiences in the quest—those wonderful chapters reproduced for us by Malory—are reduced to a few colourless sentences. We have another adventure of Tristram's, in which he is delivered from death by Palamede[3], and the story then turns to Perceval, Bors, and Galahad. The adventures of these three are an abbreviation of the Vulgate *Queste* with a few unimportant modifications. Perceval comes to the heritage of the former Queen of the Waste Lands—here called his sister, but not confused with the maiden 'suora carnale' who appears later—from whom he hears of his mother's death and the story of the three Tables. He is rescued from the twenty knights by Galahad, has the adventure of the demon horse, intervenes between the lion and the serpent, is tempted by the fiendish damsel of the black ship, enters the white ship at the bidding of the old man. Bors confesses to the hermit, has the vision of the Pelican, is entertained by the oppressed lady (whose cause, however, he does not undertake), dreams of the two birds, refrains from rescuing Lionel in order to save the damsel, and sees the

[1] Cap. CIX, p. 431. [2] Cap. CXV, p. 453. [3] Cf. Löseth, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

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false semblance of his brother dead. He is tempted by the twelve seeming damsels of the tower. A hermit expounds these matters, and assures him that Lionel is living. The wonderful scene of his meeting with Lionel[1]—surely, as retold by Malory, one of the great things of literature—does not occur. He joins Perceval on the ship covered with white samite. The tale turns to Galahad with his coming to an abbey, and, in virtue of his pure virginity, quenching the fires that torment a dead man[2]. Departing thence, he meets Perceval's sister—here called Agrestizia—who brings him to the seaboard to the ship where Bors and her brother are waiting. They are borne to the Ship of Solomon, where Agrestizia explains the wonders on board, and, with the belt made out of her own hair, girds Galahad with the Sword with the Strange Hangings. There is no hint of the beautiful speech with which we are familiar from Malory: 'Now reck I not though I die, for now I hold me one of the blessed maidens of the world, which hath made the worthiest knight of the world[3].' Then follows the story of the wicked sons of 'il conte Ervens,' and the injunction, here uttered by the count himself before his death, to go and heal the Maimed King. The episode of the stag and the four lions is omitted, the story passing straight to the 'Castello Aspetta Ventura' and the self-immolation of Perceval's sister, somewhat modified from the Vulgate *Queste*. The three pass to the castle of Corbenic, the mending of the broken sword, the gathering of the twelve at the Holy Table, the revelation of the Grual, the coming of Joseph, the issuing of Christ from the sacred Vessel. The whole scene in the castle follows the *Queste* fairly closely—save that two of the chosen twelve come from Scotland instead of Denmark. The failure of Lancelot, Hector de Maris, and Gawain is indicated, and the slaying of knights by Gawain in his wrath 'solo perchè egli era stato degli primi cominciatori della detta inchiesta[4].' The body of Perceval's sister does not go independently to Sarras, but is found on the ship of Solomon with the sacred Vessel at her head. What happens at Sarras is much abbreviated. The questers are not imprisoned, but the king dies on the night of their arrival, and the conclusion—the coronation of Galahad, his death after a year, Perceval's retirement to the desert as a hermit, and the return of Bors to Camelot—is barely summarised.

The Codice Panciatichiano 33—labelled 'Conti della Tavola Rotonda'

[1] Cf. F. Lot, *Étude sur le Lancelot en prose*, pp. 104–105.
[2] A confusion of the episode of the tomb of Simeon here placed out of its proper order. Cf. Malory, XVII, xviii.
[3] Malory, XVII, vii. Cf. Sommer, VI, p. 163.
[4] Cap. CXXI, p. 475.

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—is a manuscript of the fourteenth century. It is made up of five independent sections: a fragment of the Graal quest (ff. 1–38); a portion of the Tristram romance from his birth to the false report of his death (ff. 39 v–116 v), following in part a redaction of the prose *Tristan* similar to that of the *Tristano Riccardiano*, in part another redaction, including episodes omitted in the earlier Italian romance; after some adventures of Brehus sans Pitie and Lancelot (ff. 121–127), a version of a portion of the *Mort Artu* from the return of Bors to the point where, after the episode of the poisoned apples, and the combat between Lancelot and Mador, Mordred and Agravaine lay their snares to entrap Lancelot with the Queen (ff. 128–146 v)[1]; a further instalment of the story of Tristram (ff. 150–269 v), including the great tournament; the last adventures and death of Tristram (ff. 271–284). This final section (ff. 271–284) was printed by Parodi to complete the *Tristano Riccardiano*[2]; the other sections are still unpublished.

It is with the first section alone that I am here concerned. There is a lacuna of four pages (ff. 4–5) where the old man should bring Galahad (here called 'Galeotto' or 'Galeatto') to the Siege Perilous, but otherwise the matter is practically that included in the thirteenth book of Malory. It covers the story from the assembly at Camelot at the vigil of Pentecost to Lancelot's adventure at the chapel, the admonition of the hermit, the vow to sin no more with Guenevere, and the knight's departure with the fresh horse and arms. With a few minor variations, the manuscript follows the *Queste* of the Vulgate cycle more closely than Malory does; indeed it is frequently a literal translation of the French text[3]; but there is one somewhat startling divergence. The Holy Graal enters the hall of Arthur's palace, not so that 'there was none might see it, nor who bare it'; but on the horns of a white stag bound with four golden chains which are held by four men in white raiment:

Quando ellino fuoro tutti asettati a sedere, allora udittero uno sì grande tono et sì merauilioso sie che fu loro auiso che llo palazzo prifondasse loro sotto. Et incontenente intrò là entro una raia di sole che fece più chiaro lo palagio che fusse mai et più risprendente a sette doppi che non era dinanzi, et sie furono tanto tosto cosie com' elli fussero tutti ripieni della gratia del Sancto Spirito, et incominciano a guardare l' uno inuerso l' altro perch' elli non potieno uedere nè sapere donde loro uenia questa uiuanda. Non per tanto che non ue ne auea niuno che parlare potesse nè fare motto colla boccha anzi fuoro tutti amutolati per grande pezza. Di tanto quanto elli istettero et grande pezza dimoronno in tale maniera che nullo di loro non potea parlare, e sie riguardaua l' uno l' altro come bestie mutole. *Allora intrò dentro per lla*

[1] This section includes a singularly beautiful version of the episode of the Maiden of Ascalot with a text of her letter (ff. 143–143 v), with which I am dealing elsewhere.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 371–406. Cf. his description of the MS., pp. xix–xxxvi.

[3] Sommer, vi, pp. 3–51.

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grande sala del palagio una molto bella ceruia biancha ch' era legata con quatro catene d' oro, et queste quatro catene teniano in mano quatro huomini con uestimenta bianche, et la ceruia auea in suso le corna uno uagello codunno sciamito biancho, et ui entro si era lo Santo Gradale. Et incontenente ch' elli fu dentro sì fue pieno lo palagio tutto di buono odoro, sie come tutte le spetie terrene ui fussero di parte. Et sie andoe per mezzo lo palagio d' una parte et d' altra, et tutto d' intorno a l' uscia, et tutto cosie com' elli passaua per mezzo le tauole tutte erano incontenente ripiene le tauole, ciaschuno chaualiere di quella uiuanda ch' elli pensaua di uolere[1].

The appearance of the white stag as bearer of the Graal occurs elsewhere in Arthurian literature. It is found, under totally different circumstances, in *Le Livre d'Artus*, edited by Dr Sommer from the MS. 337 of the Bibliothèque Nationale[2]. Here a company of knights with Nascien the hermit, in a forest near the land of Galehaut, meet the procession of the Graal headed by a white stag with a red cross on its forehead and lighted tapers on the horns, bearing upon its back the sacred Vessel covered with a cloth of silk:

Et quant il orent erre iusquen droite hore de tierce si encontrerent un cerf blanc come laine le plus grant et le plus merueilleus que il onques eussent ueu a nul ior de lor uie. Et auoit v branches granz et merueilleuses toutes branchues, et une croiz uermeille en mi le front plus uermeille que fins sanc, et portoit seur son dos un ueissel couert dun paile precieus le plus riche qui onques fust ueuz en nule terre.

It is followed by a white brachet, and a young girl leading on silver chains two white animals the size of coneys, after which comes a weeping knight on a litter drawn by four small palfreys: 'Et quant li compaignon uoient aprochier [li cerf et cels de sa compaignie] si sunt si esbahi de remirer cele grant merueille que onques ne lor menbra de demander que ce estoit. Encore uirent il autre merueille que li cers portoit sus ses cornes deus cierges qui toz iors ardoient sanz estaindre[3].'

The entry of this stag with the four men in white raiment, in the great scene in Arthur's hall, seems peculiar to our Italian text. It is obvious that the apparition represents Christ and the four Evangelists, and is closely related with that later episode in the *Queste*, where Galahad, Bors, and Perceval with his sister 'saw afore them a white hart which four lions led.' 'And at the secrets of the mass they three saw the hart become a man, the which marvelled them, and set Him upon the altar in a rich siege; and saw the four lions were changed, the one to the form of a man, the other to the form of a lion, and the third to an eagle, and the fourth was changed unto an ox.' And the hermit bade them wit well: 'Offtimes or this Our Lord showed Him unto good men, and unto

[1] ff. 7v–8.
[2] *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, VII (1913). Cf. Miss J. L. Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, p. 264*n*., and *Quest of the Holy Grail*, p. 154.
[3] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 244, 245.

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good knights, in likeness of an hart[1].' Perhaps, rather than the legends of St Hubert or St Eustace, the association with the Graal suggests that of Fescamp: the 'cherf mout mervelleurs,' 'blanc comme nef ou comme let,' that led Duke Ansegis to the Tree which marked the spot for the foundation of the Abbey[2].

In a famous sentence of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, concerning the pre-eminence of French in vernacular prose, Dante speaks of 'Arturi regis ambages pulcerrimae[3].' Had he any knowledge of the story of the Holy Graal? Arthurian motives are not lacking in his works. The dream which is the subject of the first sonnet of the *Vita Nuova*, the dream in which Love makes Beatrice eat of her lover's heart, harks back to the famous lines in the *Tristan* of Thomas where Iseult sings of how the Count gave the heart of Guirun to his wife to eat, though it would be hazardous to suggest that this is its direct source[4]. The sonnets, *Piangete amanti* and *Morte villana*, and more particularly the episode of the passing of the pilgrims through Florence, show remarkable resemblances with the scene of the coming of the physicians of Salerno in the *Cligés* of Chrétien de Troyes, but it is difficult to imagine a direct indebtedness[5]. The magic boat and the 'buono incantatore' of the sonnet to Guido Cavalcanti unquestionably have their ultimate source in the prose *Tristan*[6]. The fifth canto of the *Inferno*, the canto of Tristram, of Paolo and Francesca, has woven into its substance—to an extent, I believe, not yet fully recognised by the commentators—motives and colour from the prose *Tristan* and the Galehaut branch of the *Lancelot*[7]. From the latter, again, comes the image of the cough of the Lady of Malehaut in the *Paradiso*[8]. The *Mort Artu* gave Dante the death of Mordred in the *Inferno*, and the last phase of Lancelot, 'lo cavaliere

[1] Malory, XVII, ix. Cf. Sommer, VI, pp. 166–168. See the full text of the hermit's words in the latter.

[2] Leroux de Lincy, *Essai sur l'Abbaye de Fécamp* (Rouen, 1840), pp. 153–154. Cf. Miss Weston, *Quest of the Holy Grail*, pp. 56–58.

[3] *V.E.*, I, 10. Cf. P. Rajna, 'Arturi regis ambages pulcerrime,' in *Studi danteschi* diretti da M. Barbi, I, pp. 91–99.

[4] *V.N.*, § iii; *Le roman de Tristan par Thomas*, ed. Bédier, I, p. 295, vv. 833–842. Cf. E. Levi, *I lais brettoni e la leggenda di Tristano* (Perugia, 1918).

[5] *V.N.*, § viii (Son. III and IV), § xl [xli]; *Cligès*, vv. 5789 ff. Cf. M. Scherillo's notes on the latter episode in his edition of the *V.N.*, and W. W. Comfort in the *Romanic Review*, II (1911), pp. 209–210.

[6] *Rime*, ed. Barbi, LII; *Oxford Dante*, ed. Toynbee, Son. XXXII. Cf. Rajna, *Dante e i romanzi della Tavola Rotonda*, pp. 242–243.

[7] Cf. P. Toynbee, *Dante and the Lancelot Romance*, in his *Dante Studies and Researches* (London, 1902); F. Torraca, *Il canto V dell' Inferno*, in his *Studi danteschi* (Naples, 1912); P. Rajna, *op. cit.* (*Nuova Antologia*, June 1, 1920); N. Zingarelli, *Le reminiscenze del 'Lancelot,'* in Barbi's *Studi danteschi*, I. Torraca first pointed out that the *Tristan* no less than the *Lancelot* shares in the making of the Francesca episode; its influence seems to me very marked throughout the canto.

[8] *Par.* XVI, 13–15. Cf. Toynbee, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 ff.; Rajna, *op. cit.*, pp. 232–234.

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Lancelotto,' in one of the most beautiful chapters of the *Convivio*[1]. Rajna has suggested that there are reminiscences of the Graal story in the concluding cantos of the *Purgatorio*: in the description of the Earthly Paradise (which recalls, for instance, that in the *Perlesvaus*, where Lancelot approaches the Graal castle), and in the pageant which Dante beholds therein[2]. We might, perhaps, notice that the rebuke to Sir Lancelot in the *Queste*, for having taken upon him 'the adventures of spiritual things,' is paralleled by that of Beatrice to Dante: 'Come degnasti d' accedere al monte[3]?' But to me these resemblances seem purely fortuitous; personally, I am unable to trace any direct influence of the legend of the Holy Graal upon Dante; his mysticism has, it seems to me, a totally different character: intellectual rather than sacramental[4].

The story of the Holy Graal took no root in Italian soil; its mysticism was of a kind alien to the Italian genius. A curious illustration of the same spirit may be seen in another field of Arthurian legend: a field represented by the *cantari* of the fourteenth century. The *Pulzella Gaia*, though fused with other, more purely Arthurian matter, harks back in the main to the class of French poems represented by the *lai* of *Graelent* and the *Lanval* of Marie de France; poems in which a knight rejects the love of a queen (in this case Guenevere), wins that of a fairy maiden, infringes an injunction that the latter lays upon him, but is ultimately reunited to her. But it differs from the French poems in that the hero is not ultimately conveyed to the mysterious land of his bride, but draws her permanently into the land of the living at Arthur's court[5]. The same motive—the love of a mortal for a fairy, the revelation of the secret, and ultimate reunion after a series of adventures—is found in two other *cantari* of the same century, but without the Arthurian setting: the *Bel Gherardino* and *Liombruno*[6]. Here, too, is the characteristic Italian feature: the lover finally brings his mistress into the mortal world, instead of himself being conveyed to hers of Avalon or some such supernatural region.

LONDON. EDMUND G. GARDNER.

[1] *Inf.* XXXII, 61–62; *Conv.* IV, 28. The enumeration of the lovers of antiquity or romance on Virgil's lips (*Inf.* V, 52–67) recalls not only *Aen.* VI, 445–451, but the passage in the *Mort Artu* where Bors gives Guenevere a list of famous men undone by love or through women. Cf. Sommer, VI, pp. 244–245; *Mort Artu*, ed. Bruce, p. 58.

[2] Rajna, *op. cit.*, pp. 243–246. Cf. *Perlesvaus*, X, 9, XXII, 1–2, with *Purg.* XXVIII.

[3] *Purg.* XXX, 74.

[4] The ingenious attempt of Dr L. A. Fisher, *The Mystic Vision in the Grail Legend and in the Divine Comedy* (Columbia University Press, 1917), to show that the mystical procession in the *Purgatorio* is a Dantesque rendering of a procession of the Blessed Sacrament, leaves me unconvinced.

[5] *Fiore di Leggende*, ed. E. Levi, II.

[6] *Ibid.*, I and III.

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DANTE NOTES.

I.

Epistola viii, 54–59.

My attention has been called to a proposed emendation in this passage which, it appears, is claimed by Dr Bertalot in a recent article in the *Giornale Dantesco* (Vol. xxvii, pp. 38–40: 'Zum Text von Dantes Brief an die italienischen Kardinäle'); but which, as a matter of fact, was published eighty years ago, and will be found registered in the *apparatus criticus* printed in my article on this letter in the *Modern Language Review* for April 1918 (Vol. xiii, pp. 208 ff.).

In the Laurentian MS., the only MS. in which this letter has been preserved, this passage runs: 'Vobis columbas in templo vendentibus ubique pretio mensurari non possunt in detimentum hinc inde communrancium venalia facta sunt.' Here are three scribal errors: *ubique* for *ubi que* (= *quae*); *detimentum* for *detrimentum*; and *communrancium*, which is the subject of the present note.

Several corrections of this word have been proposed. Witte, who first printed this letter in full in 1827 in his *Dantis Alligherii Epistolae quae exstant*, ignoring palaeographical considerations, for *hinc inde communrancium* substituted (*sub silentio*) *haec ad commutandum*, a reading which was adopted without question by all subsequent editors of the letter, with one exception, down to and including Dr Moore in the third edition of the *Oxford Dante* in 1904, and Passerini in 1910. The one exception was Luigi Muzzi, who in 1845 printed at Prato, in his *Tre Epistole Latine di Dante Allighieri restituite a più vera lezione*, an improved text of this letter, based upon a fresh collation of the MS. He rejected Witte's emendation in this passage, and printed *hinc inde commutantium*, without, however, notifying his departure from the MS. reading in his *apparatus criticus*—an omission presumably due either to an oversight, or to his having taken *commutantium* to be the reading of the MS.

In 1912 Professor Rostagno printed in a limited edition, 'per nozze,' a diplomatic transcript of the MS. text, with sundry notes, which was subsequently reprinted in *La Bibliofilia* for November of that year. To Rostagno is due the correction *commorantium*, which was adopted

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by me with considerable hesitation in my critical text, and which has since been received by Professor Pistelli into the Florentine *testo critico*. The difficulty, of course, lies in the association of *commoror* with *hinc inde*—a difficulty which I had to slur over in my translation by rendering 'to the hurt of them that come and go therein.' Dr Heberden, to whom several of the happiest emendations in the text of this letter are due, suggested that the correct reading might be *commeantium* (*e* = *ur*), or *commigrantium* (*igr* = *ur*); but neither of these is satisfactory from the palaeographical point of view. The same objection applies to *commercantium* (*erc* = *ur*), which was proposed by Professor Torraca.

The emendation now put forward by Dr Bertalot is none other than the reading of Muzzi—*hinc inde commutantium*—which I had considered and rejected in favour of the *commorantium* of Rostagno, a decision largely influenced no doubt by his reputation as a scholar and palaeographer. On reconsideration, however, I am now inclined to think that Muzzi's reading, *commutantium*, is the correct one. It involves the change of one letter only in the MS. reading, *t* for *r*. Palaeographically it is more satisfactory than that of Rostagno, which also involves the change of a single letter only; but *t* and *r* (in one of its forms, that used in the present instance) would be much more likely to be confounded by a copyist than *o* and *u*. From the point of view of the sense also it is more satisfactory, the association of *commutantes* with *hinc inde*, implying 'bartering or bargaining on this side and that,' being at any rate less unnatural than with *commorantes*.

I regret to have to add that I find I have omitted by an oversight in the new edition of the *Oxford Dante* to correct the misreading *templis*, for *templo*, in this passage—a correction which was duly made in my critical texts of this letter printed in the *Modern Language Review*, and in my edition of the *Epistolae*.

II.

Alleged Arab Sources of the 'Divina Commedia.'

In an elaborate memoir, entitled 'La Escatología Musulmana en la *Divina Comedia*,' which was read before the Real Academia Español at Madrid in 1919, and published in a substantial volume in the same year, Don Miguel Asín Palacios expounded with great learning his theory that Dante was largely indebted to Islamic sources for the scheme of the *Divina Commedia*[1]. Not till the close of his memoir,

[1] An article on this work, by Sir Thomas Arnold, was published in the *Modern Language Review* for Oct. 1919 (Vol. xiv, pp. 436–9).

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and then only briefly, does Don Asín touch on the question with which one would have expected him to deal at the outset, namely, the question of transmission—how could Dante have come by the intimate knowledge of Musulman eschatology, accessible only in Arabic texts, which is postulated by this theory?

To this enquiry Don Asín is content to reply with the suggestion, 'l'unica, piccola e inaspettata congettura,' as Parodi calls it[1], that the medium of transmission was Dante's 'master,' Brunetto Latino, who is known to have visited Spain in 1260 as ambassador from the Florentine government to Alphonso X of Castile (one of the candidates for the imperial crown), whose assistance the Guelfs were anxious to obtain against Manfred and the Ghibellines. But Don Asín was either ignorant of, or ignored, the fact, which the critics were not slow to point out, that, as Brunetto himself records in the *Tesoretto*, his sojourn in Spain was of the briefest. 'Esso comune sagio,' he writes at the beginning of the second division of his poem,

Esso comune sagio,
Mi fece suo messagio
All' alto re di Spagna
Ch' or è re de la Magna
E la corona atende
Se Dio no gliel contende.
E io presi conpagna
E andai in Ispagna
E feci l' ambasciata
Che mi fu comandata:
E poi sanza sogiorno
Ripresi mio ritorno....

'I accomplished the mission,' he says, 'on which I was sent, and returned without delay.'

Don Asín's suggestion, then, amounts to this; that Brunetto Latino in the course of a few weeks in Spain, five years before Dante was born, though ignorant of Arabic, familiarised himself with the details of Musulman eschatology, and a quarter of a century or so later, when he was a septuagenarian, imparted this information in all its details (of which, it may be observed, not the slightest trace is to be found in his own encyclopaedic work, *Li Tresors*) to Dante, who stored it up, and eventually embodied it in the *Divina Commedia*.

Nothing daunted, however, by the demonstration of the difficulties of his position, Don Asín has lately returned to the charge, and issued a reply to his critics in an article of more than a hundred pages in the *Revista de Archivos*, which was reprinted last year at Madrid as a

[1] See his article in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. XXVI, 163 ff.

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brochure with the title, *La Escatología Musulmana en la Divina Comedia: Historia y critica de una polémica.* In this article, which has been reproduced in full in the *Giornale Dantesco*, and in a somewhat abbreviated form in French in the *Revue de littérature comparée*, and in English in the Swedish review *Litteris*, a new medium of communication between Islam and Dante is brought upon the scene in the person of Guido Cavalcanti, Dante's most intimate friend, 'quegli, cui io chiamo primo de' miei amici,' as he styles him in the *Vita Nuova.*

Since the publication of his original thesis Don Asín has learnt that Guido went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint James at Santiago de Compostela, 'il Barone Per cui laggiù si visita Galizia' (*Par.* XXV, 17–18), and he now hails with delight the idea that it was from Guido that Dante derived his knowledge of Musulman eschatology, which Guido would have picked up during his stay in Spain. That Guido set out on such a pilgrimage (probably about the year 1294) is an undoubted fact, which is recorded by Dino Compagni in his *Cronica* in connexion with an unsuccessful attempt by Corso Donati to assassinate Guido while on this journey[1].

But Don Asín is even more unfortunate in this theory than in the former, for while Brunetto Latino did at any rate reach the court of Castile, it so happens that Guido never entered Spain at all; for when he got as far as Toulouse, one of the regular stages for pilgrims to Compostela, like Petrarch at Avignon some thirty years later, he succumbed to the charms of a lady whom he saw in church.

This lady, whom Guido describes in one of his sonnets[2] as

> Una giovane donna di Tolosa,
> Bell' e gentil, d' onesta leggiadria,

as we learn from his ballata on the subject, was a certain Mandetta, and the church where he saw her was that of La Daurade:

> E' mi ricorda che 'n Tolosa
> Donna m' apparve accordellata istretta,
> Amor la quale chiama la Mandetta:
> giunse sì presta e forte
> che 'n fin dentro a la morte
> mi colpir gli occhi sui.
> Vanne a Tolosa, ballatetta mia,
> ed entra quetamente a la Dorata:
> ed ivi chiama che per cortesia

[1] 'Uno giovane gentile, figliuolo di m. Cavalcante Cavalcanti, nobile cavaliere, chiamato Guido, cortese e ardito ma sdegnoso e solitario e intento allo studio, nimico di m. Corso, avea più volte deliberato offenderlo. M. Corso forte lo temea, perchè lo conosceva di grande animo; e cercò d' assassinarlo, andando Guido in pellegrinaggio a Santo Iacopo; e non li venne fatto.' (*Cronica*, I, 20, ed. I. Del Lungo, Vol. I, p. 90.)

[2] Son. XXI, in Ercole, *Guido Cavalcanti e le sue Rime*, p. 305.

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d' alcuna bella donna, sia menata
dinanzi a quella cui t' ò pregata:
e s' ella ti riceve,
dille con voce leve:
per merzè vegno a vui[1].

The rencontre with the fair Mandetta brought Guido's pilgrimage to an untimely end; after a stay in Provence of uncertain duration, in the course of which he visited Nîmes[2], he returned to Florence, and was thus effectually prevented from qualifying for the rôle imagined for him by Don Asín, whose new theory consequently as to the transmission to Dante of Musulman eschatology proves as untenable as the original one, and leaves his thesis as much in the air as before.

III.

Some Recent Japanese Publications on Dante.

Five years ago (Sept. 2, 1920) I contributed to *The Times Literary Supplement* a brief account of the activities of the Japanese Dante Society, and of its organ, the *Arno*, which had been founded in view of the approaching celebration of the sixth centenary of the death of Dante. It may be of interest to record the recent progress of Dante studies in Japan. Within the last few months I have received from my Japanese correspondent, Mr Jukichi Oga, of Osaka, no less than eight volumes, six containing translations, the two others Dante studies, and the life of Dante. Their contents are as follows:

1. *Shinkyoku Jigokuhen* (*Divina Commedia: Inferno*), translated with notes by the Rev. Masaki Nakayama. Second edition, Tokyo, 1924. Print from photograph of the Naples bronze bust of Dante as frontispiece.

2. *Shinkyoku Regokuhen* (*Divina Commedia: Purgatorio*), translated with notes by the same. Second edition, Tokyo, 1924. Print from photograph of the death-mask of Dante as frontispiece.

3. *Shinkyoku Tenkokuhen* (*Divina Commedia: Paradiso*), translated with notes by the same. Second edition, Tokyo, 1924. Print from the portrait of Dante by Amico di Sandro, prefixed to the 1529 Venice edition of the *Divina Commedia*, as frontispiece.

[1] Ball. VII, in *op. cit.*, pp. 379 ff.

[2] This appears from the sonnet, 'Ècci venuto Guido a Compostello,' of Niccola Muscia (probably a Florentine rather than a Sienese, as sometimes supposed) on the subject of Guido's pilgrimage which has been preserved in the *Canzoniere Chigiano* edited by Molteni and Monaci (p. 200), and is now included with an emended text by Massèra in his *Sonetti burleschi e realistici dei primi due secoli* (Bari, 1920), I, p. 57. See Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, Vol. I, pp. 1098–9.

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The above form the first three volumes of a projected series of translations of the complete works of Dante.

4. *Shinsei; Shishû* (*Vita Nuova* and *Rime*), translated with notes by the Rev. Masaki Nakayama. Second edition, Tokyo, 1925 (first published in 1917). Print of Rossetti's 'Beata Beatrix' as frontispiece. This volume, which constitutes Vol. IV of the 'Translation of Dante's Complete Works,' contains also an abridged translation of Norton's essay on the *Vita Nuova*, and an essay on the *Rime*.

5. *Dante Kyoen* (Dante's *Convivio*), translated by the same. Vol. I (*Tratt.* i–iii), Tokyo, 1925. (Forms Vol. V of the 'Translation of Dante's Complete Works.')

6. *Shisei Dante* (Dante the Divine Poet), by the Rev. Masaki Nakayama. Second edition, Tokyo, 1924 (first published in 1921). Print of Dante after Raphael as frontispiece. Contents:

Part I. Dante and his Times. (Chap. 1. Life of Dante; Chap. 2. Europe in the thirteenth century; Chap. 3. Florence.)
Part II. Dante as a Lyrical Poet. (Chap. 1. The *Vita Nuova*; Chap. 2. Beatrice; Chap. 3. The Lyrical Poetry of Italy.)
Part III. Dante as a Scholar. (Chap. 1. Dante the Scholar; Chap. 2. The *Convivio*; Chap. 3. The *De Vulgari Eloquentia* and other Works.)
Part IV. Dante as a Politician. (Chap. 1. The Political Feuds of Florence; Chap. 2. The Exile; Chap. 3. The *De Monarchia*.)

7. *Dante Shinkyoku no Kenkya* (Study of Dante's *Divina Commedia*), by the same. Second edition, Tokyo, 1924 (first published in 1921). Print of Bargello portrait of Dante (after Marini's repainting) as frontispiece. Contents:

Part I. The *Divina Commedia*. (Chap. 1. Introduction; Chap. 2. Structure; Chap. 3. Summary.)
Part II. The *Divina Commedia* continued. (Chap. 1. Its Art; Chap. 2. Its Religion; Chap. 3. Its Politics.)
Part III. Dante as a Man. (Chap. 1. Dante the Man; Chap. 2. Dante the Prophet; Chap. 3. Dante and Culture.)
Appendix. Dante Bibliography for Beginners, by Jukichi Oga.

This and the previous volume are intended as supplementary volumes (Vol. VIII and Vol. IX) to the series of translations of Dante's complete works. I may add that all the above Dante translations are from the texts as printed in the third edition (1904) of the *Oxford Dante*.

8. *Dante Shinsei* (Dante's *Vita Nuova*), translated with notes by Hatsunosuke Hirabayashi, from the English version of D. G. Rossetti. Tokyo, 1924. This volume contains five Appendices, consisting of translations of:

i. Oscar Kuhn's introduction to his edition of Cary's version of the *Commedia* and Rossetti's of the *Vita Nuova*.
ii. Chapters 1 and 2 of Remy de Gourmont's 'Dante, Béatrice, et la Poésie Amourcuse.'

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iii. Matthew Arnold's 'Dante and Beatrice[1].'

iv. Mazzini's account of the *Vita Nuova* in his essay on the minor works of Dante.

v. The first part of Croce's 'Young Dante and the Dante of the Comedy,' in his 'Poetry of Dante.'

vi. A sixth Appendix contains an essay by the translator on the Idealization of Beatrice, in which he acknowledges his indebtedness to Norton and Gardner.

My correspondent informs me that the Società Italiana of the Literary Department of the University of Kyoto started an Italian class at the beginning of October last year, which numbers some 130 members, including several Professors and assistant Professors belonging to the University; and he adds that it is hoped that the formation of this class may be the forerunner of the opening of an Italian course by the University.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.

[1] This was an essay in *Fraser's Magazine* for May, 1863.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

A French Rondeau and a Rondeau of Wyatt's.

The French rondeau quoted below comes originally from MS. 5447 fonds français (Bibliothèque Nationale). The MS. is a miscellany compiled by Pierre Sala of Lyons, and containing at least one poem of his own composition, viz.: 'Les Antiquités de Lyon.' Sala died about 1529. The text, as here given, may be found in *Le Livre d'Amitié dédié à Jehan de Paris par l'escuyer Pierre Sala Lyonnois*, edited by M. Georges Guigue (Lyon, 1884, p. 27). The transcript is therefore M. Guigue's, including the emendation and excluding two words here omitted, which he prints:

Vielle mulle du temps passé,
Vostre visaige est effacé;
Sy portez [en] la vielle myne
Dedans vostre ville cuisine,
En regrètant le temps passé.
On a bien.....haulsé;
Il n'a garde d'estre empoussé;
Pour maquerelle vous assigne,
Vielle mulle!
Requiescant, las, *in pace*,
Car vostre bruit est trespassé;
Plus ne fault trencher de la fine,
Ne farder museau, ne poectrine,
Car chascun est de vous lassé,
Vielle mulle!

M. Guigue confesses his inability to name the author, and I have not myself so far been any more successful. From internal evidence, it could not very well be Sala himself. Its interest lies in its close resemblance to Wyatt's rondeau 'Ye old Mule'; further search may possibly show the existence of an Italian original from which both the English and French versions are derived:

Ye old mule that think your self so fayre,
Leve off with craft your beautie to repaire,
For it is time withoute any fable;
No man setteth now by riding in your saddell;
To muche travaill so do your train apaise,
Ye old mule!
With fals favoure though you deceive thayes,
Who so taste you shall well perceve your layes
Savoureth som what of a kappurs stable,
Ye old mule!

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Ye must now serve to market and to faire,
All for the burden, for pannyers a paire;
For syns grey heres ben powdered in your sable,
The thing ye seke for you must your self enable
To pourchase it by payement and by prayer,
Ye old mule!
(*The Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat*, ed. A. K. Foxwell, I, p. 8.)

G. A. Parry.

London.

A Latin Version of a Sonnet of Constable's.

Humanists on the continent were in the habit of translating French and Italian poems into Latin. Petrarch, Ronsard and Desportes were their favourite authors for this purpose. It is curious, however, to find that Dousa the younger turned into Latin one of Constable's sonnets (Decade I, Sonnet ii), with the acknowledgment: 'adumbratum de Anglico Henr. Conestabilis[1].' We have heard so much of the imitative habits of the Elizabethan sonneteers that it is interesting to come on even an isolated example of the contrary process.

Janet G. Scott.

Glasgow.

Taine présenté à Panizzi.

Document Inédit.

On lit dans la Correspondance de Taine, à la date du 15 juillet 1860, une lettre adressée par Taine à Guillaume Guizot, et qui débute ainsi:

Mon cher Guillaume,

Je viens de passer un mois à Londres de la manière la plus agréable et la plus utile, *grâce aux lettres de M. Guizot, de Cornelis et aux vôtres*.....J'ai lu, j'ai regardé, j'ai écouté de mon mieux; j'ai vu la chambre des Lords et la chambre des Communes, Harrow-school et Eton, des prisons et des hôpitaux, des meetings religieux et charitables, des salons bourgeois et aristocratiques, des presbytères et des musées, des clubs et des bibliothèques, quatre ou cinq villages et villes aux environs de Londres, toutes sortes de gens et surtout des gens distingués. Je vous dois tout cela, mon cher ami, et je vous remercie sans compter.

Ces lettres—lettres évidemment de recommandation ou, plus exactement, de présentation—dont Taine remerciait Guillaume Guizot, et qui lui avaient ouvert les portes de l'Angleterre, qu'étaient-elles? À qui étaient-elles adressées? Quel jugement sur Taine contenaient-elles? À quel titre Taine y était-il présenté aux personnages éminents de l'Angleterre?

[1] *Delitiae poetarum Belgicorum*, Carmen XII (Vol. II, p. 209).

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Ces lettres, malheureusement, ont presque entièrement disparu et c'est pour répondre, en partie du moins, aux questions qu'elles soulèvent, que nous publions l'une d'entre elles, la seule qui jusqu'ici ait été retrouvée. Dans cette lettre, qui maintenant fait partie du MS. 36720 du British Museum, Guillaume Guizot présentait Taine à Panizzi.

Guillaume Guizot, comme on le sait, était le second fils de l'historien. Il suppléa pendant plusieurs années M. de Loménie, comme professeur de littérature française et étrangère au Collège de France, et s'était déjà fait remarquer par son *Ménandre, étude historique et littéraire sur la comédie et société grecques* que l'Académie avait couronné en 1853. Il était entré en relations avec Taine la même année, comme le montrent deux lettres de Taine publiées dans sa Correspondance. Dans la première de ces lettres, Taine écrit à sa mère le 14 novembre 1853: 'Le fils de M. Guizot est venu me voir et semble désireux d'avoir des relations avec moi.' Dans la deuxième, Taine, faisant allusion à la laryngite dont il souffrait, écrit à M. Cornélis de Witt, à la date du 29 novembre 1853:

> Depuis un mois, je suis muet, je garde la chambre, je bois toutes sortes de choses, on me brûle l'intérieur de la gorge.....Il faut être obligeant comme M. Guillaume Guizot pour venir voir un être aussi peu amusant que moi.

D'autre part, Guillaume Guizot avait dû rencontrer Panizzi dès l'âge de 15 ans, lorsque son père, forcé par la révolution de 1848 de quitter la France, s'était réfugié avec les siens en Angleterre. Il était certainement en relations avec lui depuis 1858, car son père, en voyage à Londres, écrivait à Panizzi, le 11 juillet 1858:

> J'accepte avec grand plaisir votre aimable invitation pour jeudi prochain 15. Et je vous demande la permission de vous amener mon fils qui est mon compagnon de voyage.

Quant à Panizzi, au moment où Taine lui fut recommandé dans la lettre que nous publions, il était au sommet de sa carrière: directeur du British Museum. Né dans le duché de Modène en 1797, forcé de quitter l'Italie après les mouvements révolutionnaires de 1820 et 1821, il s'était réfugié en Angleterre. Après un séjour de cinq ans à Liverpool, il avait été nommé, en 1828, à la chaire de langue et littérature italiennes à l'université de Londres. Trois ans plus tard, grâce à la protection de Lord Brougham, il avait été appelé, en qualité de conservateur adjoint, au département des imprimés du British Museum. Il avait trouvé la bibliothèque dans un état déplorable; il l'avait réformée, organisée, développée, agrandie, on pourrait même dire rebâtie; il était maintenant le directeur du British Museum, et un des bibliographes les plus connus de l'Europe. Il jouissait en même temps

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de l'amitié des plus grands hommes d'État anglais : personne, en Angleterre, ne pouvait être plus utile à Taine.

Taine, en juin 1860, avait accumulé tous les matériaux de son *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise.* Il avait déjà publié ses articles sur Addison, Dryden, Swift, Milton, Thackeray. Par contre, il n'avait encore jamais vu l'Angleterre. Or, une information livresque, quelque complète qu'elle fût, ne pouvait suffire au philosophe qui se proposait avant tout, et même lorsqu'il s'occupait de littérature, d'étudier une race et un peuple. Il lui fallait examiner sur place les mœurs de ce peuple, être en contact direct avec la vie de cette race, et personne n'était mieux placé que Panizzi pour lui donner accès aux différents groupements sociaux que Taine avait maintenant besoin d'examiner de ses propres yeux.

Voici la lettre qui les mit tous les deux en relations :

MON CHER MONSIEUR,

Ces quelques lignes vous seront remises ou envoyées par M. H. Taine, qui est un homme d'un mérite rare et d'un talent déjà en renom, que l'Académie Française a couronné, que la Revue des Deux Mondes et le Journal des Débats ont enrôlé, et par-dessus le marché un de mes meilleurs amis. J'espère que cela lui sera une recommandation auprès de vous ; vous ne sauriez me donner une nouvelle preuve qui me soit plus sensible de la bienveillance à laquelle vous m'avez accoutumé, qu'en la reportant sur lui. C'est un fils émancipé de l'Université, un Spinoziste, un Hégélien, comme vous voudrez, singulièrement instruit, épris des faits, fécond en vues, écrivain serré et coloré, le plus distingué des hommes de son âge, considéré comme tel par tout le jeune public et par bon nombre de ses aînés. Il s'est beaucoup occupé de l'Angleterre et va y passer six semaines ou deux mois. Tout l'intéresse ; on n'est pas panthéiste pour rien ; quand on croit à l'âme universelle, c'est bien le moins qu'on lui offre pour culte l'universelle curiosité. Ainsi fait mon ami Taine, et je ne crois pas qu'il y ait aucun ordre de faits, aucun genre de science, aucune variété de l'esprit humain, où il ne trouve matière à observer, à étudier et à penser. Donnez-lui, je vous prie, si vous le pouvez, quelques occasions de satisfaire son vaste besoin de savoir et d'apprendre. Si vous voulez bien lui montrer le British Museum et lui raconter un peu comment vous l'avez constitué, quels appuis et quelles ressources vous avez trouvés pour cette grande création qui est votre œuvre, je suis sûr que cela l'intéressera beaucoup. Je voudrais bien aussi qu'il fît connaissance avec un ou deux érudits anglais ; érudits ou savants, peu importe ; ce que je voudrais seulement, c'est qu'il vît comment, en Angleterre, la libre et sincère recherche de la vérité ne donne à l'esprit qui s'y applique ni l'orgueil de tout nier ni la prétention de tout deviner et ne pousse pas plus à la critique impertinente, comme en France, qu'aux théories nuageuses, comme en Allemagne. Cela m'a semblé évident, et je voudrais qu'il pût ou s'en convaincre, ou me détromper. Tous les hommes d'études sont vos obligés et vos clients, mon cher Monsieur, de sorte que vous aurez peut-être dans vos belles retraites du British Museum, au moment même où vous lirez ceci, quelque beau représentant de l'érudition ou de la science anglaises à qui présenter mon ami. Enfin, je le remets en vos mains. Vous savez sans doute par M. Libri[1] que je suis marié depuis deux

[1] Mathématicien italien (1807–1869). Professeur à l'université de Pise en 1823. Impliqué dans une affaire de conspiration et forcé de quitter l'Italie, il se réfugia en France, obtint la chaire de Biot au Collège de France, fut élu membre de l'Académie des Sciences à Paris. On lui confia, à titre de mission, l'inspection de toutes les bibliothèques et de tous les dépôts d'archives de France ; on s'aperçut bientôt qu'après chacune de ses tournées

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mois bientôt. Vous saurez par Taine que je suis parfaitement heureux. Et je suis convaincu que cela vous fera plaisir. Je vous en remercie comme si je vous l'entendais dire, et je vous remercie de vos bontés pour Taine, comme si je les lui entendais raconter. Adieu, mon cher Monsieur. Mon père[1], à qui j'ai dit que j'allais vous écrire, m'a chargé de mille amitiés pour vous. Vous ne doutez pas, n'est-ce pas? de mon cordial et respectueux dévouement.

GUILLAUME GUIZOT.

VAL RICHER[2], *Mercredi matin.*
13 *Juin* 1860.

RENÉ P. LEGROS.

LONDON.

OLD SPANISH 'HAMIHALA.'

El Rabí — Po(r) ueras uo lo digo
que no lo (fallo) escripto.
Otro Rabí — *Hamihala*, cumo eres enartado !
Porque eres rabi clamado?
Auto de los Reyes Magos, ll. 136–9.

The *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον Hamihala* is to be explained, in the text now generally accepted, as either a proper name or as an interjection. (1) The former solution is, perhaps, the one generally adopted by commentators and editors, through despair of the second. In this sense Ford (*Old Spanish Readings*, p. 110, s.v.) writes: 'May we possibly read *Ha Mihala!* "Ah, Michael!" (or whatever *Mihala* represents), assuming that we have here the name of the rabbi addressed?' The pith of the comment lies in the parenthesis, which leaves the impression that neither *Hamihala* in one word, nor *Ha Mihala!* (though now triliteral in form), does effectively suggest any probable name. (2) Morel-Fatio, when reviewing Hartmann's text of the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* (*Romania*, IX, p. 469), suggested that the termination of the word or phrase might be *Alá*, 'Allah.' He proposed to read: *Por veras vo lo digo / que no lo escripto ha / mi Hala*, interpreting: 'En vérité je vous le dis, mon Alà (mon Dieu) ne l'a pas écrit.' In addition to the circumstance that Menéndez Pidal's emendation is certainly correct, and is confirmed by the mark of the end of the verse in the manuscript, this rendering is open to two objections, which are made by G. Paris in a note at the foot of the same page, viz. that the form *mi Alá* is un-

des volumes précieux avaient disparu des établissements qu'il avait inspectés. Lorsqu'on voulut procéder à son arrestation, Libri avait passé la Manche. Il fut condamné par contumace à dix ans de réclusion. · Sa femme, dans une pétition adressée au Sénat et fortement appuyée par Guizot, Mérimée, etc., demanda l'annulation de la peine prononcée contre son mari. Libri qui était dénué de toutes ressources lors de son arrivée en France, s'était amassé par la vente souvent renouvelée de son inépuisable bibliothèque plus d'un million de francs.

[1] Voir dans la *Revue des Études Historiques*, numéro de Novembre 1924, nos 'Lettres inédites de Guizot à Panizzi.'

[2] Maison de campagne de Guizot père, située dans l'arrondissement de Lisieux.

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exampled and intrinsically improbable, and that Allah could not with propriety be invoked by a rabbi. The latter objection is of less weight, however, if applied to a set phrase; for example, Spaniard and Portuguese, Jew, Christian or Moslem, expressed their wishes with reference to the will of Allah: *oxalá, In shā'Allāh,* 'If God will.' *Hamihala,* if it be not a proper name, can only be a set phrase of protest put in the mouth of an Arabic-speaking rabbi, and in such a case the reference to Allah is a thing to be expected. Freytag gives هما والله, *hamâ w-Allah,* 'Equidem per Deum!' which satisfies the requirements of the text tolerably well. I venture to suggest, however, an expression that approaches more closely the sense and sound of the passage. The protest 'God forbid!' is expressed in Arabic by 'I take refuge in Allah,' *a'ûdh billah,* or 'The Protection of God,' *ma'ādh Allah.* Is not the same effect to be gained through the *nomen agentis* of the synonymous root ḤMY, 'to heat, to protect,' as in حامى الله, *ḥâmiy-Allah,* 'My Protector is Allah!'? In this case the phonetic correspondence of the Spanish *Hamihala* is complete, the initial *h* being an aspirate, and the medial *h* marking the diæresis of *i*—*a*.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

GLASGOW.

WESSOBRUNN PRAYER, ll. 3*a* and 4*a*.

Dat gafregin ih mit firahim firiuuizzo meista,
dat ero ni uuas noh ūfhimil,
noh paum... noh pereg ni uuas,
ni...nohheinīg noh sunna ni scein,
noh māno ni liuhta, noh der mārẹo sēo.

Though there are no lacunae in the manuscript, it is now generally assumed that lines 3*a* and 4*a* of the introduction to the *Wessobrunn Prayer* are defective. No agreement, however, has been reached as to the precise words the scribe may have left out.

The brothers Grimm proposed the insertion of *sterro* between *ni* and *nohheinīg* in l. 4*a*. Their view has found many supporters and is favoured again by E. Sievers (in his *Deutsche Sagversdichtungen,* Heidelberg, 1924) in spite of the serious objection, to mention only one among others, that *sterro* does not properly alliterate. E. von Steinmeyer (*Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler,* Berlin, 1916, p. 16) gives a list of the various readings so far suggested and, while rejecting them all, has to admit that he sees 'keine Möglichkeit einer passenden Ergänzung der Vorderhälfte von v. 4.' M. H. Jellinek (*P.B.B.* XLVII, 1923, p. 129) considers it 'fraglich, ob eine ergänzbare Lücke vorliegt.'

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All the attempts which have been made so far to complete 4*a* are based on the assumption that the omitted word must have alliterated with *sunna* in 4*b*. As all possibilities in this direction have been exhausted without yielding any generally acceptable result, it is difficult to resist the temptation of trying the only alternative, i.e. to look for a suitable word alliterating with *scein*. Lines with the alliteration falling on the second stress of the second hemistich are by no means rare in Old High German. The *Muspilli* has several such lines, e.g.:

15 selida āno sorgūn dār nist neoman siuh,

in the *Hildebrandslied* there are two, viz.:

51 dār man mih eo scerita in folc sceotantero,
60 gūdea gimeinūn: niuse dē mōtti,

and in the *Wessobrunner Gebet* itself we have

6 Dō dār niuuiht ni uuas enteo ni uuenteo.

Among the O.H.G. words with initial *sc* (*sk*) there is none which fits the context of our line better than *scīmo* 'light, brightness, gleam of light.' By inserting it in 4*a* between *ni* and *nohheinīg* we obtain a perfectly satisfactory meaning. The words *ni scīmo nohheinīg*, with *uuas* as predicate understood, render the biblical *tenebrae erant*, the words *noh sunna ni scein, noh māno ni liuhta* expanding and explaining the statement: 'There was no (gleam of) light, (for) the sun did not shine nor the moon give light.' The predicate of *der mārẹo sēo* is again *uuas*. To make *liuhta* the predicate of *sēo* seems to me quite inadmissible. The sea does not, properly speaking, 'give light,' and as a poetic metaphor the expression would be far too modern and out of keeping with the general character of the poem. R. Heinzel (*Zs. f. östr. Gymn.*, XLIII, 1892, p. 745) and M. H. Jellinek (*P.B.B.*, XLVII, 1923, p. 128) agree that '*leuchten* als Prädikatsverbum zu Meer, das dann Sonne und Mond als leuchtende Körper beigesellt würde, höchst auffällig wäre.'

As it is becoming more and more recognised that Old English poetry was widely known in the monasteries of Germany at a very early date, and there are evident traces of O.E. influence in the opening line of the *Wessobrunn Prayer* (*Dat ∗fregin*)[1], some support is lent to the con-

[1] For a concise summary of recent contributions to this subject see *Angelsächsische Literatur* (*Einfluss auf die deutsche*) in the *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, I, Berlin, 1925. Two articles by G. Baeseke, in *Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, 1918, pp. 427 ff. and *Sokrates*, *Ztschr. f. d. Gymnasialwesen*, Neue Folge VIII, p. 172, should be added.

Cf. also G. Ehrismann, *Gesch. d. deutschen Lit.* (München, 1918) I, p. 137: 'Von den Angelsachsen wird auch die Urform dieses ersten Teiles (des Wessobrunner Gebetes) stammen,' and M. H. Jellinek, *Das Wessobrunner Gebet*, *P.B.B.*, XLVII, 1923, p. 128: 'Dass in den ahd. versen allerlei reminiszenzen an englische geistliche gedichte stecken, ist recht wahrscheinlich.'

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jectured *scīmo* by the fact that in the O.E. *Genesis* the word *scīma* occurs twice in the passage which deals with the creation of light:

128 þā gesundrode sigore waldend
sceade wið scīman.

136 metod æfter scēaf
scīrum scīman, sceppend ūre,
ǣfen ǣrest.

I agree with Heinzel (*l.c.* p. 745) that the word omitted in 3*a* most probably is *gras*. 'Neither tree nor mountain' is no proper antithesis, and I have always felt that the word *pereg* was only introduced, because it supplied the required alliteration. In *Genesis* i 1–16, which I still consider the ultimate source of our lines, there is no word which could have suggested 'mountain,' but 'grass' is mentioned twice, and in both places together with 'tree': v. 11 *Germinet terra herbam virentem...et lignum pomiferum*, and again v. 12 *Et protulit terra herbam virentem... lignumque faciens fructum*. The O.E. *Genesis* too dwells on the absence of 'grass':

116 Folde wæs þāgȳt
græs ungrēne,

and so does the *Vǫluspá* in the well-known passage which bears such a striking resemblance to the poetic portion of the *Wessobrunn Prayer* as to make the existence of an ultimate common source more than probable:

III 5 iǫrð fannsk æva nē upphiminn,
gap var ginnunga en gras hvergi.

If we insert *gras* and *scīmo*, we shall find that, with the exception of *pereg*, every word in ll. 2–5 of the *Wessobrunn Prayer* can be traced to *Genesis* i 1–16:

ero ni uuas noh ūfhimil	~ In principio creavit Deus cælum et terram. Terra autem erat inanis et vacua.
noh paum noh gras	~ Germinet terra herbam virentem...et lignum pomiferum.
ni scīmo nohheinīg	~ tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi.
noh sunna ni scein noh māno ni liuhta	~ Fecitque Deus duo luminaria magna: luminare maius ut præesset diei et luminare minus ut præesset nocti.
noh [uuas] der mārǫo sēo	~ Congregentur aquae in locum unum...congregationesque aquarum appelavit maria.

Those who prefer to regard the *Wessobrunn Prayer* as a paraphrase of Psalm xc 2 are, no doubt, largely influenced by the fact that while in *Genesis* i 1–16 there is nothing corresponding to *noh pereg ni uuas*, this might conceivably have been suggested by *Priusquam montes fierent*. But, as already stated, the introduction of *pereg* can easily be explained by the exigencies of the alliterative verse.

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Taking into consideration everything I have set forth, I believe that the most likely reconstruction of our lines is the one I have suggested:

Dat gafregin ih mit firahim firiuuizzo meista
dat ero ni uuas noh ūfhimil,
noh paum noh gras noh pereg ni uuas,
ni scīmo nohheinīg —noh sunna ni scein
noh māno ni liuhta— noh der mārẹo sēo.

H. G. Fiedler.
Oxford.

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REVIEWS.

Studies in The First Folio: Written for the Shakespeare Association In Celebration of the First Folio Tercentenary.... By M. H. SPIELMANN, J. DOVER WILSON, Sir SIDNEY LEE, R. CROMPTON RHODES, W. W. GREG, ALLARDYCE NICOLL. With an Introduction by Sir ISRAEL GOLLANCZ. London: H. Milford. 1924. xxxiv + 182 pp. 18*s.*

Sir Israel Gollancz has associated his name permanently with the two Shakespeare Tercentenaries of our generation. The *Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, collected and edited by him with indefatigable zeal amid the clash of the world-war, is an enduring memorial of the celebration of 1916, carried out perforce with maimed rites. The present volume, which again has prayed in aid the resources in typography and illustration of the Oxford University Press, embodies the lectures given at King's College, London, by members of the Shakespeare Association, of which Sir Israel is the Chairman, in connexion with the First Folio Tercentenary, 1923. Those who heard all or some of the lectures will be glad to have them in this handsome dress, and to know that they are now available to a far wider audience than could be gathered within the lecture-theatre at King's College. They are fittingly introduced by a reprint of Sir Israel Gollancz's attractive monograph originally issued by the Stationers' Company and the Shakespeare Association in commemoration of the First Folio Tercentenary. This includes facsimiles of Shakespearian entries in the Company's Registers and of the contemporary lines in praise of Heminge and Condell so opportunely discovered in the year preceding the Tercentenary by Sir Israel in the Salisbury MS. in the National Library of Wales.

The lectures are printed in the order in which they were delivered. I think that some slight rearrangement would have been preferable, though in each case the date of delivery might have been added. Professor Wilson's address 'The Task of Heminge and Condell' would fitly have been followed by Mr Crompton Rhodes's 'The First Folio and the Elizabethan Stage,' and this by Dr Greg's 'The First Folio and its Publishers,' while Sir Sidney Lee's 'Survey of First Folios' would appropriately have closed the volume.

The opening lecture, Mr M. H. Spielmann's elaborate study of 'Shakespeare's Portraiture,' stands by itself, by virtue of its subject, which travels to some extent beyond the main scope of the volume, and of its wealth of illustration. It is in effect a separate monograph, and has appropriately been published also as such. But its inclusion in this series of studies adds greatly to the value of the volume, which would be worth possessing alone for the 47 plates which are the *pièces justificatives*

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of Mr Spielmann's survey. In matters of Iconography I speak as a layman, but, so far as I can judge, Mr Spielmann has established his main points that the authority of the Stratford Bust as an approximate likeness of the dramatist is in no way invalidated by 'the absurd plate in Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*'; that in historical sequence the Droeshout Proof came first, the Droeshout Print second, and the 'Flower Picture' in the Shakespeare Memorial Gallery at Stratford last; and that the Bust and the Print stand together and give us, 'quite truly in the main the presentment of Shakespeare.....as he lived and worked.'

Professor Dover Wilson is also out to make good certain theses. In the first place he contends from the wording of the Preface and the Epistle Dedicatorie to the First Folio that the 'task' of Heminge and Condell was to 'collect,' not to 'edit,' the copy for the printers, and that 'the Folio gives us an unedited text.' The copy consisted of Globe prompt-books, partly in MS., partly in the form of quartos. The scathing reference to 'stolne and surreptitious copies' does not include the 'good' quartos, but the five or six which were clearly 'maimed and deformed,' and probably some pre-Shakespearian versions (e.g. *The Troublesome Reign of King John*) and Jaggard's 'shady enterprise' of 1619. In this part of his lecture Professor Wilson has defined more precisely than has hitherto been done the function of Heminge and Condell (though it will still be convenient to speak of them as 'editors' instead of 'collectors,' as if the Folio were an English Association volume), and has successfully vindicated their good faith. On some of his more detailed points, I think it will be necessary to 'perpend.' Even with the advantage of having heard, as well as read, the lecture, I am not prepared, on the instant, to range myself on the side of 'the brooding Quarto' (1604) of *Hamlet* against 'the declamatory Folio' in the 'battle of the colons at the Globe.' And the theories of the continuous copy and of the assembled text require, as indeed they are already receiving, critical examination. But we are indebted to Professor Wilson for a thoroughly fresh and exhilarating reconsideration of old problems.

Mr Crompton Rhodes, like Professor Wilson, sees in the Folio a collection of Globe prompt-books, and consoles himself for the fact that Shakespeare did not 'oversee and set forth' (or in Wilsonian terminology 'edit') the volume with the thought that this leaves the plays in it 'nearer to the structural conditions of the Elizabethan playhouse.' Mr Rhodes's exposition of these structural conditions between 1594 and 1623 will seem somewhat unduly simplified to readers of Volume III of Sir Edmund Chambers's *Elizabethan Stage*, but his examination of the traces left by them on the First Folio is interesting, and not least (if I may be permitted to say so) to myself, who have attempted something similar with the fifteen plays in MS. Egerton 1994. His notes on the stage directions, which involve the use of the back-stage curtains or of doors, are helpful. In maintaining, as I think rightly, that horses appeared on the Elizabethan stage, he might have found an instance in support in *Thomas of Woodstock*, Act III, Sc. 2.

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With Dr Greg we pass out of the theatre and its library of prompt-books into the publisher's shop. After his 'preamble' on the organisation of the early seventeenth-century book-trade[1], he gives us a thoroughly exciting reconstruction of the first attempt at a collected edition of Shakespeare's plays, the 'queer affair' of 1619, of how it broke down, but set things in train for the great enterprise of 1623. An illuminating discussion of how the publishers obtained the rights in the twenty plays not included in the entry on 8 November, 1623; a plea for the view that Ben Jonson had a hand in the address 'to the great variety of readers' and in the *Epistle Dedicatorie*; and suggestions as to the approximate date and size of the edition complete a lecture in which Dr Greg's command of racy vernacular agreeably tempers the more technical phases of his argument.

With Professor Nicoll we pass from the First to the Second Folio and its successors. In the 1632 Folio, Professor Nicoll finds the first attempt to 'edit' Shakespeare. He detects 'three separate men who went over part of the text'; the chief of these was a student of both Latin and Greek, who corrected classical names and quotations, and who 'anonymous as he is, must be regarded as Shakespeare's first editor.' Thus the celebration of the Tercentenary of the First Folio, through the allied labours of Professors Wilson and Nicoll, has the interestingly paradoxical result of giving enhanced importance to the Second Folio. It will be curious to see if this is reflected in auction-room prices.

Another valuable fruit of Professor Nicoll's textual studies is the suggestion that the 1673 adaptation of *Macbeth* and the 1676 *Hamlet* are based on early seventeenth-century prompt copies, and that the Hecate songs may after all possibly be Shakespeare's. And if I find the last a hard saying, I can whole-heartedly welcome his reasoned apologia for the eighteenth-century editors whose imperfections and occasional perversities have so often blinded critics to 'their scholarly aims and their solid achievement.'

What would Theobald, who when he issued *Shakespeare Restor'd* in 1726 had not been able to see a copy of the First Folio, have given for Sir Sidney Lee's census of extant copies of the volume in 1902 or for his 'Survey of First Folios' which brings this series of 'studies' up to the present day? With the copies that have come to light since his census, Sir Sidney estimates that 180 have survived. This number apparently does not include the King's College, Cambridge, copy mentioned in a note at the end of the lecture. Sir Sidney traces the history of some of the most famous copies, including the Sheldon, of which he gives the pedigree from the time of its first owner, William Sheldon, to its acquisition by Mr Folger of New York. In his account of the adventures of the original Bodleian copy, he makes a slip in naming Mr Madan as Bodley's Librarian when it was restored to its original home. Mr Nicholson was the Librarian, and it was Mr S. Gibson who

[1] Should not Dr Greg's note on p. 129 be transferred to p. 138?

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identified the volume. It was Sir Sidney himself who identified another copy of first-rate interest, which has also now passed into Mr Folger's collection, the presentation copy from William Jaggard to Augustine Vincent of the Herald's Office, with Vincent's inscription on the title-page. On the other hand, for reasons set forth in one of the most interesting sections of his address, he can no longer uphold the claim of the copy bought by Mr Pierpoint Morgan in 1899 to have an association with the Sidneys of Penshurst.

Some notes on the extraordinary rise in the price of copies of the Folio, and on their topographical distribution, conclude the lecture in which Sir Sidney gives us the latest fruits of labours prolonged by him over a quarter of a century. During that period Shakespearian bibliography has taken new forms, and has embarked on thrilling adventures. In this volume we see the explorers at work with an infectious gaiety and gallantry. Their 'studies' are less a commemoration of the past than a promise of what is to come in the fourth century of Shakespearian research.

F. S. Boas.

London.

Comedy and Conscience after the Restoration. By Joseph Wood Krutch. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Milford. 1924. ix + 270 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

The subject of Dr Krutch's study of the comic theatre from 1660 to 1725 is not a new one; it is a theme which has been hammered at by Collier and Addison, by Macaulay and Lamb, and by a multitude of later critics who have striven to weigh the merits and defects of the Etheregian school. The prime value of this new study lies in the fact that its author has endeavoured to escape from the influence of the later retrospective controversies and return to the period itself. After outlining the Restoration comic tradition and the spirit of the age Dr Krutch deals with general critical theories of the late seventeenth century as a basis on which to found a more detailed study of Collier's attack and of the whole Collier controversy. From this he turns to the inception of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners and the growth of sentimentalism. Although the various chapters are somewhat self-contained, his book is an interesting essay in the tracing of a certain spirit which finally revolutionized the English theatre.

Some portions of Dr Krutch's work show evidence of careful and detailed research. The Public Record Office, the British Museum and the Lambeth Library have all yielded him manuscript material (although not all his documents were unprinted before their appearance in his book) and the bibliographies show a painstaking endeavour to appreciate to the full the critical spirit of the age. Those chapters which deal with sentimentalism and moral reformation are by far the best, and contribute something really new to the discussion of this vexing subject. We may not all be prepared to accept Dr Krutch's belief in the instant effect of

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Collier's onslaught, but his sketch of sentimentalism is sound and suggestive.

Unfortunately the earlier chapters of the volume seem to have been rather carelessly constructed, and certainly cannot have been revised since they were written in 1920. There are, consequently, quite a number of errors and mis-statements which might easily have been corrected. Thus Cowley's *Cutter of Coleman Street* was hardly the first new comedy acted after the opening of the theatres (p. 14); Sedley's words concerning Orrery's *The General* are badly misquoted (p. 31); and there is considerable ambiguity in the account of Nell Gwyn, Lady Castlemain and Wycherley (p. 32). In general, Dr Krutch seems to be more interested in social life than in the theatre, and more intent on sentimental than on Restoration drama. His work, therefore, covering so wide a field, is rather unbalanced and occasionally 'patchy' in effect. On the other hand he deserves our gratitude for his sane consideration of a problem which has led to so much partisan controversy and for his sound investigations into the 'reforming' processes which, hypocritical or not, succeeded in changing the whole of social life in the eighteenth century.

ALLARDYCE NICOLL.

LONDON.

The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits. By BERNARD MANDEVILLE. With a Commentary Critical, Historical and Explanatory by F. B. KAYE. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1924. cxlvi + 412, vi + 482 pp. 42*s*.

Bernard de Mandeville, or, as he called himself later, Bernard Mandeville, was born, probably at Rotterdam, in November 1670. On March 30, 1691, he took the degree of M.D. at Leyden and, soon after, went to London 'to learn the Language; in which having happen'd to take great delight, and in the mean time found the Country and the Manners of it agreeable to his Humour,' he settled there for good. He had married an Englishwoman on February 1, 169$\frac{8}{9}$, and was no doubt in practice in London, when in 1705 he published some riming verses, *The Grumbling Hive: or, Knaves turned Honest.* The apologue made no sensation. In 1714 under a new title *The Fable of the Bees: or Private Vices Publick Benefits* he republished it, and appended to it *An Enquiry into the origin of Moral Virtue* and a series of commentaries on texts furnished by the poem, *Remarks, A—Y.*

Though a second edition was called for in the same year, the book still made no great hit for nine years longer when a third edition appeared with an attack on the pet philanthropic project of the day, Charity Schools. Anger was at once aroused, and the book became instantly famous. The audacity of the title and of the psychological analyses of human conduct and its social effects made it appear the *ne plus ultra* of wickedness: the ability of the author and his plain racy

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style prevented its being forgotten: and new editions, year after year—from 1729 with a Second Part, consisting of six Dialogues—kept pace with the attacks made on it by scandalized opponents. William Law, Francis Hutcheson and Bishop Berkeley attempted to refute it. Adam Smith imbibed from it much of his economic doctrine: it counted among its serious readers Pope, Voltaire, Hume, Montesquieu, Holberg, Fielding, Johnson, Gibbon, Diderot, Holbach, Rousseau, Kant, Godwin, Malthus, Bentham, and Hazlitt.

This Review provides no arena for a philosophical discussion of Mandeville's argument. One may briefly say, that while he professes to accept the position of religious rigorists that virtue cannot result from natural impulses, but only from the complete repressing of them, he tries to show that virtue of this sort is practically not to be found, and, if it were generally found, society, as we know it, would come to an end. The dilemma was brought home to many of us during the Great War, when the individual heard the conflicting cries of 'Love thy neighbour as thyself' and 'Save your country by joining the army.' Temperament, as Mandeville says, rather than pure reason, directed the answer: and those who by their profession were most pledged to defend the first position, were generally with the mass of their fellow-countrymen in feeling that duty to the nation demanded the other course with all its shocking consequences. And yet they would be as angry as Mandeville's readers if they were told that they had virtually abandoned the principle of rigoristic morality and had accepted the doctrine that private vices, as a rigorist would regard them, might after all be public benefits.

Holes may be picked in Mandeville's arguments; most obviously, perhaps, in his attack on the Charity Schools, and in his defence of waste as economically beneficial. But no one can read his treatise without admiration, first for the racy vernacular English of this foreigner, who like Mr Conrad and Mr Santayana, was unacquainted with our language till early manhood, and next for his extraordinary subtlety in psychological analysis, based on a shrewd and humorous observation of human behaviour. What could be more delightful than his analysis of the behaviour of the mercer's shopman to his young lady customer or again of the London watermen to the young man from the country, and of the effect produced in each case? (I, pp. 349–354.) I have only space however for a shorter illustration of Mandeville's turn of mind:

> We often reproach others with Laziness, because we are guilty of it our selves. Some days ago as two young Women sat knotting together, says one to the other, there comes a wicked Cold through that Door, you are the nearest to it, Sister, pray shut it. The other, who was the youngest, vouchsaf'd indeed to cast an Eye towards the Door, but sat still and said nothing; the eldest spoke again two or three times, and at last the other making her no answer, nor offering to stir, she got up in a Pet and shut the Door herself; coming back to sit down again, she gave the younger a very hard Look, and said; *Lord, Sister* Betty, *I would not be so lazy as you are for all the World;* which she spoke so earnestly, that it brought a Colour in her Face. The youngest should have risen, I own; but if the eldest had not over-valued her Labour, she would have shut the Door herself, as soon as the Cold was offensive to her, without making any words of it. She was not above a Step farther from the Door than her Sister, and as to Age, there was not Eleven Months difference between

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them, and they were both under Twenty. I thought it a hard matter to determine which was the laziest of the two.

Mandeville shows himself far in advance of his age in his perception of the necessary slowness of human evolution. His views of the origin of language and of its primary use—not to express thoughts, but desires and commands—agree closely with those recently set forth by Professor Jespersen:

We have then here a book of perennial interest as literature, and, one may now add, a book edited in the most masterly manner. Dr Kaye's Introductions on Mandeville's life and thought and influence are admirably lucid and admirably expressed, and his notes and other paraphernalia show the thoroughness of his search into an immense literature in order to throw light on the Fable and its author. The art of editing a masterpiece is here seen carried to its highest point.

The notes that follow touch only on small points.

I, p. 213: 'some great Generals are able to preserve a Presence of Mind, and counterfeit a calm Serenity within the midst of all the Noise, Horror and Confusion that attend a Battle.' A clear allusion to Marlborough as described in Addison's *Campaign*, who, unmoved,

> Amidst confusion, horror and despair
> Examin'd all the dreadful scenes of war.

p. 227: 'pinching their Families, Marketting.' Should not the comma be removed?

p. 309: 'the Youth of a famous Hospital in this City.' Apparently, Christ's Hospital. Is there any record of the part taken in 'Riots or Party Scuffles' by Bluecoat Boys?

II, p. 120: 'Should such a one, when old and decrepit, lay out the greatest part of his immense Riches in the building, or largely endowing an Hospital...' Is not this an allusion to Thomas Guy, who, after already spending £18,000 on Guy's Hospital, left it at his death in 1724 £220,000 by will? Dunton attacked him (apparently unjustly) in his *Essay on Deathbed Charity*. See *D.N.B.*

p. 182, note. It is stated that Mandeville somewhere translates 'ad omnia alia Ætate sapimus rectius' by 'At another Age that in all things we can act with prudence.' How he could do so, is not explained.

p. 344, note. 'Bentley's famous pseudonym of *Philaleutheros Lipsiensis*.' Read '*Phileleutherus L.*'

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

William Mason, a Study in Eighteenth-Century Culture. By John W. Draper. New York: The New York University Press. 1924. xvi + 397 pp.

Professor Draper's study of Mason is based on the painstaking researches of many years and is a valuable contribution to the history of eighteenth-century literature. We think of Mason as the friend and

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biographer of Gray, and wonder at the same time that Gray should have made a friend of anyone so vain and shallow. We are aware that in his own day Mason was reckoned a great poet, yet we have ceased to read his tragedies or his *English Garden* and are hardly aware that he was a political satirist. If from our youth we have known the anthem, 'Lord of all power and might,' we have probably never known that it was composed by the rector of Aston and precentor of York. There was room then for a study of Mason which should show us what was solid and amiable in his character, the great variety of his talents and accomplishments, his serious interest in politics, in the art of gardening, and in church music, the blend of classicism and sentimentality in him which appealed to the poetical taste of his time and offended that of a later generation, the conspicuous part he played in the literary and aristocratic circles in which he moved. We cannot read Professor Draper's work without feeling that such a study is now in our hands.

After tracing the course of Mason's life and work decad by decad till his death in 1797, the author deals in turn with Mason's dramas, his *English Garden*, his satires, his memoirs of Gray and of Whitehead, and his relations to music and the pictorial arts. (He translated Dufresnoy's poem *De arte graphica* into heroic couplets, drew various portraits of Gray and others, and possibly is the William Mason who had a picture of a country horse-race in the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1782.)

The *Memoirs of Gray* are important as being the first biography in which the letters of the subject are largely drawn on to illustrate his individuality. How important this innovation was, we may see from Boswell's generous admission that it suggested the form of his *Life of Johnson*: 'Instead of melting down my materials into one mass, and constantly speaking in my own person,....I have resolved to adopt and enlarge upon the excellent plan of Mr Mason in his Memoirs of Gray.' Moore's life of Byron, Lockhart's life of Scott, were of the same *genre*. Mason's unscrupulous garbling of the letters he quotes has exposed him to severe censure. But Dr Draper pertinently points out that Mason had to face the public opinion of his time which cried out for reticence in regard to the dead: 'There can be no doubt that those of Mason's contemporaries who disapproved the work, did so, not because it gave them too little of Gray's own words and opinions, but because it gave them too much.'

Professor Draper has scoured the literature of the age for criticisms of Mason and his works; his footnotes contain references by the thousand. His exactness in matters of fact is generally above question.

Is he right, however, in speaking (p. 154) of 'Leigh Hunt's phrase: "fill every line with ore,"' and not 'Keats's phrase, "loading every rift of a subject with ore"'? (I am not aware that it has been noted that Keats had in mind Spenser's *F.Q.*, II, 7, 28: 'Embost with mossy gold of glorious gift, And with rich metall loaded every rift.')

It is suggested (pp. 370, 371) that D'Israeli's *Calamities of Authors* is 'more recent' than 1816. It dates, however, from 1812. Mason writes on November 12, 1779, that at Lady Holdernesse's request he had lent

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Lady Conyers his parsonage to reside in, adding 'This was by no means a pleasant sacrifice to make' (p. 91). Mason's attitude would have been more easily understood if it had been pointed out that Lady Conyers, who, as the only child of Lord Holdernesse, had become Baroness Conyers on his death in May 1778, had fled from her husband the Marquess of Carmarthen with Mr John Byron, in December 1778, had been divorced in May 1779, and had been married to her seducer in June 1779. She became the mother of Lord Byron's half sister Augusta, the Hon. Mrs Leigh. There are some mis-spellings, e.g. 'Conningsburgh,' usually Conisbrough (p. 222 note); 'Prefectibilians' for Perfectibilians' (p. 230); 'Mrs Champone,' Chapone (p. 274); 'Shubert,' Schubert (p. 300); 'bunianior,' ?humanior (p. 310 note). There are phrases which will offend a purist, such as 'Walpole had no use for parliamentary reform' (p. 240 note); 'Oblivious to...future fame' (p. 285); 'blames his dotages on the need to get money' (p. 301); 'suggested that they [should?] hire a house' (p. 285) (I have since found this use in Mr H. Wickham Steed's *Through Thirty Years*, e.g. II, p. 26: 'Knowing ...that he had disapproved of the...articles...lest they [should] disturb the peaceful atmosphere he was striving to maintain'); 'he wrote Harcourt,' 'Gray writes Brown,' etc. (*passim*). It is interesting in connexion with the last to see that it occurs here in a letter written by Walpole, 'Mason...wrote me that...every one ought to assist the King.' So, if Dr Draper sins, he sins in good company.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages. By K. J. Holzknecht. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. 1923. 258 pp.

This is a laborious book with a good index; but it is far from easy to read. The author seems scarcely to have formed a clear conception of his own categories; with a great deal of formal division, he falls into frequent repetitions and overlappings, and his abundant comments are seldom illuminating. Sometimes, indeed, they are misleading, as when he treats it as a serious possibility that Paris University existed in William I's reign (p. 217), or relies upon Ingulph's chronicle (*ibid.* and elsewhere), or speculates on the title of *orator* so frequently assumed by medieval authors. Here and there, as in the case of Tito Livio da Forlì whom Humphrey of Gloucester kept in his pay (p. 226), the word is probably used in the classical sense; but in the numerous quotations on p. 183, it is obviously the natural medieval Latin equivalent for *bedesman*. When Jehan d'Augin calls himself the 'très humble et très petit subject et orateur' of the French king, and Walsingham writes to Henry V as 'suorum minimus oratorum,' they mean the same as Trevisa meant by styling himself Lord Berkeley's 'preest and bedeman'; they were all humble dependants, willing to pray for their benefactors as Chaucer's scholar did. This d'Augin, by the bye, appears two pages

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later as Daudin; Dr Holzknecht's accuracy is not everywhere equal to his industry. His Latin is specially defective; he seldom prints three consecutive lines without some patent blunder; and in twelve lines of French on pp. 238–9 there are twelve mistakes. His style is ungraceful and often obscure; works of this kind make one wonder whether public opinion will ever demand, in English-speaking countries, anything approaching to the accuracy and clarity which the French-speaking public demands and obtains from its own writers. Yet, for those who can work their way through it, there is a great deal of useful stuff in the book; teachers will welcome it; and it may supply a good foundation for later and more illuminating work in the same field.

G. G. COULTON.

CAMBRIDGE.

Berthe au grand pied, d'après deux romans en vers du XIII^e^ siècle. Par LOUIS BRANDIN. *La Chanson d'Aspremont, d'après un poème du XIII^e^ siècle.* Par LOUIS BRANDIN. Préface de JOSEPH BÉDIER. Paris: Boivin et Cie. 1925. 151 pp.; xvi + 208 pp. 8 fr.; 10 fr.

The substitution of a noble bride by a menial or some impostor of low degree on the very night of the wedding is a theme that has adorned many a popular tale and occurs in almost every primitive literature. But how and when, in the absence of any historic basis, this folklore element was grafted on the story of Bertha, the mother of Charlemagne, has not been satisfactorily explained. Perhaps it was merely a trick of some *jongleur*, quick to discern that anything even remotely connected with the name of the great Emperor was sure to compel attention. At all events the legend cast deep roots in French soil and Bertha became one of the most pathetic heroines of medieval times. Professor Brandin has studied the Old French versions and, with a sure touch and no mean skill, has retold the story in Modern French.

In our opinion, however, he has been even more successful in his modern adaptation of the *Chanson d'Aspremont*. But then his qualifications for such a task were unique, for he had devoted many years to the publication of the original version, which has already reached a second edition—a distinction rarely achieved by a medieval work of 11,000 lines. Thanks to his long acquaintance with the Old French text, he has caught the very spirit of the anonymous *trouvère* who first propounded the theme, and by careful compression, by discarding a few irrelevant digressions and tightening the thread of the narrative, he has produced a lively story enhanced by a peculiarly happy style. In a fascinating introduction Professor Bédier has not unfairly compared the author of *Aspremont* with the producer of a modern film who caters for an uncritical public that wants to be thrilled and amused. By the end of the twelfth century the name of Roland had become a household word. The *Chanson de Roland* celebrated his last exploits and his death, and vaguely hinted at former wars waged by the Emperor in Southern Italy. What an opportunity for a versatile rhymester to exploit this wide-

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spread interest, to give shape to those hazy memories of Italian wars, and to relate how Roland won his first spurs and came by Durendal, his famous sword! The result, if it hardly bears comparison with the poem by Turoldus, is none the less a striking piece of work, well worthy of the fresh lease of life which has been conferred upon it by the scholarship and industry of Professor Brandin.

PAUL STUDER.

OXFORD.

La Peinture des mœurs de la Bonne Société dans le Roman Français de 1715 à 1761. Par FREDERICK CHARLES GREEN. Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1924. 8°. vi + 260 pp.

This book, to all appearances a thesis, is the work of an assistant professor of French in a Canadian University. The subject is one of interest to the student of literature as well as to the historian, and the author, by careful research, has brought together a large and valuable mass of material not elsewhere to be found in so convenient a form. New light is thrown on many aspects of French life in the eighteenth century by well-chosen quotations, by curious and often amusing details, culled from novels celebrated or forgotten.

The introductory chapter deals with the place of the novel of manners in eighteenth-century literature, and defines this type of novel as 'un roman qui consacre une grande partie de ses pages à des tableaux de la manière de vivre, d'agir et de penser qui est particulière à certaines catégories de la société.' The novel, from the date of *Gil Blas* to that of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, is almost exclusively concerned with polite society. *Gil Blas*, generally classed as a novel of manners, is excluded from this category by Mr Green, for its essence is not the study of national manners but of human character in its more universal aspects. Then, too, Lesage's novel is didactic, and the real interest in details and *nuances* of contemporary manners, necessary to the *roman de mœurs*, can only develop as the didactic aim weakens. The essential character of a good novel of manners consists in fidelity to real life, that is, from Mr Green's point of view, interest in exterior details as opposed to fundamental truths (pp. 12–13). It is therefore to be expected that the novels which the author studies have for the most part fallen into oblivion. After observing that the novel of manners does not constitute a distinct *genre*, and that a strict classification of eighteenth-century fiction is impracticable, Mr Green, by quotations and summaries from French literary journals, gives a rapid sketch (pp. 16–30) of the state of opinion in the world of criticism, with regard to the novel of manners, during the first half of the eighteenth century.

The body of the work consists of two sections, in the first of which six chapters are devoted to analyses of, and copious extracts from, a very extensive range of novels. In turn, the nobility, the clergy, the heatre, the army and the financiers are reviewed, and their way of life

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is illustrated from the two celebrated novels of Marivaux and from the obscure works of some forty other writers of fiction, such as La Bataille, La Morlière, Mauvillon, Bridard de la Garde, etc. Among the most curious pages are those describing the transformation of the sentiment of love into light gallantry during the century (pp. 50–57), and the activities of the 'peuple dévot' at the gaming tables. 'Nous savons, dans nos assemblées religieuses,' says a priest in the *Lettres de Thérèse*, 'sanctifier jusqu'à nos plaisirs et prendre des petites récréations où les intérêts du ciel sont conservés. A la place des marques communes qu'on nomme matadors, étaient des représentations allégoriques des vertus et des vices. Les sept péchés mortels, sous des figures assez informes, roulaient successivement selon que le sort les ballotait entre les joueurs' (p. 59).

Having arranged under suitable rubrics the information gleaned from works of fiction, Mr Green then proceeds to go over the same ground again, this time basing his assertions on extracts from memoirs, journals, pamphlets and historical treatises, seeking corroborative evidence of the details gathered together in his survey of the novels.

In a book conceived on this plan there is always some danger that unity of effect may be lost, for, in the second section, the author is obliged to repeat, in summary fashion, what he has already set forth in the former section. Yet, though defective artistically, the plan may be defended from the scientific point of view. Mr Green has aimed at keeping separate in this study the elements borrowed from fiction and those taken from historical treatises and memoirs.

In the section devoted to verification, a counterpart of Chapter II of the first section would have been a welcome addition. This chapter is one of the most interesting in the book and throws curious sidelights on the life of the times. Yet the reader, while appreciating the variety of the themes, is somewhat disconcerted at times by the abruptness with which it turns from one subject to another. For instance, after an extract describing a *petite maison* (p. 68), the author reproduces an account of the morning occupations of a *mondaine* (p. 72), gives a number of details anent the administration of justice (p. 73), the society of the *haute bourgeoisie* (pp. 77–80), the blue stockings and the men of letters, with digressions upon cafés, education and *romans à clef* (pp. 80–84), and finally discusses the English and Germans as seen, or imagined, by French novelists. No less disconcerting is the manner in which, in a later chapter (p. 143), the description of a society assembly is immediately followed by a paragraph beginning: 'Voici une description des funérailles de la reine de Sardaigne....'

To draw general conclusions from a study whose interest lies in the variety of the innumerable minor details of manners depicted in the fiction of half a century would be a difficult and delicate task. Mr Green has, perhaps rightly, limited himself to two affirmations with which no one who has read this interesting study will be inclined to quarrel: (1) the number of novels which depict life in high society during the period under review is relatively considerable, (2) the

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eighteenth-century novel of manners is worthy of a place among the documents to be consulted on the social life of the time.

Let us add that, if Mr Green has not, perhaps, always gone quite as far as one might wish in his reconstruction of the picture of eighteenth-century society, he has given us a profusion of entertaining details which illuminate many of its less well-known but not least curious aspects.

F. C. Roe.

Birmingham.

Le Préromantisme. Études d'Histoire littéraire européenne. Par Paul Van Tieghem. Paris: F. Rieder. 1924. 299 pp. 15 fr.

Études de littérature préromantique. Par Edmond Estève. (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature comparée*, V.) Paris: É. Champion. 1923. vi + 256 pp. 16 fr.

The most important of the three studies included in M. Van Tieghem's new volume is that on 'La Découverte de la Mythologie et de l'ancienne poésie scandinaves,' which appeared originally in 1919–20, in the Scandinavian journal *Edda*, and then attracted general attention. It seems to me one of the most valuable contributions of recent years to that comprehensive understanding of the eighteenth century, which is the objective of much of our modern work on this period. M. Van Tieghem passes in review the sources of ideas on the Scandinavian North—Latin works, hitherto inadequately investigated, or not at all—before Mallet, and then with that remarkable pioneer of knowledge of the North as pivot, the influence and diffusion of these ideas to the end of the century. His characterisation of Mallet, concerning whose share in the matter the historians of the past have been somewhat vague, is admirable and final. *Edda* is not as accessible as it ought to be in our libraries, and M. van Tieghem has done a real service in reprinting his study here.

The essay on 'Ossian et l'Ossianisme au XVIII^{e} siècle' is supplementary to the fine work on *Ossian en France*, which M. van Tieghem published in 1917. He now discusses the fortunes of Ossianism, not merely in France, but in the literatures of Europe generally, the translations and imitations of Ossian; and he concludes with three suggestive sections on the Ossianic poetry in its wider aspects, its influence on historical, moral and literary ideas, and especially on the expression of sentiment. These studies, as well as the first, on 'La Notion de vraie Poésie dans le Préromantisme européen,' which we read not very long ago in the *Revue de Littérature comparée*, bear witness to the author's quite extraordinary familiarity with the modern literatures of Europe. But behind his enormous reading there lurks a nemesis. He has such a wealth of facts to communicate to us, that he has not always time or space to convert these facts into vital knowledge. An illustration of this is to be seen in the discussion of the growing scepticism of the genuineness of Ossian. He registers with painstaking care (pp. 211 ff.)

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what the critics of Europe thought about the matter; but if we wish to know whether this scepticism was independent and original, or merely an echo of the views expressed by the English doubters, he, as often as not, leaves us in the lurch. Even still more have I felt an incompleteness in M. Van Tieghem's method in his first study; it presents us with an imposing array of material facts which no student of the eighteenth century can afford to ignore; and yet the promise held out by the inviting title is not fulfilled. We do not see the ideas on 'true poetry' growing and maturing, passing from mind to mind and from land to land. The opinions, for instance, which continental critics drew from Young, are collected, but not brought into organic relations with one another. Had the page and a half of summary been expanded into its major part, the essay would, I cannot help thinking, have had a more stimulating value for us. But perhaps we may hope that it is only a prelude to an organic and genetic study of the idea of poetry in the eighteenth century—a task which no one could accomplish better than M. Van Tieghem.

All that M. Edmond Estève's volume has in common with M. Van Tieghem's is that it also deals with the period of 'Préromantisme.' In looking back on the critical work that has been published in recent years on this period, one is tempted to wish that a European congress could be summoned to arrive at some common basis of connotation. For, just as 'Romantic' means a different thing in every country, so 'Préromantisme' in France is one thing; in Germany another, and quite another with ourselves—if, indeed, we admit the use of the word at all. M. Estève, in his 'Avant-propos' defines the period:

> C'est ce laps de soixante années—entre la publication de la *Nouvelle Héloïse* et la date de 1824, où le défi de l'académicien Auger ayant été relevé par les rédacteurs de la *Muse Française*, il y a désormais une école romantique—qui mesure la durée de ce qu'on peut appeler le préromantisme.

Valid as these dates may be for France, they show how difficult, and indeed, hopeless is the task of correlating 'préromantisme' in the different literatures. The contents of M. Estève's volume are unequal in value and interest. In so far as he deals chiefly with side issues and minor aspects of the period, he is likely to disappoint the reader who has been attracted by his covering title. The volume opens with a fine study of 'Le sens de la vie dans l'œuvre d'André Chénier,' which well deserves the place of honour. The long essay on 'Le Théâtre "Monacal" sous la Révolution' is a valuable contribution to a neglected side of the theatrical history of the epoch; and that on Pixerécourt endeavours to arrive at a just estimate of a writer whose mediocrity as a literary craftsman has unduly obscured his contribution to the theatrical technique of the modern play. The essay on 'Dix-huitième siècle et Romantisme' is unfortunately brief, and lacking in that breadth of treatment which its title tempts us to expect. But the charm and lucidity of M. Estève's style make his volume a pleasure to read, whether he is dealing with big subjects or small.

LONDON. J. G. ROBERTSON.

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Le Mouvement des Idées dans l'Émigration Française (1789–1815). Par F. BALDENSPERGER. 2 vols. Paris: Plon-Nourrit. 1925. xv + 337, 334 pp.

We may begin by congratulating contemporary scholarship, as well as the distinguished author himself, on the completion of a colossal enterprise. Planned, we believe, many years ago, and delayed by the war, its progress was from time to time intimated by articles on this or that facet of the immense subject in the *Revue Germanique* or elsewhere. But of the wealth of facts and ideas, the noble architectonic, and the catholicity of intelligence everywhere apparent, it is only possible to form a due estimate to-day. Not the least remarkable part of M. Baldensperger's achievement is his compression of matter enough for perhaps twenty books into two quite modest volumes of less than 700 pages together. Yet his style, always concise, is never jejune; the whole book is as full of savour as of sap.

The history of the 'Emigration' had been written at length by E. Daudet; the 'Emigranten-Literatur' had been brilliantly sketched by Brandes in the first volume of the *Hauptströmungen*. But Brandes did not see that the essence of the matter, 'le vif de l'aventure,' 'devait être cherché, non dans la déception des émigrés rentrés, mais hors de France, parmi l'Émigration errante.' In other words, a history of 'the movement of ideas' among the Émigrés had to be at the same time a history, and one extremely intimate and individual, of the movements of the Émigrés themselves. If their ideas 'moved,' if only a small section of desperate reactionaries returned, like the Bourbons, having learned nothing and forgotten nothing, it was because they had, during the ten, fifteen, or twenty years that followed their 'dispersion,' mingled, solitary or in groups, in the life of foreign communities where the intellectual coinage of their old-world France, however respectfully regarded, did not pass; where a host of unfamiliar cultural influences contributed to sap the naïve absoluteness of Paris, to put duchesses and dandies through the hard school of relativity—'la chose peut-être la plus nécessaire aux Français moyens, et combien d'étrangers sont Français en ceci!'—to open their eyes to the manifoldness of the world, 'alors qu'il avait été si simple d'imaginer les allées de Versailles ou le pavé du Roi prolongeant leurs lignes droites jusqu'au fond des plus lointains districts de l'étranger.'

To describe in all its compass and in adequate detail this lesson of 'relativity,' learnt with ever varying degrees of success, in 'schools' of every degree of 'hardness' and efficiency, and in at least half a dozen foreign *milieux*, each as different from the rest as from France—this was not to deal with a problem of comparative literature, but to write a history, the very staple of which consisted of a continuous series of such problems. England, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Russia, Spain, Italy, America—each was the home for years of larger or smaller groups of highly educated and accomplished men and women, all conceiving themselves deeply wronged, and quick to liberate their indignation in reflexions on the past or plans for the future. A glance at

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M. Baldensperger's acknowledgments to the libraries where he has searched the archives for this literature, much of it ephemeral, some of it in manuscript, gives a lively idea of the enterprise, patience, and scholarly self-devotion which have gone to the making of his book. They range from Geneva to Upsala, from St Petersburg to San Francisco. In Germany alone a full score of public libraries are laid under contribution. For that congeries of states then sheltered fully as many emigrant groups, from the body of 'Die-hards' encamped at Coblentz, before the gates of France, waiting impatiently day by day and year by year, for the signal to return and 'restore,' to the colony of intellectuals at Hamburg, not less than 40,000 in number, who entered into intimate relations with the society of the old Hanseatic city, and left their definite impress on its history. It was there that Wordsworth and Coleridge, landing in 1798, fresh from the *Lyrical Ballads*, met not only Klopstock but Delille, a more authentic practitioner of the 'glossy diction of the eighteenth century' than any of those whom Wordsworth had denounced. The English group, though smaller, was in some respects the most important of all. Here two great writers, who did more than any others to change the current of French letters in the next generation, Mme de Staël and Chateaubriand, lived, talked and wrote. To one of the group, Mme D'Arblay (Fanny Burney) owed the name by which she is best known; to another, Dulau, London owes a publishing house which still survives. And many an obscure Protestant household learnt to temper its staunch abhorrence of 'popery' in intercourse with some exiled abbé of gracious deportment and ascetic life; while, on the other hand, if the 'genius of Christianity' as presented by Chateaubriand and by Joseph de Maistre were by no means in complete accord, it was not a little because the one was conceived in the country of Milton and the other in the capital of the Tsars.

Obviously, with a subject made up of contacts, most often dramatic, piquant, or fruitful, of this kind, if the result was to be a History of the Movement of Ideas and not an endless series of 'Mémoires pour servir,' the first requisite was a plan which would permit this wealth of material to be made articulate and expressive. M. Baldensperger's plan is engagingly simple and bold. Of his three Books, the first and longest is devoted to 'Les Expériences du Présent,'—the actual history of the Emigration, the break-up of the old régime, the formation of new social groups in the foreign communities, the excursions of discovery in the foreign scenery ('explorateurs malgré eux'), the experiments in drama and novel (*romans d'exil*), the occasional examples of complete and final affiliation, as with Chamisso, to the foreign people. These 'experiences of the present' were the matrix in which the more strenuous and connected thinking of the *émigrés* took shape, and by which its direction was determined. Inevitably this thinking had two chief preoccupations: interpretation of the Past, which had dealt the nobility and virtue of France so disastrous a blow; and forecasts of the Future which it was, or was assumed to be, in their hands to shape. The history of these two preoccupying classes of 'idea,' and the 'movements' they gradually

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underwent, is told in the Second and the Third Books. The four chapters of the Second Book pass in review the types of explanation offered by these 'Prophets of the Past' for the riddle of the Revolution. For one group, led by the abbé Barrud, it was a conspiracy of the *philosophes*; another, with Sabatier de Castres and Portalis, denounced it as a consequence of the abuse of the inquiring spirit. A third, with Sénac de Meilhan, frankly admitted failures in the working of the government machine. All these lines of indictment, finally, were rejected by the most trenchant political thinker of the reaction, Joseph de Maistre, for his doctrine that the Revolution, including its wholesale massacres, was decreed by Providence. In defining these movements the delicacy of M. Baldensperger's comparative method is everywhere apparent. For the reasoning of these *émigrés* was precisely *émigré*-reasoning: their thought was coloured, or even provided, by the intellectual influences dominant where they wrote. Burke is easily recognised in the second type specified above; but M. Baldensperger, with unapproached authority, puts his influence still higher than this; finding in the whole movement of ideas relative to the Revolution in strictness only the refraction in diversely prepared French minds of some ten or twelve ideas of Burke's *Reflections*; and he suggestively compares this stimulating support offered by England to French reaction with that offered by her earlier in the century through the medium of Montesquieu, to French progress (ii, 9). But Burke's supple thoughts grew harder and stiffer in these logical French brains, just as the Revolution itself carried to sharper extremes the tendencies which Burke had darkly foreseen.

We can only indicate the topics of the Third Book, 'Theories of the Future.' Some theory of the future, and usually one extremely definite and pronounced, was commonly entertained by every 'prophet of the past,' and it required perhaps some of the masterfulness, as well as the mastery, of a tried writer and scholar, to divide the ideas of de Maistre, for instance, between the two rubrics without leaving too visible a seam. For the rest, the chapters of this Third Book have a living interest even beyond that of their predecessors. The past, however interpreted, was once for all there. The future, in France, was to be very largely determined by what these exiles meant or expected it to become. It is easy to recognise in their diversities and dissensions a forecast of those that were to chequer the After-Restoration age. Out of reaction in its simplest form—the naïve longing for the 'good old days'—grew the new sentiment for the middle ages, a powerful current in that astonishing *Romantisme* of the twenties which resembled nothing that France had ever known before. The resurgence of specifically Christian sentiment bore the author of the *Génie* to an exalted prestige here lucidly weighed and defined (chap. III). But there were political thinkers, too, who repudiated simple return to the old régime; men who had taken to heart that living core of Burke's political philosophy which refuted all political absolutism. An important and striking section of the first chapter is devoted to Bonald, whose *Législation primitive* M. Baldensperger accounts, with the *Génie*, Mme de Staël's *L'Allemagne* and

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de Maistre's *Soirées*, the most 'surprising' French books of that era; those, that is, in which the 'movement of ideas' due to the Emigration is most profoundly manifested. A more curious interest belongs to the attempts to call in the new metaphysics of Germany to the overthrow of the eighteenth-century philosophy which had so dangerously fed the Revolution. The career of 'Villers de Kant,' the Lorrainer who paraphrased the *Kritik* of Pure Reason and recommended the Ethic of the Categorical Imperative to Napoleon as an instrument for the moral education of the France of 1801, belongs to the pathology of internationalism. He at least was not the man to carry through the difficult mating of French and German mentality. But M. Baldensperger, whose delicate analysis exposes so clearly the futility of Villers' enterprise, does not refrain from asking, at the close—'But how if France in 1801 had accepted Kantism?'—nor from giving his question a bold and incisive answer of far more than literary interest. We can quote only a single sentence: 'En acceptant...une doctrine qui conférât un centre de gravité à l'individu moral, elle eût peut-être évité l'espèce de duplicité qui se révèle si fâcheuse dans le cours de mainte destinée, et particulièrement pernicieuse dans la vie civique de beaucoup de Français modernes; une moralité déficitaire chaque fois qu'il s'agit de choses d'État, de vie collective, le plus commode opportunisme dans les carrières et les ambitions.'

In its final purport this book is a kind of sequel, in a vastly more complex field, to Texte's famous study. It describes, broadly speaking, the transformations undergone by French mentality in a variety of alien, for the most part Germanic, *milieux*. We are accustomed to describe the change, in its literary aspect, as an overthrow of the authority of 'classicism.' In M. Baldensperger's hands this general formula acquires, as the formulas he employs invariably do, a delicate and beautiful precision. The mere 'classical culture' of the exiles, the pseudo-Virgilian accomplishment of a Rivarol or a Delille, was powerless to resist the potent new influences; the France they stood for suffered inevitable and final defeat. But here and there among the exiles were men and women who exemplified the true classicism which is realised when clarity and order are imposed upon confusion and negligence: able and large-minded civilisers who taught agriculture in America or honest government in New Russia. In this truer classicism France did not suffer defeat: she triumphed. And we may be permitted in parting from M. Baldensperger's book, to salute in it a very eminent example of that true classicism: the classicism which is not an accomplishment or a science or an art, but the inborn temper of a limpid, subtle, and comprehensive mind.

C. H. Herford.

Manchester.

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The Heliand Manuscript, Cotton Caligula A.VII in the British Museum. A Study by R. PRIEBSCH. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1925. 49 pp.

The primary object of this study, which is full of detailed scholarship and is the fruit of long and patient investigation, is the elucidation of a mystery. The MS. C of the O.S. poem *Heliand* is one of the puzzling phenomena in the difficult period 850–1000; a study of its possible origin and history is a study of international relations—of a literary intercourse which was as complicated, in its own way, as the political intercourse of a later age. The salient feature of Professor Priebsch's investigation is the way in which the author stirs our interest in the literary connotations of his theme. 'It was not quite easy,' he tells us, 'to make this MS. speak at all' (p. 49), and the metaphor is significant. To delve into palaeographical details, to labour at accumulating evidence from contemporary records, is to contribute greatly to the serious study of mediaeval literature. But to add to an impressive mass of accurate observations the touch which stirs it into life, to deduce from scientific data conjectures which suggest the living intercourse of a world of letters far removed from ours, is a much greater achievement, and can be accomplished only by a few. We are indebted to Professor Priebsch, among many other things, for this. Twenty-seven pages of detailed study of the palaeographical, ornamental, and linguistic features of the MS.—with special reference to the ligature of *f* + *t*, which is regarded as specially characteristic of certain scriptoria in South and South-East England—precede a discussion of the home of the manuscript. The writer concludes that it was England, and proceeds to further study of the corroborative evidence to be gained from the history of the O.E. *Genesis* B, or '*Younger Genesis*.' He concludes that a codex containing both the O.S. *Genesis* and the *Heliand* was sent to England from the Continent. The discussion of the various possibilities as to origin and destination of this codex (pp. 37–40) is illuminating and full of suggestion; in particular, the reasons for which the author favours the period of the Benedictine reform, with its fresh aesthetic interest, its renewed devotional and international spirit, spur the mind to a consideration of the deeper issues of mediaeval times. The hypothesis as to the person and nationality of the scribe which follows is of great interest. Previous conjectures as to the connection of the author of the first life of St Dunstan (who refers to himself as 'B') with the *Younger Genesis* are critically dealt with and the possibility of such a person being the scribe of the C MS. is suggested. He would, in the author's opinion, be an Anglo-Saxon who studied abroad and was employed on his return to England by the monks of Canterbury (Christ Church) or Winchester.

Professor Priebsch concludes his study with a comment on the relation of his work to that of earlier scholars, which is in complete harmony with the attitude of mind displayed throughout—the faith of the scholar, combined with the true scholar's humble mind.

EDNA PURDIE.

BANGOR, N. WALES.

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Deutsche Sagversdichtungen des IX.–XI. Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von EDUARD SIEVERS. (*Germanische Bibliothek*, II Abt., XVI.) Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1924. 8vo. vi + 174 pp. 5 M.

This volume contains the practical application of the principles previously laid down by Sievers in his *Rhythmisch-melodische Studien*, *Metrische Studien* IV, and *Ziele und Wege der Schallanalyse*. These three works must be studied before the present volume can be understood, but Sievers repeats a little to serve as a guide to the reader who commences his study of *Sagverse* with this volume. 'Die "Sagverse" sind deutliche *Sprech*-(d. h. nicht Gesangs-) Verse von sehr stark wechselnder Länge bei völliger Freiheit der Verbindung zu meist kürzeren Absätzen, die etwas von laissenartigem Charakter haben' (p. 5), and 'Die Silbenquantität spielt bei der Fussbildung keine erhebliche Rolle' (p. 6). On page 174 there is a *Curventafel*, showing *Personalcurven*, *Taktfüllcurven*, and *Signalcurven*. Every poem is arranged to show its metrical structure; *Hebungen*, *Nebenhebungen*, *Takt* and *Melodie* are indicated by accents and reference to the *Curventafel*. Sievers has now discovered that all O.H.G. alliterative verses are *Sagverse*, 'so dass als deutsche Zeugen für den gewöhnlichen Alliterationsvers der Germanen nun tatsächlich nur *Heliand* und *Genesis* übrigbleiben' (p. 2). But not only these verses are *Sagverse*. Sievers arranges as *Sagverse* the prayer of the *Wessobrunner Gebet*, the *Bamberger Beichte*, Willeram's Latin preface to his *Hohes Lied*, the Latin form of *Otlohs Gebet*, both the French and the German sections of the *Strassburger Eide*, and Wulfila's *Bergpredigt*, which brings even Gothic into the sphere of *Sagverse*. Sievers claims that his curves prove that the French elements of the *Strassburger Eide* as well as the German were the work of one and the same 'fränkischen Beamten deutschen Geblütes' (p. 5). There is an obvious danger that various readers may get various curves—the curves might possibly show that a Frenchman wrote the German oath, for example. Sievers therefore warns us that practice is essential to achieve correct results: 'ein Fehler der nur einen kleinen Bruchteil einer Sekunde umfasst, kann da schon ganz verhängnisvoll werden. Und dann ist natürlich nicht der schlecht Vortragende, sondern der arme Metriker daran schuld, der die unbegriffenen Versregeln aufgestellt hat!' (pp. 6–7). Thus we must take his results without question. He claims, too, that 'das Klangliche' decides the development of Germanic *ō* and *au* in German (pp. 10–11). It seems rather curious that not one manuscript should have given the slightest hint as to the metrical structure of all this 'verse' and 'prose' which Sievers has now arranged for us correctly. This fact alone must have its effect on the number of converts. Sievers does not hope to convert us all, but he might perhaps have expressed his regrets a little more graciously than: 'Aus dem Kreise der anderen heraus, die nichts Neues mehr aufzunehmen imstande sind, bloss weil es neu ist, wird andererseits auch diesmal "aller wēskreio meist" wohl nicht ausbleiben: worüber ich mich denn auch zu trösten wissen werde' (p. 12). Sievers' present arrangement admits of verses with beats ranging from one to six

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(in one poem only are there verses with seven beats). The following verses in the *Hildebrandslied* have six beats with double cesura—to avoid typographical difficulties the chief beat is shown by / after the syllable, and the subsidiary beat by \, in place of Sievers' accents:

Ik gihōr/ta ðat seg/gen ðat/ sih urhēt/tun āē/non muo/tin
Sīd/ De<o>trīh/he dar/bā gistuon/tun fa/teres mī/nes
'Wēt/tu irmingot/' quad/ Hiltibrant/ 'o/bana ab he/vane
in sus hē/remo man/ hrus/ti giwin/nan rau/ba bihra/hanen.'

To begin with the third example. The words *quad Hiltibrant* occur not only here, but also in '*Welaga nu, waltant got*' *quad Hiltibrant*, and '*Der sī doh nu argōsto*' *quad Hiltibrant*; and in each case Sievers makes them an integral part of the verse. Now in *Beowulf* the verb *cweðan* occurs ten times, and in no case does it directly introduce direct speech. It introduces indirect speech (l. 92), or is used with an adverb or an object, e.g., *word æfter cwæð* (l. 315). Direct speech is introduced by *maðelian*, which occurs seven times in the first 500 lines. In the *Hildebrandslied*, too, the normal introduction to direct speech is *Hiltibrant gimahalta*. It is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that *quad Hiltibrant* has been incorporated into the text by a copyist who found the words written above the line merely to indicate the speaker. The copyist (or copyists) was clearly unfamiliar with the poem; he writes *hiltibraht* for *hiltibrant* occasionally. A similar interpolation of *quad Adam* etc. is found in the Old Saxon *Genesis* (see Martin, *Der Versbau des Heliand und der altsächsischen Genesis*, *Quellen und Forschungen*, 100, p. 12). If we omit *quad Hiltibrant* we get verses which satisfy the requirements of Sievers' earlier rules:

Wēttu irmingot obana ab hevane
Welaga nu, waltant got wēwurt skihit
Der sī doh nu argōsto ōstarliuto.

To pass to the second and fourth examples. Surely the obvious arrangement is:

Sīd Deotrīhhe darbā gistuontun
fateres mīnes dat was sō friuntlaos man

and

in sus hēremo man hrusti giwinnan
rauba bihrahanen ibu dū dār ēnīc reht habēs.

Here, at least, alliteration means something. The first example would seem to be due to the loss of a half-verse after *seggen*; this is suggested by the parallel of the *Wessobrunner Gebet*:

Dat gefregin ih mit firahim firiwizzo meista
dat etc.

Sievers arranges the following verses:

Her, was Ōtach re um mett ir,ri
de gano dechis to
un ti Deotrich he dar bā gistōn,tun.

Here again it seems probable that the copyist inserted *darbā gistōntun* in error. He lost his place, and copied it over again from a few lines above. Surely we should read:

Degano dechisto miti Deotrichhe.

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There is only one other remark to make on the *Hildebrandslied*. Sievers scans:

nu dih/ es so wel/ lus/tit.

Here *wel* has a full beat; but in the second *Merseburger Zauberspruch* Sievers scans:

thū/ biguo\len Uuō/dan\ sō/ he uuo\la con/da.

Although *uuola* alliterates with *Uuōdan* it has only a minor beat. Yet the verse endings are of the same nature in both cases.

For the rest Sievers fits everything in the manuscript into his scheme, and finds 'Klangeinheit, bis auf die Schlussworte *giwigan miti wambnum*, die irgendeinem späteren Ergänzer ihr Dasein verdanken.'

To turn to another poem. In the second *Merseburger Spruch* there is a verse with six beats:

Bēn/ zi bē/na! bluod/ zi bluo/da! lid/ zi geli/den.

This verse is arrived at only by doing violence to alliteration. Of course *lid zi geliden* will not scan according to Sievers' earlier rules. We need not hesitate to read *gelid zi geliden*, which will scan as a B-verse:

gelid zi geliden sōse gelīmida sīn.

The only justification for this verse in 'threes'—2 + 2 + 2—is to be found in the verses immediately preceding:

sōse bēnrenkī
sōse bluotrenkī
sōse lidirenkī.

This is the MS. reading. But it would really appear that *sōse lidirenkī* is a later addition, suggested by the lines following. We should read:

sōse bēnrenkī sōse bluotrenkī
Bēn zi bēna bluod zi bluoda etc.

Apart from the fact that *sōse lidirenkī* is unnecessary for the sense there is some support for the suggestion that it is a later addition. This *Spruch*, or a similar *Spruch*, exists in a later form in German:

Blut mit Blut, Bein mit Bein
Halt fest wie Stein

(printed by O. Ebermann, *Blut- und Wundsegen*, *Palaestra* XXIV, Berlin, 1903, page 95).

The examples quoted above will be sufficient to show that Sievers has given up any attempt to apply his earlier work on alliterative verse to Old High German. He has found an entirely new system, but this system would apply almost equally well to any piece of prose or verse. Until experiments with the same results have been made independently by several people we can hardly be convinced that we can read the work of a thousand years ago in the way a poet of the time would have recited it. Such a claim, indeed, contains its own disproof by way of a *reductio ad absurdum*. And to claim that a reading provides a test so delicate as to decide between *ou* or *uo* for Germanic *ō* is to strain our credulity beyond its limits.

LONDON. A. C. DUNSTAN.

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Das deutsche Drama. In Verbindung mit JULIUS BAB, ALBERT LUDWIG, FRIEDRICH MICHAEL, MAX J. WOLFF und RUDOLF WOLKAN herausgegeben von ROBERT F. ARNOLD. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1925. 8vo. x + 868 pp. 20 M.

It will come as a surprise to most readers to learn that this is the first general history of the German drama. That the task has not been essayed before is proof of its magnitude and difficulty; and even now it has only been rendered possible by the collaboration of six scholars. Professor Arnold is well aware of the disadvantages of a compilation by various hands; he states the lines on which the collaboration has been arranged:

> Innerhalb des Gesammtplans war den einzelnen Mitarbeitern, also auch dem Herausgeber, möglichst grosse Bewegungsfreiheit gewährleistet....Nichts lag dem 'Deutsche Drama' ferner als der Versuch, auch nur der Wunsch, den Stil, die Welt- und Lebensanschauung, den Kunstglauben oder gar die Werturteile seiner Mitarbeiter irgendwie uniformieren, das kennzeichnende und wertverleihende Gepräge verschiedener Individualitäten verwischen zu wollen.

Obviously it would not be easy to arrange collaboration on any other principle; but it has resulted in a very considerable disparity between the sections. I take it that that on the nineteenth century, for which Professor Arnold is himself responsible, represents his own conception of the work. This is excellently done, although a foreign reader, at least, would have liked to see the great poetic forces of the period, Kleist, Grillparzer, Hebbel, who are each disposed of in a few pages, stand out more clearly from the rank and file; but otherwise, Professor Arnold deals out just measure, and his sobriety of judgment carries conviction. No exception could have been taken to the whole work carried out on these admirable lines; and one is inclined to regret that Professor Arnold had not braced himself to the entire task.

The drama down to the end of the sixteenth century is dealt with by Professor Michael; but the Latin drama is transferred to a separate section by Professor Wolkan. Here the disadvantages of collaboration begin; for, if justice is to be done to the early drama, and especially that of the Reformation century, Latin drama and vernacular drama must be regarded as one whole; the Protestant drama is not to be divorced from the humanistic drama; the work of Frischlin cannot well be distributed over two chapters.

On the first page of his section on the seventeenth century (p. 167) Professor Wolff makes the following statement:

> Wenn es Spanien und England innerhalb der nächsten funfzig Jahre [he is writing of the middle of the sixteenth century] und etwas später auch Frankreich gelang, ein nationales Drama von unerreichter Grösse zu schaffen, während die vielversprechenden Keime in Deutschland nicht zur Reife gelangten, so liegt es zum grössten Teil daran, dass jene zur rechten Zeit den Übergang von der Laienkomödie zur Berufskomödie fanden, dass der darstellende Dilettant im gegebenen Augenblick durch den Berufsschauspieler verdrängt wurde.

But surely the failure of Germany to create a national drama at the same time as her great neighbours is far too significant a phenomenon —there is no more fascinating problem the historian of the German

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drama has to face than to explain it—to be attributed 'zum grössten Teil' to so trivial a factor as the transference of the acting of plays from dilettante to professional actors; and in justice to Professor Wolff it should be added that when he reverts to the matter, we hear no more of this factor. But the statement I have just quoted serves as introduction to an exceedingly good account of the 'Englischen Komödianten' in Germany; and, indeed, to a section which is the freshest and most furthering of the entire work. I know of no more illuminating account of the drama of the seventeenth century. But it cannot be overlooked that it is attained at the cost of the proportions of the work as a whole. With over a hundred pages devoted to the comparatively empty seventeenth century, not one, but several volumes of the size of the present one would have been required to do justice on an equal scale to the entire history of the German drama. As a matter of fact, the playwrights of the seventeenth century are accorded more space than Lessing, Goethe and Schiller together, Jakob Ayrer alone having a little more than either Hebbel or Grillparzer!

As soon as Professor Ludwig takes up the thread with the eighteenth century, the narrative sinks to juster proportions. His handling of the drama before Lessing is so promising that the reader is bound to feel a certain disappointment with his treatment of the masters; somehow Lessing, Goethe and Schiller do not seem to form the high points of the work, as the reader would reasonably expect to be the case. Can it be that the critic has wearily felt that so much has already been written about these authors, that it was futile to say it over again or to try to say new things about them?

The modern section by Herr Julius Bab forms again a contrast; it makes one realise the wisdom of the older literary historians who declined to discuss living writers. What can be said about them is either the subjective opinion of the critic, or a reflection of contemporary estimates; it is not, and cannot be history. Not that Herr Bab has allowed himself to forget that his task is to deal with the contemporary drama in the perspective of centuries of evolution: he is refreshingly free from that tendency to overpraise the multitudinous writers of the day which has crept in so distressingly into so many recent histories of German literature; he sternly ignores or reduces the claims of many of the literary 'Grössen' of our time to a niche in literary history. But unfortunately all this is but a foil to an exaltation of Gerhart Hauptmann, which is surely out of place in a work of this kind. It may be that his estimate of that writer will be endorsed by future ages; but a critic of contemporary writers, if he will assume the rôle of historian, should be more modest. Even the warmest of Hauptmann's admirers will hardly concede that he is—again to judge by the number of pages allotted to him—five times more important than either Hebbel or Grillparzer! Again, this is not history.

A valuable feature of the work is that the plays are carefully dated, not merely in respect of their first representations, but also of their publication; and an excellent bibliography is provided.

LONDON. J. G. ROBERTSON.

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Der sentimentale Mensch. Von Max Wieser. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1924. 8vo. viii + 325 pp. 8 M.

In this psychological study, the author endeavours to illumine the Sentimental Age of Germany by an investigation of the little-known sources of an earlier period, and thus to present a contribution towards a more comprehensive history of Sentimentality. After an introductory chapter concerned with definitions, he confines himself mainly to the first half of the eighteenth century, where the interest is theological rather than belletristic. In order to understand the later development of Sentimentality, it is necessary to enquire into the psychological and intellectual elements in that which has gone before, and the author takes as his starting-point the Dutch and German mystics.

It is necessary to distinguish between *Gefühl* and *Empfinden*. The former can be either macrocosmic or microcosmic, and when it is microcosmic it is better to call it *Empfindung*. *Fühlen* is cosmic; *Empfinden* is *Fühlen* freed from its cosmic associations. The more a man is able to detach himself from his environment, the more does his *Empfinden* develop at the cost of his *Gefühl*, and in an advanced stage of civilization man possesses much *Empfinden* but little *Gefühl*. There are many kinds of *Gefühl*, but only two main types—*naiv* and *sentimentalisch* (to use Schiller's phraseology), but between the two is the *sentimental* type, which is a preliminary stage of the second.

So long as feeling is *naiv*, it is not sensible of its detachment from its cosmic associations. The feeling of standing alone as far as the world is concerned is *sentimentalisch*, but not *sentimental*, and it is this feeling which is at the root of all religion, for it begins with the sensation of detachment from the world, with the experience of death and fear, so that man builds up for himself a new world out of the longing for salvation. In this sense the Greeks, since they were *naiv*, were not religious, but those who profess the religions of Christianity, Islam and Buddhism, since they are predominantly desirous of salvation, are almost always *sentimentalisch*. This *sentimentalisch* feeling is at the basis not only of religion but also of technical science, industry and even politics, since all these forms of activity are more or less contradictory to nature. It is in the West that the *sentimentalisch* feeling takes the latter forms of expression, whereas the religious form is not characteristic and therefore very liable to degenerate and become *sentimental*. The *sentimentalisch* feeling is so general and so necessary, that it lies at the root of all culture, which is in contrast to Nature and *naiv* feeling. There were, indeed, more *sentimental* elements among the Greeks than has been thought.

It is in the conflict between dream and reality that the *sentimental* emotion is usually found, and it often appears as an excess of emotion without depth or content, what Schnitzler calls 'emotion purchased under cost price.' The sentimental man lacks a certain sense of relativity; he forgets his active purpose and yields to an emotion which lacks reality. When the healthy reaction to a sensation is missing,

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emotion becomes sentimentality. To offer a definition drawn from the Freudian theory of Repression and its consequent neurosis, it may be said that the object on which an individual in that condition concentrates his longings has no real value, and sentimentality is an emotion which has not been brought into relation with any real value. The creative performance alone distinguishes the man of genius from the patient suffering from a compulsion neurosis.

It is only in a continent whose inhabitants have a strong sense of reality, which is favourable to the formation of high ideals, that sentimentality can arise. The North German is more sentimental because the ruder climate engenders stronger ideals. The South German is more of a *Gefühlsmensch* than the North German, but he also finds relief more easily. The less sentimental of the early Minnesänger came from Bavaria and Austria, *i.e.* South Germany, and though the South German often *appears* more sentimental, that is due merely to church influence. Goethe has already pointed out that the North German suffers from a superabundance of ideals. The ideals of Knighthood, for example, came into Germany more from the North, from the Netherlands, than from Southern France, and then assumed a more and more sentimental character. In the tropics Sentimentality is entirely absent. In general it can be said that a period of Sentimentality represents a transition stage between two cultural epochs, when man still acknowledges the force of tradition, but is beginning to free himself from it and is lacking in inner assurance; he is no longer *naiv*, but neither is he definitely *sentimentalisch*. So it was in the transition from Greek culture to Roman civilization, and so it was in the transition from baroque culture to our modern industrial society. There have always been sentimental individuals, but it only becomes epidemic once in each cultural period, if at all. This period in Western Culture was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Every European nation expresses its Sentimentality in a different way. In the Latin races, it is apparent particularly in Religion and Church-worship, as is to be seen in the tombstones and metal wreaths of French cemeteries and the War Memorial speeches of M. Poincaré. With the Germanic races, it is to be found by preference in Morals or even Art; in the former more with the English, in the latter with the Germans.

The author concludes with a short discussion of the second half of the eighteenth century, the wars of Liberation, the new age of Sentimentality in Romanticism and Young Germany, its decay in the age of Bismarck, and its later recurrence. He stresses the importance of the *sentimentalische Gefühl* for the overcoming of the *sentimentale Gefühl* and the consequent ability to rise beyond the transition stage of culture represented by the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The future belongs in Germany to those who feel *naiv*, and yet are imbued with the *sentimentalische Gefühl*, a combination which is symbolized in the personality of Goethe.

This book is what its author intended it to be, 'ein Stück Geistes-

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und Seelengeschichte,' and it helps considerably towards the understanding of the morbid elements in the literature of the eighteenth century. It represents a type of research which promises fruitful results in fields that have been ploughed over again and again and rendered sterile by students employing the historical and philological method. It is gratifying to see such a well-documented study of the psychological undercurrents that have hitherto been so considerably neglected.

WILLIAM ROSE.

LONDON.

MINOR NOTICES.

The fourth volume of *The Year's Work in English Studies*, edited by Sir Sidney Lee and Dr F. S. Boas (London: H. Milford. 7*s.* 6*d.*) is an interesting and valuable survey of books and pamphlets on English matters issued during 1923 in and outside England. It appeared unnecessarily late, and is hideously bound, but these are its only faults. This volume is arranged like that for 1922, but there are two new contributors,—Professors Abercrombie and Tolkien. This periodical, like the M.H.R.A. *Bibliography of English Language and Literature*, increases yearly in size; the 1923 volume has 272, the 1922 volume, 222 pages. This increase is not, however, so great in the Shakespearian matter as in the earlier and later chapters of the book.

C. B.

Sir Israel Gollancz has published for the Early English Text Society, the second volume of Hoccleve's *Minor Poems*, containing poems from the Ashburnham MS. now in his possession (Extra Series, lxxiii. London: H. Milford. 5*s.*). It is a pleasant little book of forty pages, originally intended for the year 1897, and in 1907 said to be 'at press.' The MS. is of the early part of the fifteenth century, and includes seven devotional poems, a Balade to Henry V, *L'epistre de Cupide*, and three humorous pieces. Of these last, Hoccleve's appeal to Lady Money, and her answer, remind us, as they were probably meant to do, of Chaucer's *Compleint to his Piers*; and *Praise of his Lady* is an amusing burlesque of conventional verses on the theme. In 1897, Skeat edited the *Letter of Cupid* in the seventh volume of his Chaucer. He based his text on the Fairfax MS., but records in his critical footnotes over a hundred variants of the Ashburnham MS., and admits a few of these into his text. I do not know how Skeat selected these variants. He seems to imply on p. xl of volume VII of his Chaucer, that he had not seen the MS. If he had not, I suppose he took his variants from Furnivall's edition (E.E.T.S.) of Hoccleve's *Minor Poems*. Was Furnivall's list of variants scanty, or Skeat's choice hasty? (cf. Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual* (1907) p. 435). Most of the variants recorded or admitted by Skeat are merely orthographical, though some of the latter affect the metre. The more important variants of word or phrase are hardly ever recorded; yet, in a hurried collation of the

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texts of Skeat and Gollancz, I have noticed such variants in 179 lines out of 476. For example, Skeat does not say that in A, Cupid uses the royal *We, us, our*, for the *I, me, my* of F. Skeat records l. 249, *Wat* from A, Gollancz has *What*; l. 327 '*Yee strab* or *scrab*' (Sk.) G. reads *strah* (i.e. 'straw!') though he points out in the vocabulary that the *h* may be a *b*. Finally, l. 28, Skeat *conjectures* '*mot*,' though A *has* '*moot*'!

C. B.

'The object of this dissertation (*Studies in Prefixes and Suffixes in Middle Scottish*, by Elisabeth Westergaard. London: H. Milford. 1924. xii+135 pp. 12*s*. 6*d*.) is to compare the Scottish dialect with the Standard English language, and to point out...the differences...' and in particular to study the Middle Scottish prefixes and suffixes as illustrating those differences. The three main questions which Miss Westergaard has tried to answer are: (1) 'whether the phenomenon appears in the Old English language, and thus is a preserved phenomenon; (2) whether the phenomenon is characteristic of Scottish dialect only, or pertaining to other dialects, possibly to Standard English; (3) whether the phenomenon is fictitious' (i.e. invented by the 'Makaris').

Unfortunately Miss Westergaard does not know enough English of any period to enable her to deal successfully with (2); and (3) she hardly touches. Her work may be very well as a thesis, but is not fit to publish. This is a pity, because with more knowledge, time, and space, at her disposal, Miss Westergaard's zeal and industry might have made a useful contribution to linguistic studies. One difficulty, however, inheres in the subject she has chosen, which is probably insuperable to all but very few English people, certainly to all foreigners—namely the difficulty of apprehending the fine gradations of meaning which often distinguish pejorative and negative uses of *mis-*, or negative and reversive prefixes. The other faults of the book seem to be due to two causes; Miss Westergaard's slender knowledge of Middle English literature and lack of space wherein to give 'an intelligible account' of the phenomena she discusses. Miss Westergaard seems to know more of dictionaries and glossaries than of the texts from which they are built, and more of Scottish than of English. Of the words she thinks peculiar to Scottish many occur, and a few are common, in M.E., e.g. *algate, betrayse*. The *Cursor Mundi* is quoted by volume and page instead of by line, and as only one of the four texts printed by Morris is quoted in each instance, we are not able to make the necessary comparison between them.

C. B.

It is useful and amusing to have in one volume, that late and degenerate 'Arthurian' romance *The Famous Historie of Chinon of England* by Christopher Middleton (1597), and Leland's *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii* (1544) with its translation by Richard Robinson (1582). Professor W. E. Mead has edited these three works from early printed editions in the British Museum, for the Early English Text Society (Original Series, clxv. London: H. Milford. 25*s*.). The story of Chinon is 'the silliest stuff that ever I heard,' and but slenderly con-

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nected with Arthur, though Lancelot, Tristram, Cador, and Triamour wander through the tale. It is as formless, but not as charming as *Britannia's Pastorals*. The editor has written a long introduction and some notes, and compiled glossaries which record some interesting words and forms. The note on p. 64/1 (p. 77) is wrong; Middleton means *Sir Calor's* parents, Triamour and Celestina. On p. 41/3 *were* is subjunctive, not indicative plural (cp. p. lxiii). E. K. Chambers (*The Elizabethan Stage*, IV, p. 399) supports Mead's notion (p. xlvii) of some relation between the tale of Chinon and the play produced on January 3, 1596, by the Admiral's men, 'Chinone of England.'

C. B.

One has read a good many monographs on the origins of the spirit of melancholy which pervades so much eighteenth century poetry. There is, however, always room for new studies of old themes which are based on sincere and independent work. This seems to me to be true of Dr Amy L. Reed's book *The Background of Gray's Elegy: A Study in the taste for Melancholy Poetry 1700–1751* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924. x + 270 pp. $2.50). The writer's analysis of the forms taken by melancholy and the reaction against melancholy in the English poets from Milton to Gray has much that is fresh and interesting: one notices in particular the importance given to the influence of Shaftesbury on both sides of the question. The style is easy and urbane. It is rare to encounter a young-ladyism like 'tremendously sad' (p. 226). Collins's *Ode to Fear* cannot however rightly be called a 'real Pindaric' (p. 239) when it has the Epode inserted between the Strophe and the Antistrophe, and there is some fault to find in the expressions 'a fellow of Oxford' (p. 4), '*De Opera Monachum*' (p. 9, note 3), and 'the *vita contempliva*' (p. 249). In the useful Bibliography 'Bensly' is misspelt 'Bensley,' and Mary, Lady Chudleigh (née Lee) appears as 'Lady Mary Lee Chudleigh.'

G. C. M. S.

Mr Mario Praz shows a singularly wide range of scholarly accomplishments in his *Poeti Inglesi dell' Ottocento* (Firenze: R. Bemporad). The book consists primarily of translations into Italian of characteristic poems of Burns, Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Landor, Tennyson, Browning, Mrs Browning, Matthew Arnold, D. G. Rossetti, Christina Rossetti, W. Morris, Swinburne, Coventry Patmore and Francis Thompson. In the Introduction Mr Praz gives a most interesting account of his views and methods of translating poetry: suffice it to say, that these poems are practically all given in the original metres, subject to that law of the Italian language which requires the substitution of feminine for masculine rimes. That this to an English ear often destroys the special beauty of the original in which masculine rimes predominate can be seen at once by comparing

Ah, what avails the sceptred race,
Ah, what the form divine?
What, every virtue, every grace?
Rose Aylmer, all were thine!

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with

Ahimè, ahimè, qual mai vantaggio
Recan forme celesti
Virtù e grazia e gran lignaggio?
Rosa Aylmer, tutto avesti.

But though only an Italian can say if the 'Lines above Tintern,' 'Tears, idle tears,' and 'The Blessed Damozel' have the beauty for him in Mr Praz's versions which they have for us in their original forms, an Englishman can still admire the extraordinary sympathy and skill shown by the translator. If Mr Praz has not succeeded in his task, we are convinced that no one ever will.

The translations, though the central feature of the book, are more for Italians than for us. But Mr Praz has prefaced each group with a biographical and critical essay on the poet, and these brilliant essays are for us all. They reveal that Mr Praz is a philosophical critic and a writer of the first order. We need only refer to the comparison he draws between Tennyson and a poet of the court of the Ptolemys, and to his myth of Shelley as a creature born of water and of fire.

Still another side of Mr Praz's genius is shown in his notes on the selected poems in which sources and analogues of a remarkable kind are often revealed. And finally Mr Praz shows himself a bibliographer. In the case of every poet the first appearances of his works are recorded in a list which could not have been compiled but by a man of extraordinary industry even in apparently superfluous research. It is clear that in Mr Praz we have a combination of literary and critical brilliance with immense learning, stupendous industry and the *flair* of investigation so remarkable as to promise very great things for the future. It will certainly be one of his distinctions to be the interpreter of English thought and imagination to Italy. G. C. M. S.

Mr Walter Starkie's *Jacinto Benavente* (London: H. Milford. 1924. 10*s.* 6*d.*) belongs to journalism rather than to scholarship. The general reader may, perhaps, not be disquieted by Mr Starkie's insufficient acquaintance with Spanish literature as a whole or with Benavente's immediate predecessors and contemporaries on the stage, but such crudities as 'the old Spanish romantic drama with its shouting and bombast' (p. 42) must inspire a doubt when he comes to criticise his main subject. The safest portion of the work is the analysis of Benavente's plays and the appreciation of his genius, the more so because Mr Starkie's interests are directly literary and not obscured by theatrical or psychological prepossessions. In bringing Benavente into relation with the post-Ibsenian drama of other Latin countries—with Bataille, Curel, Capus and others on the one hand, and with Bracco and Pirandello on the other—the author does a considerable service to his subject and displays wide reading, industry and enthusiasm; but his manner is too imprecise and declamatory to assure us that his analogies and correlations have an objective validity outside his criticism of the moment. Thus, to take at random two instances: *à propos* of *Los Intereses Creados*, we are informed that 'he has evidently studied the directions

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for Graziano given by Perrucci' (p. 166) and that in making heroes of rogues 'he has followed Fielding' (p. 167), the one statement being doubtful, the other quite unnecessary. The text bristles with *sententiæ*, but neither with them nor with more important matters of fact or criticism is a distinction made between original and second-hand information. There is a useful bibliography and a list of Benavente's plays, but no index. The proofs could have been more carefully read.

W. J. E.

Dr Jöran Sahlgren has reprinted from *Namn och Bygd* six of his articles on Swedish place-names under the title *Nordiska Ortnamn i språklig och saklig Belysning* (Lund. 1924. 92 pp. 10 kr.). These articles are the first of a series that will appear under this title. Three of them deal with the interpretation of individual names, the others with names in *-torp* and *-vi*. The latter are naturally the more interesting to the English student of place-names, since both of these elements (O.N. *þorp* and *viðr*) are found in English names. Sahlgren concludes that the element *þorp* was introduced into Denmark from Low German use about 600 A.D., and then spread to Sweden. The *þorp*-names in Sweden are to be found in the southern provinces near Denmark, including the south-eastern part of Västergötland and the western part of Östergötland. This distribution (which is made clear by means of small maps) is used in support of a theory that in the middle ages western Östergötland was, in culture, most closely associated with Västergötland. It is a masterly article: the material is well marshalled, and none of the evidence overlooked. The other articles are slighter, but equally expert. It is unfortunate, however, that no explanation is given of the abbreviations of the names of documents from which forms are quoted, and that sometimes the source is omitted altogether. Explanation of the elaborate phonetics of Swedish dialect pronunciations is also needed; the symbols used are the usual ones for the purpose, but are hardly known outside Sweden.

E. V. G.

The Joint Standing Committee on Library Co-operation has opened an Enquiry Office which will endeavour to discover for research workers what British or Continental library—if any—possesses any required publication or manuscript, and whether such publication or manuscript would be loaned temporarily, on the application of the librarian, to a library named by the enquirer. Letters should be addressed to L. T. Oldaker, Esq., The University, Edmund St., Birmingham, and should be accompanied by a list of the libraries which the enquirer has already tried in vain. No fee is charged for this service.

F. E. SANDBACH (*Chairman of the Committee*).

A General Index of Vols. XI—XX of the *Modern Language Review* will be published in January, 1926, at the price of 5*s*. Orders should be sent, either to Mr L. C. Martin, Hon. Treasurer of the Modern Humanities Research Association, the University, Liverpool, or to the Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4.

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HERRERO GARCÍA, Comentarios a algunos textos de los siglos XVI y XVII (*Rev. fil. espaň.*, xii, 1).

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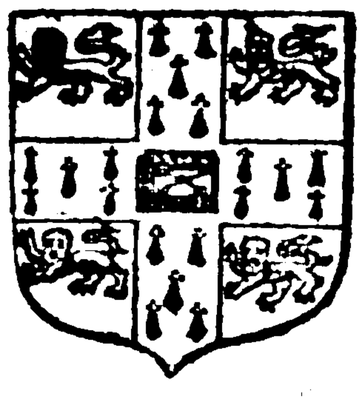

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